Introduction

Methods of Investigation

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF TRADITIONAL BIOGRAPHIES OF THE BUDDHA

My central concern in this volume is to elucidate how Gotama Buddha, or Sakyamuni, the historical figure revered as the teacher of humankind, lived his life and taught his doctrine.

Some people may object to calling Gotama the teacher of humankind, taking the view that though he might be the teacher and guide of Buddhists, he is no such thing for other people. We must remember, though, that throughout the world a wide divergence has developed between the religion a person nominally follows and that person's own beliefs or worldview. In Japan, it is quite common to follow the rituals of the Buddhist sect to which one's family belongs even though one's own philosophy is quite different. Similarly, there is a widespread tendency in the United States for people to go to church only in order to avoid the social stigma attached to refusal to attend religious services, and some people expressly state that they do so. People seeking a religious path and endeavoring to formulate a philosophy of human life are looking beyond religious affiliation to philosophers and thinkers, both past and present, either to accept their teachings or to dispute them. As this tendency increases, it is not surprising that people who are not Buddhists wish to learn of the teachings of Sakyamuni. This was confirmed for me by the fact that the observ-

ances held by the Indian government in 1956 to mark the 2,500-year anniversary of Sakyamuni's death were organized by Hindus and Muslims and attended by many non-Buddhists. For us to respond adequately to such spiritual aspirations, we must ascertain in a scholarly way what the historical Gotama Buddha actually did and what he taught, so that we may understand the spirit that pervades his deeds and doctrines.

Biographical studies of Sakyamuni abound, to the extent that some people might question the need to produce another. I have been motivated to do just that by the number of requests for a new biography of the Buddha that have come to my attention. Why should this be so?

Large numbers of biographies of the Buddha were written in the past, and modern scholars have, to a greater or lesser extent, based their studies of Sakyamuni on those past biographies. The forerunner of such biographical literature is considered to be the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Buddhavaṃsa* [contained in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*].[1] Later scholars in both Southern Asia and Europe regarded the *Nidānakathā*, the introduction to the commentary on the Pāli *Jātaka*, as the standard biography.[2] This "story of origins" (*Nidānakathā*) begins with a description of the Buddha's previous existences, then sketches the major events from the time of his birth in this world: his enlightenment, teaching activities, and conversion of disciples. It ends with him receiving the donation of the Jetavana monastery. Though this is one of the fullest records of the Buddha's life, its historical reliability is questionable in view of the fact that it was composed close to a thousand years after the time of Gotama, usually attributed to Buddhaghosa in the fifth century. An underlying historicity can be discerned, however, in the humanity and the complex emotions of the figures that appear in the biography.

As time passed, a mythological and miraculous element was added to the biographies.[3] Of biographies earlier than the *Nidānakathā*, the most complete is the *Buddhacarita* by the Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa (second century), but this too was composed at a date considerably removed from the time of Gotama, so important questions remain about its historical authenticity. Other, even earlier, biographies include the *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara*, written in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, and others extant in Chinese translation, such as the *P'u-yao-ching* (a translation by Dharmarakṣa of a version of the *Lalitavistara*, dated 308), the *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching* (a translation by Divākara of a version of the *Lalitavistara*, dated 683), the *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* (*Buddhacarita-saṃgraha-sūtra?*),

the *Chung-hsü-mo-ho-ti-ching*, the *Fo-pen-hsing-ching*, and the *Chung-pen-ch'i-ching*.[4] All of these focus largely on the mythological and legendary, regarding Sakyamuni in superhuman, deified terms. The often fantastic nature of such biographies bewilders the reader trying to ascertain historical fact. (It was works such as these that exerted a strong influence on Buddhist art, particularly painting and sculpture.)

The record of the Buddha's life that appears in the Sarvāstivādin *Saṃghabhedavastu* [the section on "schisms" in the *Vinaya*] shows some exaggeration and hyperbole when compared with the sporadic references found in the Pāli *Nikāyas*, but it is far more realistic than the later Sanskrit biographies.[5] The Chinese translation of this work, the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* by I-ching (635–713), is thought to include a considerable amount of historical fact in fascicles 1 through 9, as far as the section on the Buddha's return to Kapilavatthu.[6] After that, the numerous *Jātaka*-type elements necessitate that further study be undertaken.

The older Pāli texts are useful for an understanding of the Buddha as a historical figure; the Sanskrit biographies are far less helpful in this respect because such works as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* are fictional and exaggerated, making it difficult to distinguish the part that represents historical tradition from the rest. The *Buddhacarita* dates from the second century C.E., so it is full of Hindu concepts. The Sanskrit *Saṃghabhedavastu*, however, is far less distorted than other Sanskrit texts and thus is important for investigation of historical fact. It is also a good reference for the study of legend. It should also be remembered that the various Buddha legends in the *Vinaya*, which describe the circumstances under which the Buddha established each precept, do not extend as far as the Buddha's later years.

Some scholars attempt to find a reflection of the Buddha's biographical details in the sutras. For example, the Pāli *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* and its equivalents in Chinese translation mention the seven buddhas of the past, with a detailed account of the life of Vipassin Buddha that closely resembles later legends associated with Sakyamuni. We have sufficient reason, therefore, to believe that legends concerning Sakyamuni influenced the legend of Vipassin. The converse is also a logical possibility; it is not inconceivable that the legends about the seven buddhas of the past influenced the Buddha legend. It is not at all evident, though, how much is historical fact and how much is fiction.

We also have words attributed to Gotama Buddha himself in a *gāthā*

(verse) contained in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. On his deathbed he spoke to the old ascetic Subhadda the following words: "When I was twenty-nine, Subhadda, / I left home to seek the greatest good. / Now more than fifty years have passed, Subhadda, / Since I renounced the world."[7]

It seems likely that those who first attempted to transmit the life of the Buddha compiled some kind of list outlining the most important events in his life. We find the following words in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*: "The father of the Blessed One was King Suddhodana. His mother was Queen Māyā. The king's capital was Kapilavatthu. The Blessed One's renunciation of his home was in such a way. His leaving of home was in such a way. His religious training was in such a way. His enlightenment was in such a way. His teaching [turning the wheel of the Law] was in such a way."[8] Using such phrases, Buddhists memorized the material according to its main points and then transmitted it. Later, any amount of information could be inserted in place of the phrase *in such a way*, giving rise to many different versions or even allowing the whole text to be rewritten.

The *Vinayas* of the various sects described the period of Sakyamuni's enlightenment and his teaching activities chronologically in order to explain the circumstances surrounding the formulation of the precepts. Some such accounts, the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* for example, were circulated as independent sutras.[9] Other accounts attempted to go back before Sakyamuni's enlightenment and begin with details of the ancestors of the Sakya clan. These enterprises developed independently of each other, eventually producing diverse types of Buddha biography.

How, then, can we distinguish the historical Gotama Buddha from the mythological Sakyamuni? The authors of the different kinds of Buddha biography probably had no desire to reveal the life of the historical Gotama Buddha *as fact*, any more indeed than did the historical Buddha himself. Today, though, we live our lives with fact and fiction sharply differentiated, and we have no choice but to attempt to distinguish between the historical and the mythological. In order to do so, I suggest the following procedures:

1. Employ the critical textual analysis of modern scholarship. We must recognize that even a religious scripture is a product of history and that its formation is the result of developments in the history of thought. This means that we have first to rely on *old* texts, rather than those from later times, and further, that we have to base our research on their *oldest sections*.

We must therefore look to those sutras (*sutta*) of early Buddhism that are written in Pāli (or their equivalents in Sanskrit or in Chinese or Tibetan translation), rather than the traditional biographies previously mentioned. Of particular importance are the final two chapters of the *Suttanipāta*, the oldest of the early Buddhist texts, and its many *gāthās*. Critical research into the early texts of Buddhism is continuing, with some of the most advanced work being done by Japanese scholars. We shall therefore employ their methods and results.

2. Though mythological elements and descriptions of Sakyamuni in superhuman or deified terms are comparatively rare in the oldest sections of the oldest sutras, such elements are not completely absent. In fact, they are numerous. We cannot gain a picture of Gotama devoid of mythological elements as long as we depend only on literary sources. To break through their limitations and reach the historical person, we also need to depend on concrete material evidence, such as archaeological remains and geographic and climatic data. We may achieve considerable historicity if we can use the knowledge gained from visits to sites connected with the Buddha in conjunction with statements in the Buddhist scriptures. This procedure is vital in a country like India, where literary documents are not always reliable.

In relation to this, various episodes of Gotama Buddha's life are depicted in the reliefs at Sāñcī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[10] They teach us much about how to interpret traditional biographical materials, and they furnish clues for determining when the biographies were composed and where they originated. (I discuss this point in more detail in the next section.)

3. A large number of documents were composed in India during the time of Gotama Buddha as well as in the preceding period. Specifically, works such as the *Vedas* (including the *Upaniṣads*) were written prior to Buddhism. Though their present form developed considerably later, the Jaina scriptures and the sacred epics, such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the various law codes, contain extremely ancient elements. If we compare these with Buddhist works as a whole, we see vast differences, but if we compare the oldest stratum of the Buddhist texts with the oldest strata of the Jaina scriptures and the epics, and with the oldest *Upaniṣads*, the similarities are surprisingly great. It is not going too far to say that they are directly linked, with very few differences. This fact is important, though it is a matter that few scholars have yet taken up. If we compare the oldest Buddhist texts with those non-Buddhist texts that

hardly differ from them and we are able all the same to pinpoint distinctions and discrepancies, we may be able to clarify the historical significance of Sakyamuni as a person.

In other words, instead of using a particular Buddha biography as a base, we should collect all the fragmentary references within the Buddhist scriptures, analyze them critically, and link them as seems fit, so that we might form a picture that comes *close to* representing the historical Gotama Buddha. It is, of course, impossible even today to portray a historical figure as he or she actually was, because a biographer will always add subjective evaluation and criticism. How much greater, then, is the difficulty when we are dealing with a great religious figure of historical importance who lived 2,500 years ago. Difficult as it may be, however, let us proceed with the investigation using the methods just mentioned.

As we have seen, there is a wealth of source material concerning Gotama Buddha, far more than for Confucius or Jesus Christ, for example. The problem thus becomes one of selection. There are also, as Erich Frauwallner has pointed out, far more historical facts available for the Buddha than for his near contemporaries, the Greeks Thales and Pythagoras.[11] There can be no doubt concerning the existence of the person who advocated the unique thought that we attribute to him.

We have also noted that the traditional biographies of the Buddha were composed long after his death. There is nothing in the oldest stratum of the sutras that can be considered biography per se, only fragmentary references to Gotama Buddha's life. *The Buddha's direct disciples and others who heard him were not concerned with the life of Gotama Buddha in a biographical sense.* This becomes very apparent when we compare Buddhism with Christianity, for the New Testament is directly concerned with narrating the life of Christ. The German Buddhologist Hermann Oldenberg wrote: "There is nothing either in the Buddha's life or in his death to compare with the story of Christ's Passion [*Passionsgeschichte*] in the New Testament. For the perfected person [the Tathāgata] nothing truly arose [*geschehen*] and so there was no suffering."[12] Though there were in the Buddha's life antagonisms and conflicts (with Devadatta, for example) based on personal grievances or differences in religious practice, there were virtually no instances of pressure or persecution from those in political power.[13]

On the surface, the Buddha's life was the epitome of tranquillity, so the idea of persecution was not that meaningful. But more importantly, to the Indian as well as to the Buddhist way of thinking, universal Law is more valued than individual phenomena. Buddhists therefore have tended to

hide the person and achievements of Gotama Buddha behind a veil of mythological symbolism and imagination in order to emphasize the significance of the universal and eternal Law (Dharma). Future study must carefully differentiate earlier from later source materials and place them in the right order.[14]

THE LIFE OF GOTAMA BUDDHA IN ART

A detailed examination of the literary style and form of the early Buddhist writings has made it possible for us to reconstruct in a critical manner how tales of the Buddha's life developed over the generations. It has also become possible to attempt a biography of the Buddha based on modern critical textual study, aided by comparative studies of the events of the Buddha's life with non-Buddhist source material, consideration of the social background, and the linking evidence of archaeological discoveries.

Archaeological materials and artistic works are invaluable as an indirect means of understanding and interpreting documentary accounts. Visual expressions of the Buddha's life, corresponding to the various traditional biographies, appeared in the form of illustrated lives of the Buddha and sculptural depictions. Such representations tended to show a single episode in the Buddha's life, though in some cases they linked several important episodes. Sculpture depicting such a continuous narrative is a form of Buddha biography. For example, the reliefs on the balustrade of the stupa at Bhārhut in central India portray twenty-two episodes illustrating various tales from the Buddha legend.[15]

At first the life of the Buddha was depicted only symbolically: a bodhi tree expressed enlightenment, a Dharma wheel represented the first discourse, and a stupa symbolized nirvana.[16] Gradually the events in Sakyamuni's life came to be written and drawn in greater detail. Early expressions, such as "Pilgrimage to the Sacred Places" and "Pilgrimage to the Great Vihāra of Buddhagayā," do not show the person of Sakyamuni; from these evolved illustrations of the Buddha's life, such as "Conquering Māra and Attaining Enlightenment." Still later, actual images of the Buddha illustrated the various events of his life.[17] Eventually the events of the Buddha's life were arranged into groups of four.[18] A particularly good example is reliefs from Amarāvatī dating from early in the third century, now in the Government Museum, Madras, showing Sakyamuni leaving the palace, his enlightenment, his first discourse, and worship at a stupa (nirvana).

There are also examples of reliefs depicting the eight important events in Sakyamuni's life: the descent from the Tusita heaven, conception, birth, leaving the palace, quelling demons, enlightenment, the first discourse, and nirvana.[19] A complete work of this type has been found at Sārnāth. After this time, pictorial representations of the Buddha's life grew fewer, perhaps indicating that Sakyamuni's life no longer commanded so much attention.[20] Many twentieth-century scholarly works discuss the Buddha's life in relation to archaeological remains and artistic representations.[21]

Works of art are valuable in that they draw for us a total picture of the social, geographic, and intellectual background of the time when the Buddha was alive. Here are excerpts from my introduction to Takashi Koezuka's collection of photographs, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* (The life of Sakyamuni in the fine arts), discussing the Buddha's life as the fine arts depict it:[22]

> People who venerated Sakyamuni yearned fervently to know about the events of his life. Our forefathers were not content with merely worshiping before a Buddha image and chanting a sutra; they also tried to express the Buddha's life in a tangible, pictorial form. The crystallization of their aspirations is to be found in the unique art form they developed, illustrated versions of the *Sutra of Cause and Effect*, a biography of the Buddha [*Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*]. What we see here, however, in lifestyle, dress, and architecture, is China of the Six Dynasties period [222–589] or of the T'ang period [618–907], which is considerably divergent from the actual life of the historical Gotama Buddha, born in India. How, then, can we come to grips with the actual person and deeds of Gotama Buddha? Today various avenues enable us to approach the person of the Great Teacher more closely.
>
> 1. We can study the climate and geography of India and the extent to which it influences and affects people.
>
> 2. We can conduct archaeological investigations of sites associated with the Buddha, for historical remains have much to teach us.
>
> 3. A large number of sculptures concerning the Buddha's life still remain in India. Though we have virtually no examples of painting earlier than the Gupta period, a wealth of sculpture has been discovered, and some of this depicts in detail scenes from the Buddha's life.
>
> If we compare the knowledge gained from these sources with what appears in literature, a more definite shape of the Buddha's life should be within our grasp. *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* is an example of

what may be attained by such means. Though similar attempts have been made before, it is no exaggeration to say that none have been as successful as this in achieving what it has set out to do. . . .

All the same I must impress on readers that what is depicted in these works of art is not Sakyamuni as a historical person, for they date from many generations after his time. What they do express is the life of Sakyamuni as depicted within the faith of early Buddhists. Their deep, sincere devotion compels our admiration.

These photographs are also a rich, endless trove for understanding the life and spiritual aspirations not just of Buddhists but of all ancient Indians. Even a glance will set us on the path to many discoveries. They bring ancient India to life. We see in front of us many of the people mentioned in the Buddhist texts: the kings Ajātasattu, Undena, and Pasenadi, and the Buddha's father Suddhodana, seated on a chair with a parasol over his head. The Buddha's mother, Māyā, also appears in a delightfully intimate way, seated beside her husband, in no way inferior to the king in dignity. We can also glimpse the luxurious life of the royal palace. At his coronation, the king was annointed with water in a ritual called *abhiṣeka*; this is portrayed vividly.

The photographs also show contemporary school life. As a boy, Sakyamuni went to school and learned his lessons with his friends, his slate propped on his knees. Vedic education consisted of memorizing the sacred works, so such things as slates were not necessary. The education Sakyamuni received was practical, not sacred, however, and so it was written down. We may suppose that the Buddha learned subjects far removed from the Vedic teachings of the Brahmins.

All the same, this collection is also extremely useful for an understanding of Vedic religion. Indra, the greatest and strongest deity in Vedic mythology, holds in his hand an implement called a *vajra*, literally, "diamond." *Vajra*, used here metaphorically to mean "a weapon as hard as a diamond," was often translated by the Chinese with a compound meaning "diamond pounder." We cannot gauge from literature exactly what kind of weapon it was, but the question is answered instantly on perusing photographs where the *vajradhara*, *vajra*-wielding *yakṣas* who protect Buddhism, make frequent appearances.

Another question often asked concerns the lifestyle of the Brahmins. In this collection we see depicted the Brahmin Doṇa who gave counsel concerning the division of the Buddha's relics, and the three Kassapa brothers, who were fire-worshiping Brahmins. We know from the

Mahābhārata and the *Rāmāyaṇa* that sages (*ṛṣi*) lived in huts; Prince Siddhārtha visited a number of them seeking their teachings. The sage Asita is portrayed in the Gandhāran manner as a Greek philosopher. We also see ascetics, their bones protruding from lack of nourishment, and the naked practitioners common in Jainism and other religions.

As was common in the period before the development of Gandhāran art, neither the Buddha nor the Buddhist practitioners were portrayed directly; people were apparently reluctant to depict the human figures of holy people who had transcended the ordinary realm. Gandhāran art, though, having developed a realistic bent under the influence of Greek thought, depicted *bhikkhus* directly; these ancient *bhikkhus* very closely resemble their modern counterparts in Sri Lanka and Burma. We can therefore say that the outward form of Buddhist practitioners has changed very little in Southern Buddhism from ancient times.

On the contrary, there is an abundance of images of the devotional posture of lay believers, sometimes bowing with the palms of their hands pressed together, sometimes kneeling, sometimes prostrating themselves. In most cases the pressed hands are held at chest level; not, as the Japanese Zen master Dōgen later stipulated, at eye level. When the hands are raised above chest level, it is usually because the person is below a platform on which the Buddha is sitting. There is also evidence of the custom of touching the pedestal on which the Buddha's footprint is depicted. This tradition is still followed today in Hinduism: some tombs of Hindu saints take the form of a square platform (similar in shape to the platform at Bodhgayā, but larger), in front of which are people with their heads bowed in meditation and their hands touching the tomb. This custom can be traced back to the time of Stupa no. 1 at Sāñcī, or even earlier.

Sculptures portray not only religious themes but secular scenes such as the pleasures of life in the palace; here we meet Ambapālī, acclaimed as one of India's most beautiful courtesans (*gaṇikā*).

India at the Time of the Rise of Buddhism

When Buddhism and Jainism arose in India, cities (*nagara*) already existed and were the focus of political power.[23] Teachings that were considered heterodox by orthodox Brahmanism, such as Buddhism and Jainism, arose around the same time as urban centers developed, as evidenced by the

fact that the word *nagara* cannot be found in the *Vedas*, suggesting that cities had not yet come into being at that time. Iron utensils were widely used among the masses. Because wealth tended to accumulate in the towns, people there enjoyed affluent lives; it was also during the period of Buddhism's emergence that cosmetics came to be used in a variety of ways. Power lay with the wealthy, who came to govern the internal affairs of the urban centers. Republican governments ruled several regions, and monarchs dominated the rest. Over time, areas of republican rule came under the control of kings. Early Buddhist canonical literature recorded the existence of seven or ten major kingdoms; later the stereotyped expression *the sixteen great kingdoms* (*soḷasa mahājanapada*) came to be used. The caste system was collapsing. A system of slavery existed in India but, though slaves were punished severely for faults, there are no records of large-scale exploitation as in the West.

Responding to social conditions, Buddhism attempted to give suitable direction to the political rulers of the time. The Buddhist canonical works are a rich source for the study of ancient Indian society and geography. A number of *Jātaka* tales reveal the king to be the owner of the land and the farmers merely tenants or hired laborers. Study of the economic conditions of the time shows that the monetary system was weak and that the various guilds lacked the strength of their later equivalents in the West.

It is clear that the merchant class, growing rapidly at the time Buddhism arose, embraced the teachings of the Buddha, which offered them a social position above that which Brahmanism permitted. Philosophically, Buddhism could not allow certain classes to assume social precedence over others in the way Brahmanism allowed the Brahmins and Ksatriyas to do. It was in such a social environment that Gotama Buddha appeared.

1. Birth

Historical Background

THE SAKYAS

It has been customary in India from ancient times to refer to the founder of Buddhism as the Buddha. This usage has been widely followed throughout southern Asia and the West. In China, *buddha* was transliterated first as *fo* and later as *fo-t'o*; the same characters used in Chinese are also used in Japan.[1] *Buddha* means "enlightened one; one who has realized the truth." It was with this meaning that it was also translated into a Chinese compound, *chüeh-che* or *ta-chüeh,* taken from "The Adjustment of Controversies" chapter of the *Chuang-tzu,* a classic of the fourth-century B.C.E. Chinese sage Chuang-tzu.[2] The Tibetans translated *Buddha* as *saṅs-rgyas,* meaning "purified, advanced being." In all cases, these are not proper nouns but rather common nouns denoting the ideal Buddhist existence.[3] Any number of buddhas may exist; Buddhism considers their number to be infinite.[4]

The historical founder of Buddhism is referred to as Gotama Buddha. *Gotama Buddha* is the Pāli rendition of the name;[5] in Sanskrit it is written as *Gautama Buddha,* as it is in Hindi and in Sinhalese, the Indic language of Sri Lanka that has become extremely close to Sanskrit since the twelfth or thirteenth century. For uniformity it would probably be better to employ the spelling *Gautama* because it is the Sanskrit form and is widely used in Sinhalese. Though *Gautama* is appropriate as a general designa-

tion, I use the Pāli *Gotama* for this book. First, *Gotama* is easy to pronounce, making it more accessible, and second, even if English and French speakers write *Gautama*, they tend to pronounce it "Gotama" anyway. *Buddha* was a designation for an enlightened person commonly used by other Indian religions at the time Buddhism arose; as such, it was directly adopted by Buddhists as well. I deal with the two expressions in more detail below.

The Japanese tend to call the Buddha *Oshaka-sama* or *Shaka*.[6] Ancient Buddhist writings record that Gotama Buddha was born into the Sakya (Sākiya; Skt., Śākya) tribe,[7] and this is confirmed by a reliquary inscription from Piprāhwā.[8] Strictly speaking, *Sakyas* refers to a tribe (*jāti*), to which Gotama belonged and which originally lived in the Terai basin in modern Nepal.[9] The Buddha was sometimes called "son of the Sakyas," meaning "born of the Sakyas," in the same way that Mahāvīra, founder of Jainism, was called Nātaputta, "son of the Nātas."[10] *Sakya* means "able and powerful person," perhaps indicating that the tribe held power in the region.

Gotama Buddha is also referred to as *Sakyamuni* (Skt., Śākyamuni), "sage of the Sakyas."[11] The Japanese epithet *Shakuson* may translate this meaning, or it might be an abbreviation of *Shakamuni seson* ("Sakyamuni, the World-honored One"). The title *Sakyamuni* appears only occasionally in the oldest strata of the early Buddhist canonical writings.

Probably, from the earliest period of Buddhism, Sakyamuni was regarded as being a descendant of Okkāka (Skt., Ikṣvāku; *Sn.*, 991), a hero and a king whose name appears in Vedic canonical literature from the time of the oldest anthology, the *Ṛg Veda* (X, 60, 4).[12] In India King Ikṣvāku is generally believed to be the son of Manu, the father of the human race and progenitor of the solar dynasty; Buddhist canonical literature names him the ancestor of the Sakya tribe. Chinese translators of Buddhist texts frequently translated his name as *Kan-che-wang*, literally, the "sugar cane king," based on the popular etymology of *ikṣu* (Skt.) meaning "sugar cane."[13] Scholars conjecture that the Ikṣvāku family originally ruled the Pūru tribe. They were certainly rulers in the upper reaches of the Indus or Ganges, but in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Purāṇas* Ikṣvāku is said specifically to have been the ancestor of the princes claiming to be the offspring of the sun, who ruled the country of Kosala (Skt., Kauśala), particularly the town of Ayodhyā.[14] The *Purāṇa* canonical literature claims that Pasenadi (Skt., Prasenajit), the king of Kosala at the time of Sakyamuni, also is the offspring of Ikṣvāku, and lists his genealogy. The name Ikṣvāku

also appears frequently in the Jaina scriptures as a holy king of ancient times.

We do not know exactly to what race the Sakyas belonged. British historian Vincent A. Smith shocked Western scholars and brought ridicule on himself with his assertion that Gotama Buddha was "a Mongolian by birth, that is to say, a hill-man like a Gūrkha with Mongolian features, and akin to Tibetans."[15] All the same, if the Sakyas were Nepalese, they might very well have belonged to a non-Aryan people.[16] When I meet Nepalese, I am struck by the degree to which they resemble the Japanese and how different they are in appearance from the majority of Indians. Though the origins of the Japanese people are unclear, scholars acknowledge that the Japanese language is related to the Ural-Altaic family of languages. Most Nepalese speak an Indo-Aryan language called Nepali; other languages spoken include Newārī and Pahāṛī, both of which exhibit a considerable Indo-Aryan influence and are written in the Indian Devanagari script. Despite this, however, the majority of Nepalese are not of Aryan descent. Though the Japanese, Koreans, Mongolians, Tibetans, Nepalese, and Burmese are by no means racially identical, they do share certain characteristics. It would be interesting, therefore, if some racial connection did exist between the Sakyas and the Japanese.

There remain, however, many unanswered questions concerning the race of the Sakyas. What is certain is that they were to a great extent Indian in culture, since their lineage belonged to the Aryan mythological tradition. If we accept that their mythical lineage was related to their origin as a tribe, then the Sakyas would seem to have been Aryan, in contrast to the majority of Nepalese. The inscription on the Piprāhwā reliquary containing Sakya remains, discovered by William Claxton Peppé, is written in an Aryan vernacular, the earliest extant inscription in an Aryan language. This seems to add weight to the hypothesis that the Sakyas were Aryan. If so, the popular assumption that Sakyamuni was an Indian would be reasonable.

The American anthropologist G. T. Bowles carried out an ethnic survey of India, extending into Nepal.[17] His results show that the majority of people living in the Terai basin are Aryans of Mediterranean stock and that Mongoloid traits are to be found only in pockets here and there. These people are culturally Indian to a large extent, and it is very possible that a similar pattern existed two and a half thousand years ago.

The region between Gorakhpur, a current industrial center in India, and

Lumbinī in Nepal is one of broad fields, carpeted in rape blossoms in January, with stands of mango and neem trees. The border between the two countries runs through the rape fields and is indicated only by a feeble crosspiece on the road.

Geography influences culture. Although most of Nepal speaks Nepali, people in Lumbinī province speak Abadhi. The word *Abadhi* derives from the Sanskrit *avadhi,* meaning "remote land." That language has also been spoken in India. To the ancient Indians, culture extended as far as Lumbinī province; beyond was barbarism. Because of this we may suppose that the Sakyas and Sakyamuni himself were under considerable influence from Indian culture.

Myths and legends surround the origin of the Sakya tribe; early canonical literature (the *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*) records one version within a dialogue between the Buddha and a Brahmin youth called Ambaṭṭha.

"Ambaṭṭha! To what clan [*gotta*] do you belong?"[18]

"I am a Kaṇhāyana, Gotama."

"But, Ambaṭṭha, if you think about your name and clan from ancient times on both your father's and your mother's sides, [you will find] that the Sakyas are descendants of the master [*ayya-puttā*] while you are the descendants of a woman slave [*dāsī*] of the Sakyas. The Sakyas hold King Okkāka as their ancestor. Long ago, King Okkāka, wanting to transfer the succession to the son of a beloved consort, banished his four elder sons, Okkāmukha, Karaṇḍu, Hatthinīya, and Sīnipura, from his territory. Thus banished, they made their dwelling at the foot of the Himalayas by the banks of a lake, where there was a large forest of *sāka* trees. [That is, when they were banished through the contrivance of their stepmother, they settled down at Kapilavatthu, making it their new capital.] Because they were afraid of corrupting their bloodline [*jāti*], they took their sisters in marriage.

King Okkāka asked the ministers in his retinue, 'Where then are the princes dwelling now?'

'They are living, Sire, in a place where there is a large forest of *sāka* trees, by the banks of a lake on the slopes of the Himalayas. Because they were afraid of corrupting their bloodline, they took their sisters in marriage.'

Greatly pleased, King Okkāka exclaimed, 'Able [*sakya*] are the princes! Supremely able are the princes!' Henceforth they were known as the Sakyas, and they were the ancestors [*pubbapurisā*] of the Sakya tribe."[19]

Here Sakyamuni explains, with pride in the pedigree of the Sakyas, that the Sakyas are the descendants of the master, whereas the Brahmins are the descendants of a woman slave. His claim constitutes a public challenge to Brahmins and their pride in the purity of their lineage. No doubt underlying his confidence was his interpretation of the Sakya name as meaning "able."[20]

The mention of founding a settlement and dwelling in it also marks development of a culture and customs that differ markedly from those subscribed to by the same tribe in earlier times. It appears that at the time of the Buddha marriages between brothers and sisters were already thought to be contrary to good custom. Later documents record that when the Sakyas fought with the neighboring Koḷiyas over water rights to the Rohiṇī River, which divided their lands,[21] the Koḷiyas derided the Sakyas as "descendants of people who married their own sisters, like dogs or foxes,"[22] proof that the ancient legend continued to live in later times.

In the Chinese translation of the text, this sibling marriage was transformed to those within the third degree of kinship, that is, uncles and nieces, and aunts and nephews.

> The mothers of the four princes and their associates all kept [the four princes] in their thoughts. And so they came together and discussed the matter, and went to King Okkāka and appealed to him: "Great king! A great amount of time has passed since we parted with the four princes. We wish to go and see them."
>
> The king pronounced: "If you wish to go, please yourselves."
>
> Then the mothers and their associates, having heard the king's pronouncement, went immediately to where the four princes were dwelling in a teak [Skt., *śāka*; Pāli, *sāka*] forest south of the Himalayas. Then the mothers said: "We will give your sons our daughters. Give our sons your daughters." And so they married each other and became husbands and wives. Their sons, when born, were seemly in their features.
>
> When King Okkāka heard that the mothers of his four sons had given their daughters as his sons' wives and that their sons were fine and upstanding, he pronounced, with great joy: "They are true Sakyas, the true sons of Sakyas, for skillfully have they survived." As a result they were called Sakyas. In China, *sakya* means "skillful."[23]

This passage indicates that the mothers could not forget their children and so penetrated the Himalayas to meet them. It also mentions that the princes already had children and that the mothers had children other

than the four princes, thus making the whole story inconsistent. The Pāli version is much simpler and the story line is far stronger. What probably happened is that the Chinese translator, according to Confucian principles, wanted to avoid the fact of marriage between brothers and sisters, and so deviated from the original text. Indeed, there are many other instances in the Chinese translation of Buddhist texts where this happened.

The *Wu-fen-lü* version gives the legend in the words of Sakyamuni:

> Long ago there was a king. His name was Okkāka. He had four sons; the first was named Okkāmukha, the second was named Karaṇḍu, the third was named Hatthinīya, and the fourth was named Sīnipura. They were surpassing in wisdom, virtuous, and full of dignity.
>
> The chief wife had a son named Dīghāyu [Skt., Dīrghāyus]. He was foolish, weak, ugly, and base, and he was despised by all. The queen said to herself: "Though my son is the senior, he is inferior to others in ability. The other four princes are virtuous and full of dignity. Surely they will ascend the throne. I must devise a plan to strengthen [my] son's position. What will aid me is that the king holds me in great affection, surpassing the other wives. I shall first ask the king, showing my emotion, and then accomplish my plan with reason." And doing as she planned, she dressed herself in her finery, and when the king came to her, welcomed him in reverence. When the king tried to approach more closely, she began to cry. The king asked why she was crying, and in reply she said, "I cannot accomplish even my slightest desire. I am spent."
>
> The king said, "I pledge to you that I will bring about your desire if it is a reasonable one."
>
> Straightaway she said to him, "Your four sons are all virtuous and full of dignity. [Though] our son is the senior, he is inferior in ability. Without a doubt he will be overthrown when he succeeds to the throne. If you would only banish the four princes, my mind would be at rest."
>
> The king replied, "The four princes are full of filial piety and brotherly harmony and are no threat to the country. How can I banish them?"
>
> His wife answered, "I am anxious [for my child] as well as for our state. Because the four princes are all virtuous and full of dignity, each of them will find followers. Should [they] compete, they would destroy each other, and how could we be sure of the throne after your retirement?"

"Stop! Stop! No more," the king said, and he immediately ordered the four princes to leave the country. Obeying his order, the princes dressed in dignified clothes. Then the mothers of the princes, and their sisters, all requested that they might depart also; and their strong men, their various workmen, and Brahmins, rich men, householders, and ordinary people begged that they might accompany them. The king acceded to all their requests.

The princes bowed and departed, and crossed the Bhāgīrathī River until they came to a place north of the Himalayas where the land was flat and broad, with a refreshing landscape all around. Fruits grew in profusion, and there were all manner of animals and birds. Seeing this, the four princes called the Brahmins, rich men, and householders and discussed [the area] with them, saying, "So far there was no place better than this. Shall we remain here?" Because none disagreed, they halted immediately and built a city there. As the years passed, the city grew more and more prosperous, until it came to rule over a major kingdom.

Seven years after [the four princes] had left, their father the king recalled them to mind, and asked his ministers, "Where are my four sons dwelling now?"

[The ministers] replied, "They are dwelling in a place north of the Himalayas, near the forest of *sāka* trees [Sāka-saṇḍa]. They have built their palace and laid out their city. The people are prosperous, the land is fertile, and the fields are rich. Nor is anyone in need of food or clothing."

Hearing this, the king was deeply impressed and said: "Able are my children!" In this way they came to be called the Sakya [*sākya* meaning "able"] tribe.[24]

Because the Sakyas did not follow the Brahmanical traditions, Brahmins regarded them as coarse and strange. In the *Ambaṭṭha-sutta,* the Brahmin youth from Kosala, Ambaṭṭha, spoke to Sakyamuni in the following way: "'Rough are they who are born as Sakyas, Gotama. Vulgar are they who are born as Sakyas. Imprudent are they who are born as Sakyas. Violent are the Sakyas. They do not venerate, value, respect, make offerings to, or honor the Brahmins even though they are menials. It is not seemly or fitting that these Sakyas, being menials, do not venerate, value, respect, make offerings to, or honor the Brahmins,' said the young Brahmin Ambaṭṭha, flinging degrading words at the Sakyas for the first time."[25]

The Sakyas ignored the authority of the Brahmins, and so the Brahmins despised them. "'There are four classes [*vaṇṇa*],' [said the Brahmin youth Ambaṭṭha], 'kings, Brahmins, common people, and slaves.[26] Of these four classes, the kings, common people, and slaves all serve the Brahmins. It is not seemly or fitting that the Sakyas, menials though they are, do not venerate, value, respect, make offerings to, or honor the Brahmins.' In this way, Ambaṭṭha for the third time flung degrading words at the Sakyas."[27]

The Sakyas had a sort of republican government. There was a congress hall in their capital, Kapilavatthu. A Buddhist scripture says that when a Brahmin had occasion to go there, he found in the hall numbers of Sakya kings and princes, seated all in high places, all joking and laughing and playing around. The Brahmin believed that he himself was the butt of their laughter.[28] The word for "congress hall" (*santhāgāra*) is never used in connection with royal conferences; it therefore appears that the Sakyas exercised a republican government. After the Buddha attained enlightenment and returned to his home, the Sakya nobles were discussing politics in the congress hall.[29] When the Sakyas later built a new congress hall in Kapilavatthu, the Buddha and his followers were invited to the newly constructed building to preach.[30] When the Mallās of Pāvā built a new congress hall called Ubbhaṭaka they immediately asked Sakyamuni to visit it.[31] Another story relates how General Viḍūḍabha reacted angrily when he went to the land of the Sakyas, where his mother had been born, and was treated with contempt because of his mother's humble clan status, and of how the place where he sat in the congress hall was regarded as defiled.[32] The episode reveals that only those of high rank gathered in the congress hall. It is said that in his later years the Buddha praised the republican system; perhaps this was due to the experience in his youth of meeting and debating in the congress hall.[33] Generally speaking, the atmosphere of the Sakya clan was liberal, and even, for the time, progressive and reformist. Such was the intellectual environment from which the Buddha emerged.

The Sakyas had long been subordinate to the rulers of Kosala.[34] According to the *Suttanipāta*, an old verse attributed to Sakyamuni at the time of his ascetic practice says: "(422) On the middle slopes of those Snow Mountains [Himalayas], O King, there live a people, the inhabitants of Kosala, who are upright in nature[35] and endowed with wealth and courage."[36] They were perhaps in a tributary relationship with Kosala

(approximately the modern Oudh region), then a newly emergent power that also governed Ajodhya (Skt., Ayodhyā) and Kāsi (Skt., Kāśi; modern Varanasi), and there must have been a number of other small, weak tribal lands, like those of the Sakyas, that were also subordinate to Kosala. This connection with Kosala seems to have continued in the Buddha's later years as well. The *Aggañña-suttanta* records him as saying:

> The Sakyas are the vassals of King Pasenadi of Kosala. The Sakyas are submissive to him, bow before him, rise from their seats to greet him, join their palms in prayer for him, and take a humble position before him. In the same way King Pasenadi of Kosala is submissive to the Tathāgata, bows before him, and takes a humble position before him. The king says: "Is not the *samaṇa* Gotama of good birth [*sujāta*]; I am not well born [*dujjāta*]. The *samaṇa* Gotama is strong, but I am weak. He has beauty, I am ugly. He has great influence, I have only a little influence."[37]

It is doubtful, of course, whether such a powerful king would have uttered these humble words. The above passage does tell us, though, that the king of Kosala recognized that the Buddha was of good birth, even though he was a Sakya, and that Kosala was more powerful than the Sakyas. It is certain that Pasenadi highly respected Sakyamuni as a religious figure, for he traveled in his vehicle through Sakya towns, such as Nagaraka, to see the Buddha. The Sakyas, being subordinate to Kosala, may actually have been of a different ethnic group from those who lived in Kosala. Later they would be destroyed by the might of that country.

The Sakyas were closely connected with the Koḷiyas who lived to their east. It is thought that both peoples were originally of the same tribe. The Koḷiyas, like the Sakyas, also built up a small territory. Their capital was Devadaha, in the vicinity of Dividamar in Nepal; in recent years archaeological excavations have confirmed its site. The two tribes had intermarried for many years; though there was the occasional dispute over water rights, relations between the two were cordial. Sometimes people even referred to both the Sakyas and the Koḷiyas together as holding the Sakya territory. It is a small area, more or less in the region of the present Terai basin, extending approximately sixty kilometers north to south and eighty kilometers east to west.

It is said that the Sakyas practiced the distinctive custom of cross-

cousin marriage.[38] This marriage of the children of siblings is widely practiced in undeveloped societies. I have set out in table 1 diagrams of such marriages as recorded in the legends of Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka). The only source for this information, however, is Pāli literature of a relatively late period—chronicles or commentaries—rather than the oldest scriptures. Some scholars therefore believe that the legend of cross-cousin marriage was developed by Ceylonese writers of later times.[39] Because such primitive customs would tend to disappear as the state grew larger, however, it would be natural to think that cross-cousin marriage occurred in a very ancient period. It is still followed today in Fiji, for example. It was also practiced, even encouraged, among the Dravidian-speaking people of southern India[40] and occurred among the Rājput people of northern India.[41] It is probably safe to assume, therefore, that cross-cousin marriage was also a custom of the Sakyas. Marriage between such close relations may also have been a response to the perceived need to preserve the purity of the tribe's bloodline, as in the legend noted previously. In modern India, although the marriage of first cousins is forbidden by law, society tolerates unmarried cousins living together because they cannot marry formally. However, it is considered immoral for young unmarried couples who are not so related to live together. At the least, the custom remains firmly rooted in the more conservative southern part of the country.

Some scholars assert that Sakya society was matrilineal.[42] This assertion is, however, doubtful. There are no examples of a man marrying into the wife's family and assuming her family name. Neither are there any examples of a child taking the mother's family name, as can be seen in later inscriptions from southern India. Furthermore, we have a quotation from Sakyamuni placed in the mouth of an ancient sage that "[my] authority is the clan of my father."[43] The existence of a patrilineal system would mean that the Sakyas were closer to the Aryans than to the native races.

According to one tradition, the Sakyas and Koḷiyas had "82,000 kings, who were all related and prayed for one another's prosperity."[44] Though the number is no doubt a rhetorical exaggeration, one can conjecture that a noble class practiced a kind of republican government in partnership. "King" in this case probably refers to the Ksatriya caste.

According to Sherpas (Tibetan people living on the southern slopes of the Himalayas in Nepal), there is even today a people called the Sakyas. They are tall, dark, with high-bridged noses, and of a proud and dignified

Table 1. Cross-cousin marriages of the Sakya clan according to the tradition of Ceylon
(*Dīpavaṃsa*, III, 44–47; *Mahāvaṃsa*, II, 15–24)

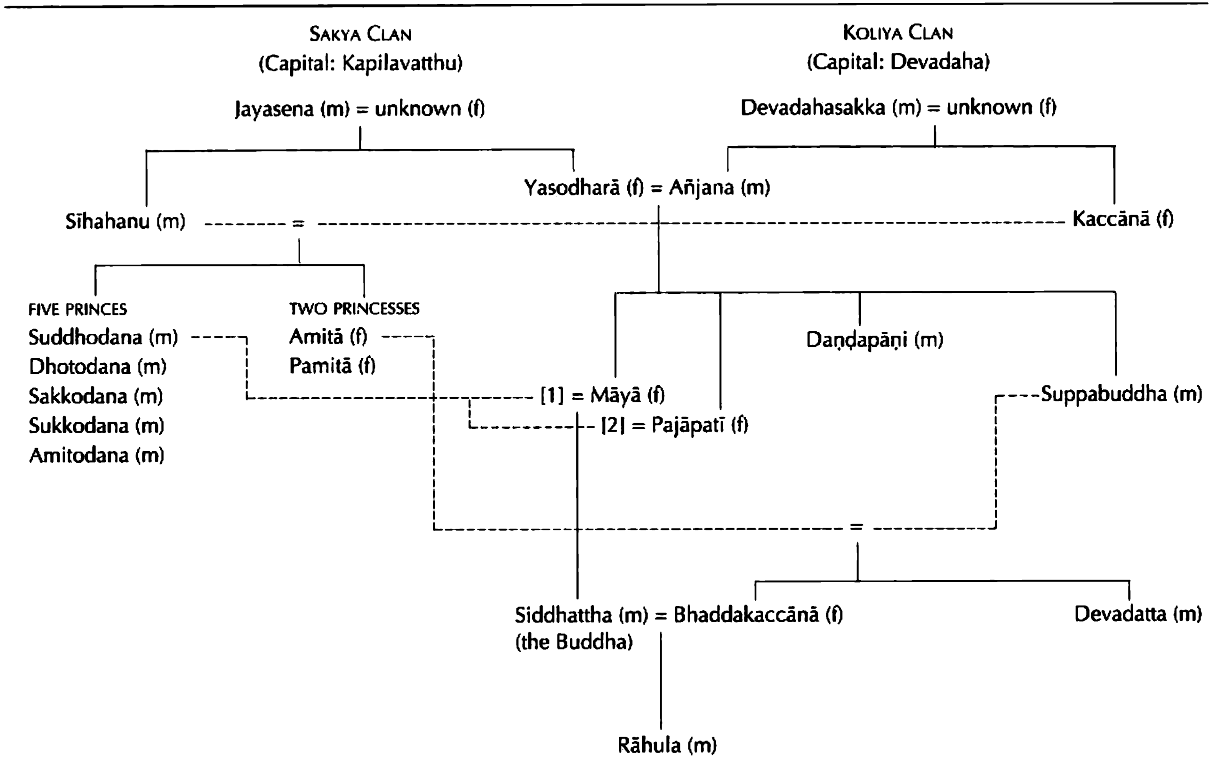


Table 2. Sanskrit forms of the names in table 1 according to Bernhard Breloer, "Die Śākyas," *ZDMG*, new series, no. 19, 1940.

I		II	
MALES [Kapilavastu]	FEMALES [Devahrada]	MALES [Devahrada]	FEMALES [Kapilavastu]
Jayasena	unknown	unknown (usually called Devahrada-Śākya)	unknown
Siṃhahanu	Kātyāyanā	Añjana	Yaśodharā
Śuddhodana*	Māyā; Prajāpatī	Suprabuddha	Amṛtā
Siddhārtha (the Buddha)	Bhadra-Kātyāyanā	Devadatta	unknown
Rāhula			

* His three brothers were Droṇodana, Śuklodana, and Amṛtodana.

disposition. It is not known whether there is any relationship between these Sakyas and those of old.

LINEAGE OF THE BUDDHA

In early verses, Gotama Buddha is frequently called Ādiccabandhu, "the sun's kinsman," which was translated into Chinese using the compound *jih-chung*, "race of the sun."[45] A *Suttanipāta* verse (423) says that this is his clan (*gotta*) name. Gotama was, therefore, a member of a clan within the Sakya tribe whose members traced their ancestry from the sun, a clan proud to be called "kinsmen of the sun."

Myths in which certain royal families claim solar descent are not limited to India. Japanese mythology connected with the sun a deity described as the ancestor of the imperial house, Amaterasu Ōmikami [Great Divinity Illuminating Heaven], and American Indians have similar myths. Just as the Japanese were proud of the solar myth about the origins of their imperial house, the Indian Buddhists must have been proud that the clan of Sakyamuni claimed solar descent. Indian epic poetry also contains legends that the entire human race is descended from the sun.[46]

The fact that the Sakyas were called kinsmen of the sun may indicate that they practiced sun worship, which would suggest they led an agricultural life. Desert existence does not give rise to sun worship: there the sun is the source of blazing heat and many afflictions. Places with hot, wet cli-

mates, such as the Pacific and Caribbean islands, take heat and sunlight for granted and rarely develop sun cults. To those engaged in agriculture, however, the sun is a benefactor, providing the warmth and light necessary to grow crops, and so it is worshiped as the bestower of blessings. Sun worship was not widespread when the Aryans were still hunters and nomads; it became popular after they settled around the Ganges River, and especially after they began growing rice, which depends on sunlight. The sun cult emerged in the rice and sugar cane lands stretching from Gorakhpur to Lumbinī, and it is not hard to understand why large temples to the sun were built in Orissa starting in the tenth century.

The conventional explanation of later ages concerning the Indian legend is that those who were members of royal families by birth were of solar descent (Skt., *sūryavaṃśa*; Pāli, *suriyavaṃsa*), whereas those who were not of royal birth but later became kings were considered to be of lunar descent (Skt., *candravaṃśa;* Pāli, *candavaṃsa*).[47]

Accounts in Buddhist literature that the Sakya kings were of solar descent and descended from Ikṣvāku derive from similar Indian traditions. Though the Sakyas were vassals of the Kosalas, Sakya kings claimed to be of the same ancestry as Kosala kings and by this token considered themselves of equal rank in lineage.

The Buddha's family name was Gotama. In some instances this is considered to be his clan (*gotta*) name.[48] A poet named Gautama [the Sanskrit form of *Gotama*] appears in the *Ṛg Veda.*[49] Its plural form indicates his descendants. That Gautama is not, however, given credit as the author of any poem in the *Ṛg Veda*. The name *Gautama* also appears in the *Brāhmaṇas,* where it means "descendants of Gotama."[50] In ordinary Sanskrit, *Gautama* is a patronymic meaning "kinsmen of the sage Gotama." It is one *pravara* ("lineage"; Pāli, *pavara*) within a Brahmin *gotra* ("clan"; Pāli, *gotta*).[51] This can be verified through inscriptions.[52] Statements in Buddhist sources, however, do not concur with this:

1. *Gotama* is described as the Buddha's *gotta.*[53] Perhaps because the Buddhists were not concerned with the Brahmanical *pravara,* they called the *pravara* the *gotra*. Alternatively, those living in the Nepal area may not have been concerned with the distinction between *gotra* and *pravara.*

2. As far as Brahmanical religious works are concerned, *Gotama* is clearly a name used among Brahmins. According to the Buddhist texts, however, the Sakyas had a Gotama clan even though they were Ksatriyas.

In the *Vedas, Gotama* is the name of a sage (*ṛṣi*) belonging to the Āṅgirasa tribe. The name appears in the hymns of the *Ṛg Veda.*[54] In cer-

tain ancient verse sections of the Buddhist writings, Gotama Buddha is addressed as Āṅgirasa, which suggests that people of the time knew of the connection between Gotama and Āṅgirasa in the *Vedas*. Here again we find links between the Buddhist sutras and the Vedic tradition, despite a slight distortion.

Go means "cow," and *tama* is a superlative suffix, meaning "most excellent, the greatest."[55] There are no known instances of *gotama* being used as a common noun meaning "most excellent cow," but no doubt ancient Indians were reminded of that meaning when they spoke the word, and *Gotama* must have been considered an auspicious clan name. The idea of venerating cows appears in Vedic literature, and a similar concept was present even earlier in the Indus Valley civilization. Gotama or Gautama appears in the *Vedas* as the name of a sage, and Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, often taught a man of the same name, so it is apparent that *Gotama* was used as a family or clan name not only among Buddhists but among all Indians.[56]

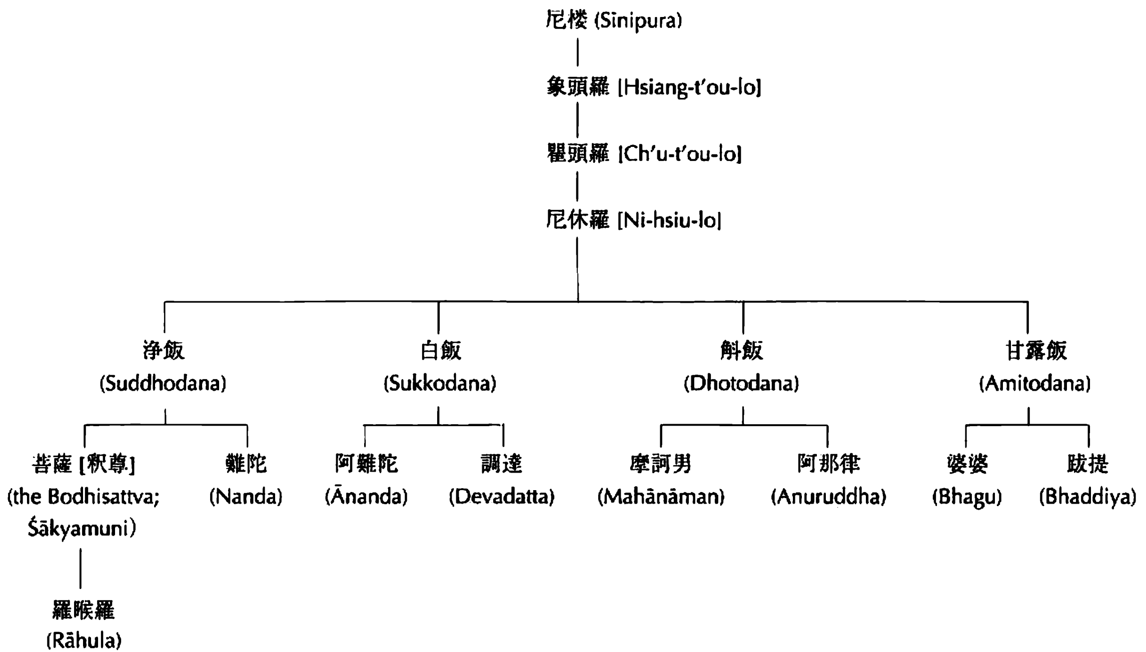
Even before cows became widely used for agriculture, they had been familiar to Indic people since the Vedic period for their milk, and their flesh was eaten after a sacrifice. The clan name of Gotama may have arisen because cattle were considered the main form of wealth. At the time when the Sakyas began using the name *Gotama*, they already had a settled, agricultural life and prized cattle as valuable draft animals. They thus had no difficulty in accepting the clan name *Gotama* as a type of honorific title.

Buddhist literature has transmitted Sakyamuni's genealogy in a variety of ways. The bulk of such genealogies are no more than legend. A simplified version of the genealogy given in the *Wu-fen-lü* is Ni-lou (Sīnipura)—Hsiang-t'ou-lo—Ch'u-t'ou-lo—Ni-hsiu-lo—Ching-fan (Suddhodana)—P'u-sa (the Bodhisattva, i.e., Sakyamuni)—Lo-hou-lo (Rāhula; see table 3).[57] The version in the *Mahāvastu* traces the Sakya ancestry still further back: Sammata—Kalyāṇa—Rava—Upoṣadha—Mandhātṛ—Sujāta—Ikṣvāku.[58]

Other versions appear in the Pāli *Dīpavaṃsa* (chapter 3) and *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter 2), and in Chinese translations,[59] in translations of semibiographical material,[60] in *Vinaya* translations,[61] and in the Tibetan commentary *Chang-so-chih-lun* of Ḥphags-pa.[62] In all of these, the genealogies are extremely long.[63] As an example, I have given in tables 4 and 5 the versions according to the Ceylonese legend *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Ssu-fen-lü*.

Certain characteristics are common to the various legends about the Buddha's lineage:

Table 3. Genealogy of the Sakya clan according to the *Wu-fen-lü* (fasc. 15 [*T*. 22:101a–b])



Note: Equivalent Indic names are in parentheses, and the Chinese rendering in brackets when the Indic is not known.

Table 4. Genealogy of the Sakya clan according to the Ceylonese tradition
(*Mahāvaṃsa*, chapter 2, with reference to *Dīpavaṃsa*, chapter 3)

Mahāsaṃmata	15. Sāgaradeva	100 kings	25 kings	The Great King Vesantara
1. Roja	16. Bharata	56 kings	a further 25 kings	Jāli
2. Vararoja	17. Aṅgīrasa	60 kings	12 kings	Sīhavāhana
3. Kalyāṇaka	18. Ruci	84,000 kings	a further 12 kings	Sīhassara
4. Varakalyāṇaka	19. Suruci	36 kings	9 kings	82,000 kings (the last of whom was Jayasena)
5. Mahākalyāṇaka	20. Patāpa	32 kings	84,000 kings (beginning with Makhādeva)	Sīhahanu
6. Uposatha	21. Mahāpatāpa	28 kings	84,000 kings (beginning with Kalārajanaka)	FIVE PRINCES: Suddhodana, Dhotodana, Sakkodana, Sukkodana, Amitodana,
7. Mandhātar	22. Panāda	22 kings	16 kings	Siddhattha (Buddha)
8. Caraka	23. Mahāpanāda	18 kings	King Okkāka	Rāhula
9. Upacara	24. Sudassana	17 kings	King Okkāmukha	
10. Cetiya	25. Mahāsudassana	15 kings	Nipuṇa	
11. Mucala	26. Neru	14 kings	Candimat	
12. Mahāmucala	27. Mahāneru	9 kings	Candamukha	
13. Mucalinda	28. Accimat	7 kings	Sivisaṃjaya	
14. Sāgara	(The above 28 kings lived at Kusāvatī (Kusinārā), Rājagaha, and Mithilā.)	12 kings		

Note: The record in the *Dīpavaṃsa* is arranged in W. Geiger, trans. *The Mahāvaṃsa, or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (Colombo: The Ceylon Government Information Department, 1950; London: Luzac, 1964), pp. 10–13.

Table 5. Genealogy of the Sakya clan according to the *Ssu-fen-lü* (fasc. 31 [*T.* 22: 779a])

- 大人 (Mahāsaṃmata)
- 善王 (Kalyāṇaka)
- 楼夷 (Roja)
- 斎 (Uposatha)
- 頂生 (Mandātṛ)
- 遮羅 (Caraka)
- 跋遮羅 (Vajra?)
- 微 [Wei]

- 微騎陀羅 (Milindra?)
- 鞞醯梨肆 [K'uo-hsi-li-ssu]
- 金迦陀 [Chin-chia-ni]
- 楼脂 (Ruci)
- 修楼脂 (Suruci)
- 波羅那 (Pranāda?)
- 摩訶波羅那 (Mahā-pranāda?)
- 貴舍 (Aṅgīrasa? or Kuṣa?)

- 摩訶貴舍 (Mahā-aṅgīrasa? or Mahā-kuṣa?)
- 善現 (Sujāta?)
- 大善現 (Mahāsujāta?)
- 無憂 (Aśoka)
- 光明 [Kuang-ming]
- 梨那 [Li-na]
- 弥羅 [Mi-lo]
- 末羅 (Malla?)

- 精進力 (Vīryabala?)
- 牢車 [Lao-ch'e]
- 十車 (Daśaratha)
- 百車 (Śataratha)
- 堅弓 [Chien-kung]
- 十弓 (Daśadhanus)
- 百弓 (Śatadhanus)
- 能師子 (Śākyasiṃha)
- 真闍 [Chen-an]

十転輪聖王種族 (The ten clans of the wheel-rolling kings)

1. 迦㝹支 (Kaṇṇagoccha), succeeded by five kings
2. 多楼昆帝 [To-lou-p'i-ti], succeeded by five kings
3. 阿湿卑 (Aśvajit? Aśvaka?), succeeded by seven kings
4. 乾陀羅 (Gandhāra), succeeded by eight kings
5. 伽陵迦 (Kaliṅga), succeeded by nine kings
6. 瞻鞞 (Campā?), succeeded by 14 kings
7. 拘羅婆 (Kaurava), succeeded by 31 kings
8. 般闍羅 (Pañcāla), succeeded by 32 kings
9. 弥悉梨 (Mithilā?), succeeded by 84,000 kings
10. 懿師摩 [I-shih-mo], succeeded by 100 kings

大善生 [Ta-p'u-sheng]—懿師摩 [I-shih-mo]—憂羅陀 [Yu-lo-ni]—瞿羅 [Ch'u-lo]—尼浮羅 [Ni-fou-lo]—師子頬 (Siṃhahanu)—悦頭檀 (Śuddhodana) — 菩薩 (the Bodhisattva; 釈尊, Śākyamuni)—羅睺羅 (Rāhula)

Note: Equivalent Indic names are in parentheses and the Chinese rendering in brackets when the Indic is not known.

1. All legends make Mahāsaṃmata the progenitor of the Sakyas. *Mahāsaṃmata* means "one recommended by the people's assembly," or "one chosen by election of the people." This is an outlook based on a sort of social contract; here we see the traditional Buddhist view that the first kings were elected by the people but the dynasties were continued by their descendants. It may also reflect historical fact; the Sakyas valued the assembly and maintained a type of republican polity.

2. Famous kings from Indian epic poems and legends are added into these genealogies as ancestors of the Sakyas. Historical kings and emperors are also inserted in the lists. Aśoka appears as an ancestor of the Buddha, and in Chinese translations, so does Wei-lin-t'o-lo,[64] who may be identified as Milinda (Skt., Milindra; Gk., Menandros), the Greek king who invaded India from Bactria in the mid-second century B.C.E. Although these genealogies may have some basis, the names of the kings in the lists have been made up arbitrarily, which accounts for the fact that there is little uniformity among the lists, and which means they lack historicity.

3. The names of the ten wheel-rolling (Skt., *cakravartin*; Pāli, *chakkavattin*) kings reflect the names of the major kingdoms in India at the period when the original *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* (translated into Chinese as *Wu-fen-lü*) was compiled.

4. It is natural that there should be discrepancies in some details of the various accounts, but they disagree on major points as well. For example, the Ceylonese legends give Suddhodana's predecessor as Sīhahanu, and the *Ssu-fen-lü* gives him as Shih-tzu-chia (Siṃhahanu), but this name does not appear in the *Wu-fen-lü*, where the king preceding Suddhodana is called Ni-hsiu-lo.

As is clear from the preceding discussion and from the lists in tables 1 5, Sakyamuni's father was called Suddhodana.[65] The name means "pure rice" or "white rice." In Chinese it is translated as Ching-fan-wang [king of pure rice].[66] Legend says that the names of his four younger brothers all contained the element meaning "rice" (*odana*). These names suggest that the Sakyas were already cultivating rice and that they particularly valued white rice.

Later Buddhist writings called Suddhodana a *rājan* ("king"), not a *mahārājan* ("great king").[67] He was certainly a local ruler, but he was not the monarch of a great kingdom and was accorded the title "great king" only as a result of the idealization of later times. He was nominally a ruler, although the Sakyas actually had a republic; at the very least, he was a wealthy head of a small state.

The Buddha's mother was Māyā. The names of both parents appear in relatively old sutras, so they are probably factual names.[68] Legends say that Māyā protected Sakyamuni inside her womb and that after death she dwelled in the bliss of the heavenly realm.[69] Later sutras give Māyā the title of *devī* ("queen").[70] In ancient India, *māyā* meant "mysterious spiritual power of a deity." In later Indian philosophy, *māyā* came to mean "illusion," which is considered to be the source of the visible universe, but it would be misleading to apply any such connotation to the name of the Buddha's mother.

The Buddha's personal name is generally said to have been Siddhattha (Skt., Siddhārtha), meaning "one who has achieved his purpose," or "one who has accomplished righteousness (or profit)." This name, however, does not appear in the earliest writings, so a question arises as to whether it was a later addition.[71] At the same time, because no other name is suggested anywhere, there is no positive evidence to cause us to reject the tradition.

It may seem strange that personal names are not certain. In many cases Sakyamuni is referred to as the Bodhisattva or the Buddha. These expressions are based on a traditional Indian way of thinking. Even in modern times, for example, the scholar Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana is referred to as Vidyabhushana, which is an academic title similar to "doctor," rather than by his personal name. Japanese people of the past also avoided calling the nobles by their personal names and used other expressions.

Because Sakyamuni was born into a ruling family, he was considered to be "born in the Ksatriya caste, born in a Ksatriya family."[72] Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, was also born in a Ksatriya family. Later writings, however, emphasized the excellence of Gotama's lineage. The *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta* says: "Truly the *samaṇa* Gotama was well born, both in terms of his mother's lineage and in terms of his father's lineage, of pure descent through his forefathers for seven generations, with no deviation, and irreproachable with regard to his lineage."[73]

The people of that time were probably diligent and led affluent lives. Hsüan-tsang (ca. 596–664) wrote about Kapilavatthu in his travel record, *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* (Buddhist records of the western regions), that "the ground is rich and fertile, and is cultivated according to the [right] season. The climate is uniform, and the manners [of the people] are peaceful and relaxed."[74] The text says that the city was about 4,000 *li* in circumference.[75] The area deteriorated during the medieval period but has started to produce more since the last century.

The preceding quotation describes the land as rich, and this seems to have been a fact. Rice is grown in the region even today, and during the Buddha's time paddy cultivation was practiced. The king's name, Suddhodana, "pure rice," bears this out. Furthermore, the land was located in a strategic position connecting the various countries of the Ganges plain and the mountains, an advantageous situation for trade and commerce.

KAPILAVATTHU

The capital of the Sakyas was the town (*pura*) of Kapilavatthu[76] (Skt., Kapilavastu):[77] "And there the Sakyas are at their own home, in Kapilavatthu."[78]

The town's name was thought to have been connected with an ancient sage called Kapila. Later legends say that the sage Kapila possessed a special wisdom called "the net of the earth" (*bhummajāla*). When he looked at the site with this wisdom, he saw deer and boars pursuing lions and tigers, and rats pursuing snakes. So he predicted that a great city would be built there.[79] There seems to be no direct connection, however, between the Kapila who founded the Sāṃkhya school of philosophy and the town of Kapilavatthu. *Kapila,* originally meaning the reddish-brown color of fire, also became the personal name of a sage.

Kapilavatthu was described as being located in the foothills of the Himalayas on the banks of a river called the Bhāgīrathī, meaning "a river brought to the surface through Śiva's blessing by a sage called Bhagīratha."[80] The name of the river, Bhāgīrathī, refers to the Ganges, but is probably given to the river under discussion because it is a branch of the Ganges.[81]

Though cities (*nagara*) had already appeared in India at the time of the Buddha, Kapilavatthu was not referred to in this way, which suggests that it could not have been particularly large.[82] As Buddhism spread, though, the hometown of Sakyamuni drew interest,[83] so that in later writings it came to be called a city (*nagara*) and a royal city (*rājadhānī*).[84]

The site of Kapilavatthu has not yet been definitely located. Some scholars identify it with Tilaurâ Kôt[85] in the Nepalese Terai,[86] and Nepalese scholars continue to maintain this claim. Tilaurâ Kôt lies twenty-four kilometers from Sakyamuni's birthplace of Lumbinī. When Hsüan-tsang visited the area in the seventh century, the city had so fallen into ruin that it was impossible to determine how broad it had been. The palace inside the city, with a circumference of fourteen or fifteen *li*, was built of brick. Fa-hsien had visited the site in the fifth century and reported that "the

country of Kapilavatthu is all desolation, with very few inhabitants. On the roads people are terrified by white elephants and lions, and no one should travel without good reason."[87] All the same, there is considerable doubt as to whether Tilaurâ Kôt is the Kapilavatthu of Gotama Buddha's time.

The Nepalese government excavations at Tilaurâ Kôt have unearthed Neolithic stoneware, pottery, and coins dating to before the common era, as well as the ruins of a monastery. Sculptures discovered there show that a cult worshiping *linga* (the phallic symbol used in the worship of the Hindu god Śiva) existed in the region from quite ancient times. In 1966 punch-marked coins were found, on one of which was engraved a horse, connected with the Brahmanic horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*). A sculpture of the Buddha dating from the Gupta period (ca. 320–ca. 550) was also discovered. Other finds included coins of King Kaniṣka discovered near Tilaurâ Kôt, and pottery dating from the days of Gotama at Bedamau in the west Terai basin.[88] Subsequently an archaeological research team from Rissho University undertook a large-scale excavation and published a volume containing photographs of these artifacts.[89] The essentials are summarized in the following article from the *Bukkyō Times:*

> From 1966 to 1967 we embarked on an exploratory tour to uncover the lost ruins of Kapilavatthu. The project was proposed by Professor Zuiryū Nakamura of the faculty of Buddhist studies and was promoted by the combined efforts of Dr. Hajime Ōmura (professor of geography) and Dr. Tsuneharu Kubo (professor emeritus of archaeology). . . . Tilaurâ Kôt had not been examined since P. C. Mukherji's excavation, except for a small-scale investigation by the Archaeological Survey of India under Dr. Mitra in 1961. After consultation with Dr. Tappa, head of the Department of Archaeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, it was agreed that we would mount a joint excavation.
>
> The excavation began in 1967 and ended with the eighth season in 1977–78. Since 1978 we have been consolidating the ruin, setting up museum and research facilities, preparing our report, and investigating other sites in the same area. . . .
>
> The Tilaurâ Kôt ruins are 3.2 kilometers northwest of the village of Taulihawā in Lumbinī Province, Royal Kingdom of Nepal. The ruins are rectangular along a north-south axis, measuring about 500 meters north to south and about 450 meters east to west. A brick wall surrounds the ruins. The northwest corner, however, has been lost as a

> result of erosion caused by the Banganga River, which flows northwest of the site. To the south and east of the northern part of the wall, there is a conspicuous moat. What appear to be gates are found in two places on the east side and two places on the west side of the wall, but the existence of one each on the west and the south cannot be confirmed. Within the walls there is one tank each in the northeast section and the northern part of the central area, and there are eight mounds that indicate constructions of some kind.
>
> We began by excavating Mound 7, in the northern part of the central area. We found the remains of structures dating from the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods, with the earliest artifacts belonging to the period from the Neolithic era down to the era of Northern Black Polished (N.B.P.) Ware Culture [600–200 B.C.E.]. Finding pottery resembling N.B.P. ware is highly suggestive in terms of the nature of the Tilaurâ Kôt site, but my personal opinion is that the pottery, though of the N.B.P. ware type, is relatively late. . . .
>
> The earliest of the structures dates from the Mauryan period [317–ca. 180 B.C.E.], and others span the Śuṅga period [ca. 180–ca. 68 B.C.E.] into the Kuṣāṇa period [ca. 50 C.E.–ca. 250]. Excavated items include, besides a large amount of pottery, numerous terra-cotta objects, coins, and utensils made of stone, copper, and iron. An excavation of Mound 11 showed that it belonged to the same period as Mound 7, with many finds dating from the Kuṣāṇa period.
>
> Excavation of both mounds was, at the wish of the Department of Archaeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, terminated before the lowest strata were reached, in order that structures might be preserved and work on them consolidated. We were able to verify, however, through excavations in areas of Mound 7 where there were no signs of structures, that the N.B.P. ware came from quite a deep level. These results indicate that it is possible to date the earliest settlement at the site to the N.B.P. period, that is, 600–200 B.C.E.[90]

This excavation has great archaeological and historical importance, though no positive identification can be made because, as the report states, "the remains in Tilaurâ Kôt are those of a palace, but no inscriptional evidence was found [to verify that the site was Kapilavatthu]."[91]

In recent years the Archaeological Survey of India has been conducting excavations at another site identified with Kapilavatthu, Piprahwā in

Uttar Pradesh, and has announced that it was the actual site of the town. It was here that relics of Sakyamuni (or the Sakyas) were found. The excavation in northern Uttar Pradesh began in 1970, and the announcement that Piprahwā was the site of Kapalivatthu came in 1976. The hamlet of Piprahwā is about five hundred kilometers east of New Delhi, just south of the border with Nepal, and is surrounded by marshy jungle and mango groves. There are about fifteen kilometers between Piprahwā and Lumbinī. Brick structures excavated to date include a Kuṣāṇa-period monastery, a stupa, and part of a palace. The objects discovered include two talc reliquaries, three pots, and forty terra-cotta seals. The reliquaries contained carbonized bones and the deep pots, ashes.

The decisive factor identifying Piprahwā with Kapilavatthu was an inscription, on a pot lid excavated from the ruins of what is thought to be a monastery, which reads: "This monastery was built by Devaputra Kaniṣka, for the *saṅgha* of Kapilavatthu." I have not seen the object, or a photograph of it, and so cannot report it as conclusive evidence.

The more than forty terra-cotta seals found in the ruins of the monastery on the east side of the stupa, however, do reveal some historical facts. The seals were not discovered in one spot but in various places, at depths between 1.05 and 1.55 meters beneath the surface at the monastery ruins. All are unsymmetrically round, about three centimeters in diameter. Some were found, just as they had been placed, in a feretory in a *bhikkhu*'s (monk's) quarters. The seals read, in three- to four-line inscriptions in Brāhmī characters dating from the first or second century, "Om! [Possession of] the Bhikṣu Saṅgha of the Devaputra Monastery at Kapilavastu" and "[Possession of] the Bhikṣu Saṅgha of Mahā-Kapilavastu." *Om* is a sacred syllable used by the Indians; its use here reveals the influence of the Sanskrit revival, particularly remarkable after the second century. *Devaputra* means "son of the deity" or "son of heaven"; it is a title used in inscriptions by the Kuṣāṇa kings (such as King Kaniṣka).[92]

These finds testify to the existence of a monastery founded by a Kuṣāṇa king (Kaniṣka?) at the site and that the name of the site was Kapilavastu or Mahā-Kapilavastu. The seals, being portable, could of course have been taken to the site from elsewhere, and *Kapilavastu* might indicate a relatively wide area. Nevertheless they do provide a basis for identifying Piprahwā with Kapilavatthu, although absolute proof is still lacking. Although Mauryan coins were reportedly found at the site, it is not known how many objects dating before that era were found. The

stupa seems to have undergone a reconstruction. Altogether seven reliquaries have been found, five by Peppé and two more recently. The number is not unusual: at Amarāvatī five were discovered.

The report by the Archaeological Survey of India infuriated Nepalese archaeologists. They compiled a report, which they distributed internationally, saying that the Indian claim was unsubstantiated and that Tilaurâ Kôt was Kapilavatthu.[93]

As yet no definite conclusion has been reached, and a final decision must await future excavations. The passions aroused by the question of the site are fanned by the contention that if Tilaurâ Kôt is the site of Kapilavatthu, then Sakyamuni was Nepalese, and if Piprahwā, then he was Indian. If the latter is the case, Sakyamuni was an Indian who happened to be born at Lumbinī (in Nepal) during his mother's trip to that site. Neither India nor Nepal existed at the time as a national entity, so the question has very little relevance for those not directly involved.

Kapilavatthu appears to have fallen into ruin after the death of Kaniṣka. Fa-hsien (340?–420?) described it as follows:

> Less than a *yojana* [around seven kilometers] east from here [the birthplace of Koṇāgamana Buddha] we arrived in Kapilavastu. In the town there was neither king nor people, and everything was extremely desolate. There were only some *bhikṣus* [monks] and a few dozen families of the common people. Where the old palace of King Śuddhodana had been, there had been made an image of the prince's mother. It was an image showing the prince, riding a white elephant, entering his mother's womb. Stupas had been built where the prince turned around again after leaving the east gate of the palace and seeing the sick man; where Asita [the sage] had inspected the marks of the prince; where, with Nanda and others, [the Buddha] had struck the elephant; and where he shot the arrow. [At that time] the arrow entered the ground 30 *li* to the southeast making a spring gush out. People of later times made this into a well for travelers to drink from. Stupas were also built where the Buddha returned to meet his father, the king, after attaining enlightenment; where the five hundred Śākyas left home and bowed to Upāli and the earth moved in six different ways; where the Buddha preached the Dharma to the *devas* and the four heavenly kings guarded the four gates so that even the king, his father, could not enter; and where the Buddha sat facing east under a *nigrodha* tree and Mahāpajāpatī presented him with a *saṃghāṭī* robe. This tree is still standing.

> A stupa was also built where King Viḍūḍabha murdered the Śākyas, who, dying, all attained *sotāpanna* [entrance to the river leading to nirvana], and this still stands. Several *li* northeast of the city was the king's field, where the prince sat under a tree and watched the ploughing.[94]

Alexander Cunningham believed that Fa-hsien's description was invaluable to his efforts to locate the position of Kapilavatthu.[95] The area was still in ruins when Hsüan-tsang visited it over two centuries later:

> The country of Kapilavastu is about 4,000 *li* in circumference. There are ten empty [unpopulated] towns [here] and the desolation is extreme. The capital is ruined and fallen down, and its circumference is difficult to measure. Within, the king's palace is 14 or 15 *li* in circumference. It was built of piled brick, and its foundations are still high and strong. It has long been deserted. There are few places where people live. There is no great lord [who governs the country as a whole]. Each town sets up its own head. The ground is rich and fertile and is cultivated according to the [right] season. The climate is uniform, and the manners [of the people] are peaceful and relaxed. There are ruins of *saṃghārāmas* in more than a thousand places. There is still one *saṃghārāma* adjacent to the palace, and it houses more than 3,000 *bhikṣus*. They study the teachings of the Hīnayāna school Sammitīya. There are two temples of the *devas* where the followers of a non-Buddhist sect live.[96]

Though only remnants of buildings remained, Hsüan-tsang linked them to legend.

> Within the palace of the king is a ruined building. This is the main hall of King Suddhodana. Above [the ruins] is a monastery, in which is a statue of the king. Nearby are the ruins of a building, the sleeping quarters of Mahāmāyā. Above, a monastery was erected, inside which is a statue of the queen. Nearby is a monastery; this is the place where the Bodhisattva descended into the womb of his mother. Inside [the monastery] is a depiction of the Bodhisattva descending from heaven. [According to] the Theravādins, the Bodhisattva entered his mother's womb on the night of the thirtieth day of the month *uttara-āsāḷhā* (the latter half of the month Āṣāḍha). This is equivalent to the fifteenth day of the fifth month [in China]. Sects [other than the Theravādins say]

that he entered his mother's womb during the night of the twenty-third day of that month. This is equivalent to the eighth day of the fifth month [in China].[97]

Villages and towns belonging to the Sakyas that are described in the canonical writings of early Buddhism, apart from Kapilavatthu, include Cātumā, Khomadussā, Metarūpa (Uḷumpa), Nagaraka, Sakkara, Sāmagāma, Silāvatī, and Vedhañña. Towns and villages of the Koḷiyas mentioned in the canons of early Buddhism are Devadaha, Haliddavasana, Kakkarapatta, Kuṇḍi, Rāmagāma, Sajjanela, Sāpūga, and Uttara.[98]

It was in such a historical and cultural matrix that Sakyamuni appeared.[99]

BIRTH

LEGENDS SURROUNDING CONCEPTION

Later biographers of the Buddha created legends around the events that preceded Gotama's birth.[100] Even extremely ancient Buddhist writings, however, already mention that Sakyamuni descended from the Tusita heaven to enter Māyā's womb. The *Suttanipāta* says: "(955) Said the venerable Sāriputta: 'I have never seen such nor heard such, that such a teacher, a master of all, whose words are beautiful, descended from the Tusita heaven.'"[101] This refers to the legend that, before his birth in this world, the Buddha dwelled in the Tusita heaven, died there, and was reborn in Lumbinī Garden, near Kapilavatthu.[102] Such legends represent the first step toward the Buddha's deification. Descending, Sakyamuni was called the Bodhisatta (Skt., Bodhisattva), meaning "one seeking enlightenment."[103] A legend that describes him descending riding a six-tusked elephant also appears in ancient verse.[104]

According to later legends, when the Bodhisatta was about to descend from the Tusita heaven, he carefully considered the time, place, country, caste, tribe, and parents most suitable for his next birth.[105] Legends say that Māyā had a dream of the Bodhisatta entering her womb in the form of a white elephant.[106] "Avidūrenidāna" in the *Nidānakathā* (the introduction to the *Jātaka*), which is comparatively devoid of mythological exaggeration, sets out the legend as follows:

[Queen Māyā] entered the finely furnished royal sleeping chamber, and lying down on a couch, fell asleep and dreamed the following dream: The four guardians of the world lifted up the queen, with her couch, and carried her to the Himalayas. They laid her under a great *sāla* tree, seven *yojanas* in height, on the Manosilā tableland, sixty *yojanas* broad, and stood at one side. Then the wives [of the four heavenly kings] came and took the queen [Mahāmāyā] to the Anotatta lake, where they bathed her to remove her human contamination, clothed her in heavenly robes, anointed her with perfumes, and decked her with heavenly flowers. Not far away was a mountain of silver, within which was a golden palace. There they set up a heavenly couch with its head to the east, and laid [the queen] upon it. At that time the Bodhisatta, in the form of a magnificent white elephant, was wandering about not far from there, where there was a golden mountain. Descending from the mountain, he climbed the silver mountain, and, approaching from the north and plucking a white lotus flower with his trunk the color of silver chain, he trumpeted loudly and entered the golden palace. Three times he walked around his mother's couch with his right side toward it; then he opened [his mother's] right side and seemed to enter her womb.

In this way [the Bodhisatta] was conceived [at the time of the full moon in] the constellation of Uttara-āsāḷhā. The next day, when she awoke, the queen told the king about her dream. The king summoned sixty-four eminent Brahmins and made costly seats for them upon the ground covered with grasses and festively prepared with *lājā* flowers. When the Brahmins were seated, he filled gold and silver bowls with excellent milk-gruel flavored with ghee, honey, and sugar, and covering them with gold and silver bowls he gave them to the Brahmins to eat. As well he presented them with new robes and tawny cows, making them satisfied. After all their desires had been satisfied, he told them of the dream and asked them, "What will come of it?"

The Brahmins said, "Do not worry, great king. A child has been conceived in the womb of your queen; a male child, not a female. You will have a son. If he lives the settled life of a householder, he will become a wheel-rolling king, but if he leaves home and retires from the world, he will become a buddha and remove the veil [of illusion] from the world."

Now, the instant the Bodhisatta was conceived in his mother's

womb, all the ten thousand worlds suddenly quaked, trembled, and were shaken violently. The thirty-two portents appeared: a limitless light filled the ten thousand worlds; the blind acquired sight, as if from a desire to see this glory; the deaf heard the sound; the dumb talked; the hunchbacked became straight; the lame walked with [their] feet; all those in bonds were released from their chains and bonds; in every hell, the fire was extinguished; in the realm of *petas* [hungry spirits], the hunger and thirst ceased; the wild animals lost their fear; the diseases of living beings were cured; all living beings became pleasant spoken; horses neighed and elephants trumpeted in sweet manner; all musical instruments gave forth melody, untouched by humans; peoples' bracelets and ornaments jingled; all directions became clear; a mild, cool breeze began to blow to please living beings; a cloud appeared out of season and gave forth rain; also, water welled up from the earth and flowed forth; the birds ceased flying through the sky; the rivers stopped running; the waters of the great ocean became sweet; everywhere the land was covered with lotuses of five different colors; flowers bloomed everywhere, those of the land as well as those of the water; trunk lotuses bloomed on the trunks of trees, branch lotuses bloomed on branches, and vine lotuses grew on vines; on the ground, cane-shaped lotuses burst through rocky ground and grew up and up in sevens; in the sky arose hanging lotuses; everywhere fell a shower of flowers; and celestial music played in the sky; all over there were garlands in all the ten thousand worlds, with waving whisks and the incense of flowers, resembling a garland thrown up whirling, a bouquet of flowers that was pressed down to a bundle, or a well-arranged seat of garlands.

In this way was the Bodhisatta conceived; from [the time of] conception, four *devaputtas* [heavenly beings] kept guard, with swords in their hands, to prevent the Bodhisatta and the Bodhisatta's mother from encountering misfortunes. No lust for men arose in the mind of the Bodhisatta's mother, and she obtained the foremost gain and the highest fame. She was calm and felt no physical tiredness, and she saw the Bodhisatta inside her womb as if seeing a pale yellow thread in a transparent jewel.[107]

The conception and birth of Gotama Buddha gave rise to legends and became the subject of ancient Buddhist art. The oldest artistic expression of the dream is a medallion found at Bhārhut in central India, dating

from the second century B.C.E., now on display at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Though it is crudely carved, it depicts a homely scene that might still be found in India today.[108] Māyā is lying on her right side on a couch in the center of the composition. A large white elephant is descending from the top. Two female attendants sit in front of the queen, one fanning her with a whisk, to cool her and to keep insects away, the other sitting with the palms of the hands together, seeming to venerate the imminent conception. A burning light stand is depicted at Māyā's feet, indicating that it is night. An old woman appears in the upper left, the palms of her hands together, watching intently. An inscription at the top of the composition reads "Bagavato ūkraṃti [The Descent of the Bhagavant (the Blessed One)]."

A relief from Amarāvatī dating from the second century C.E., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows Māyā lying on her side on a magnificent couch, surrounded by her attendants, who are fanning her with whisks to keep insects away. A small elephant is carved on the ceiling frame, about to descend into the queen's right side.[109]

In later times people expressed doubts about the veracity of the myth. Indian commentators such as Vasubandhu (320?–400?) discussed the possible meaning of the Bodhisattva entering his mother Māyā's womb in the shape of a white elephant and whether in fact he did indeed assume such a shape.

> The size [*pramāṇa*] [of the intermediate existence in the realm of desire] is about that of [the body of] a five- or six-year-old child. The sense organs, however, are keen [*paṭu*]. The Bodhisattva's [intermediate existence] was about the size of [the body of] a youth, his form complete and endowed with the marks of perfection [thirty-two or eighty marks of a buddha].[110] Therefore the Bodhisattva, in the form of intermediate existence [*antarābhavastha*] illuminated the one hundred thousand million four great continents when he entered his mother's womb.
>
> [QUESTION:] Why did the Bodhisattva's mother see a young white elephant entering her [right] side?
>
> [ANSWER:] This is no more than a good omen. [The intermediate existence in the form of a white elephant did not enter the womb.] The Bodhisattva had already long since thrown away the animal form. It is like the tradition that King Kṛkin saw ten things in his dreams:

"an elephant, a well, a grain of barley, sandalwood, a young elephant, an orchard, a monkey anointing [an immoral priest to make him a king], a merry monkey, cloth, and a struggle."[111]

[A white elephant], in the form of the intermediate existence, did not pierce the [mother's right] side and enter [the mother's womb]; it entered [the womb] through the birth canal. Because twins' times [of conception] are different, the one [of the twins] who is born later is considered the firstborn, [having been conceived first], and the one who is born first is considered the younger [having been conceived later].[112]

The Buddha was well aware of the time he was born in his mother's womb, when he dwelt there, and when he exited [from the body]. In this case, [because he was not yet the Buddha], he is designated by a name referring to the future.[113]

Vasubandhu's comments represent a demythologizing process taking place more than a millennium and a half ago in India.

Then why was the myth of a white elephant created? The mounting rain clouds of the monsoon season in India remind us of an elephant. Kālidāsa, the fourth- or fifth-century poet and dramatist, describes clouds being transformed into young elephants and falling down into the gardens of the mansions of the *yakṣas*.[114] In this he may have been influenced by the Buddhist legend. Elephants were close to the Indians; they were employed in both war and peace and were thought to give life to both human beings and animals by calling on the rain clouds and so bringing about a successful harvest.[115]

The description of the conception and the dream belong to the realm of myth. Historical fact begins with the Buddha's birth.

BIRTH: FACT AND LEGEND

Gotama Siddhattha (Skt., Gautama Siddhārtha) was born the son of Suddhodana (Skt., Śuddhodana), king of the Sakyas. He was apparently the first child, judging from the description of the king's great joy at his birth and from the fact that no reference is made to any older brothers. His birthplace was Lumbinī Garden, not far from Kapilavatthu, as an old verse says, "in the village of the Sakyas, in the country of Lumbinī."[116] The site is in the present-day Lumbinī Province of Nepal.

There is no doubt about the historicity of Gotama Buddha's birth at

Lumbinī. Its locality has been verified by a pillar there bearing an inscription by King Asoka. The pillar was discovered in December 1896 by the archaeologist A. A. Führer in a temple called Rummindei, at the village of Paḍariya, eight kilometers northeast of Dulha in the Basti district, not far from the border between India and Nepal.[117] On the pillar is the following dedicatory inscription: "King Piyadassi [Asoka], beloved of the gods, twenty years after his consecration, himself came to this place and paid homage because Sakyamuni Buddha was born here. He caused a stone wall to be made and a stone pillar to be erected [to commemorate] the birth here of the Bhagavant [the Blessed One]. He exempts the village of Lummini [*Lumminigāma*] from taxes and reduces its [produce toll] to one-eighth."[118]

Fa-hsien records in his travel diary:

> Fifty *li* east of the city [Kapilavastu] was a garden of the king, called Lumbinī. Here the queen [Māyā] entered the pond and bathed herself. Coming out of the pond she walked twenty steps along the northern bank, raised her arm, and caught hold of a tree branch. Facing east, she gave birth to the prince. When he fell to the ground, the prince took seven steps. There remains a place where two dragon kings poured water on the prince and bathed him. Where they bathed the prince, a well was made. Today clerics constantly take the water of the pond where [the queen] bathed and drink it.[119]

Hsüan-tsang relates the myths and legends associated with the place:

> Eighty or ninety *li* northeast of the Arrow Well, we come to Lumbinī grove.[120] There is a pond where the Śākyas bathed. The water was as clear as a mirror and all kinds of flowers covered it. Twenty-four or -five paces to the north is an *aśoka* tree, but it is withered now. Here the Bodhisattva was born. The Bodhisattva was born on the eighth day of the latter half of the month of Vaiśākha, which corresponds to our [Chinese] eighth day of the third month. The Sthaviravādins say it was on the fifteenth day of the latter half of the month of Vaiśākha, which corresponds to our [Chinese] fifteenth day of the third month. A stupa to the east of here was built by King Aśoka. Here two dragons bathed the prince. When the Bodhisattva was born, he walked without assistance seven steps in each of the four directions, saying: "In heaven and

on earth, I alone am lord; from this time on, my births are exhausted" ["This is my final body; I will no longer be subject to the cycle of birth and death"]. Where his feet trod, great lotus flowers grew up. Two dragons danced forth and, fixed in the air, poured from their mouths two streams of water, one cold and one warm; with this water they washed the prince's body.

Two clear wells, with two stupas beside them, are to the east of the stupa at the place where the prince was washed. Here the two dragons emerged from the earth. When the Bodhisattva was born, relatives and attendants ran in search of water to bathe him. [Then] two springs gushed forth in front of the queen. One was cold, and one was hot.[121] With these waters [the prince] was washed.

A stupa to the south of here is at the place where Indra took the Bodhisattva into his arms. When the Bodhisattva first emerged from the womb, Indra knelt down and received him and wrapped him in an exquisite heavenly robe.

Close by are four stupas, marking where the four heavenly kings carried the Bodhisattva in their arms. When the Bodhisattva was born from the right side [of Māyā], the four heavenly kings wrapped him in a fine, velvety golden robe. Placing him on a golden table, [they] stepped forward to the mother, saying: "It is a cause for rejoicing that the queen has given birth to a child of merit and virtue. The inhabitants of the heavenly realms are all rejoicing; how much more should those of the human realm!"[122]

Today the excavated Asokan pillar stands above ground, surrounded by a square iron railing. Hsüan-tsang mentions that when he visited Lumbinī the pillar had broken into halves and fallen down. "Not far [from the stupas] is a great stone pillar, on the top of which is the figure of a horse. It was built by King Asoka. Later, a thunderclap by a wicked dragon broke it in halves and it fell to the ground."[123] The pillar is 6.8 meters high. Its base is 2.5 meters in diameter, and the top of the pillar measures nearly 2 meters in diameter.

Lumbinī is situated in the Terai basin in southwestern Nepal, about thirty kilometers from Bhairawa airport, to which there are flights from Katmandu. It is difficult to reach Lumbinī by road from within Nepal. From India, Lumbinī is about 30 kilometers from Nowgarh Station on the Northeastern Frontier Railways, about 20 kilometers from the frontier between the two countries, and about 110 to 120 kilometers from

Gorakhpur. The Indian government built a road from India to Lumbinī to mark the commemoration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's death. The United Nations is sponsoring a project to develop a one-by-three-mile area of Lumbinī for tourism and archaeological excavation. Nearby, the Trans-Asia Highway is being constructed, and a road linking Bhairawa and Lumbinī is being built with British aid.

Cultivated fields spread between the border and the town of Lumbinī. The fenced-in archaeological site, lying beyond the bazaar, contains a resthouse and an information center on the right. On the left (to the north) is a modern stone stupa built by Mahendra, the former king of Nepal.

In front of the Lumbinī tank are broken walls that mark the ruins of an ancient monastery, excavated in 1933 and 1934 by the government of Nepal; the brick foundations of the monastery, carvings from votive stupas, and a large pedestal were discovered. Northwest of the tank is a burial mound, an ancient stupa. A stone plinth stands on another small mound, formed by the earth from Nepal's archaeological excavations.

Facing the Māyā Devī temple is the Lumbinī Buddha Bihar, run by the Buddhist Association of Nepal. Because it is a Nepalese temple, the eyes, nose, and mouth of the Buddha are painted on the roof tower. When I visited Lumbinī in 1977, it was headed by the Ven. Vimalananda, a Nepali who had been ordained in Katmandu and had undertaken training in Sri Lanka. He was a cousin of the Ven. Amritananda, who was engaged in various types of social work in Katmandu. The Buddhist remains in Lumbinī are administered and financed by the government of Nepal, through the Lumbinī Dharmodaya Committee. Besides the Nepalese temple, there are Sri Lankan and Tibetan temples.

Summers are hotter and winters colder in the Terai basin than in Katmandu. All the same, temperatures are not that cold in winter. The region has an annual rainfall of between 762 and 1,016 mm, and by May it is already quite hot. Such a climate supports a rich harvest of rice every year, and it is likely it was so in the Buddha's time as well, considering that Suddhodana's name, like those of his brothers, contains the element *odana*, "rice."

At present there are no trees to speak of, other than the *bodhi* tree beside the Māyā Devī temple; the whole area is a flat expanse, covered by grass and fertile fields.[124] It is a desolate area.[125] Excavations are continuing in a nearby area where there are trees.

The Māyā Devī temple is similar in style to Hindu temples found everywhere in India. It stands on a large square platform (1.2 meters

high), on which grass grows. Inside the temple, the floor of which is slightly below the level of the platform, there is a stone relief depicting the Buddha's birth. On the right is a large figure of Māyā, with her right arm raised, clasping the branch of a *sāla* tree. The scene illustrates the legend that Sakyamuni was born from his mother's right side. Below is carved the small figure of the newborn Sakyamuni, his right arm raised and his right leg forward. The figures seem to have been cut away, perhaps by Hindus or Muslims. The root of the pipal tree can be seen behind the relief. The figures of Mahāpajāpatī, Gotama's aunt, and female attendants are also depicted. Mahāpajāpatī is believed to be the figure on the left of Sakyamuni, with her legs slightly bent and arms held out, as if to take hold of something (the newborn child?). Indian custom decrees that the right is pure, the left defiled, so being born from the right side is a pure birth.

Prior to the government archaeological investigation, the temple had long belonged to Hindu worshipers, and sacrifices were even performed there (a complete turnabout from the teachings of Sakyamuni). Most of the sculptures in the temple had been destroyed by Muslim invaders, and local people had worshiped the statue of Māyā, confusing it with that of a Hindu deity. Now the relief is daubed red in places, and flowers are offered to it.

The pipal tree that stands beside the platform on which the temple is built is said to be the one beneath which Sakyamuni was born. The tree is old enough to make this assumption persuasive, but no records are extant to attest whether the tree has been at this spot from the days of Sakyamuni or was transplanted from somewhere else.

Excavations behind the temple began in 1976, four or five meters from the northern wall. In 1977 the remains of a Mauryan-period Mahāmāyā Devī temple were found, but further work was hindered by the existing temple standing above them. All the same, it has been suggested that a certain section is pre-Mauryan. The Lumbinī excavations had the following major results: 1) Discovery of the "horse-head" capital of the Asokan pillar. Though it is in fragments, the mane portion has been found, confirming Hsüan-tsang's report. 2) Discovery of a golden reliquary, approximately three centimeters high, containing tiny bone fragments, several ornaments, and one grain of burned rice. It is very likely that the bones are those of Gotama Buddha. (There is, however, no inscription.)[126] 3) Discovery of a second stone pillar; it seems also to have been erected by Asoka. The pillar is only slightly damaged.[127] All other artifacts and

buildings are recent. There is a superb Buddha statue donated several years ago by the Myanmar government, as well as a school and two large guest houses with limited overnight accommodations.

Near the platform and the Asokan pillar is a tank excavated in 1931. Local people believe that the Buddha bathed there when he was a baby. It is possible, although there is no proof that he did so. Both Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang mention it.[128] Tanks are found at all sacred places in India, and here would have been no exception. It may have happened as Fa-hsien wrote: "Here the queen [Māyā] entered the pond and bathed herself. Coming out of the pond she walked twenty steps along the northern bank, raised her arm, and caught hold of a branch of a tree. Facing east, she gave birth to the prince." In Japan it would be an unlikely custom to bathe in ponds, since Japanese ponds are small and cold, but in India and Southeast Asia even women immerse themselves in tanks. It was probably not as popular a custom in Nepal as it was in India, however.

It appears that Asoka's power extended to the Lumbinī region in the latter years of his reign. At Niglīvā (in the middle of the Terai basin), a village twenty-one kilometers northwest of Rummindei, there remains an edict of Asoka indicating that twenty years after his consecration Asoka had a stupa dedicated to Koṇāgamana Buddha repaired and enlarged.

The first fascicle of the *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching* gives further details, of both fact and imagination:

> Then [Māyā], having entered the garden, feeling tranquility of the sense organs, and being at her full term of ten [lunar] months, on the eighth day of the second month [the eighth day of Vaiśākha; the Sung, Yüan, and Ming editions of the canon, however, say the eighth day of the fourth month], as the sun was rising, the queen saw a great tree in that garden. It was an *aśoka* tree. The color of its flowers and the fragrance of its scent were magnificent; its branches and leaves spread with extreme luxuriance. She raised her right arm, wishing to take hold of it, and just then the Bodhisattva gradually emerged from her right side. Below the tree a seven-petaled lotus flower composed of the seven jewels sprang forth, its size like that of a great wheel. The Bodhisattva descended on top of the lotus blossom and then, unaided, took seven steps.[129]

The mention of the lotus blossom suggests the presence of a pond.

How was it, though, that Gotama was born at Lumbinī, and not at the palace in Kapilavatthu or in the capital of the Koḷiyas, said to be Māyā's

people? Would it not have been considered dangerous for a woman so close to her time to travel? The *Nidānakathā* relates one possible reason:

> Other women may not reach, or may run over, ten months, or give birth sitting or lying down, but the mother of the Bodhisatta is not so; she carries the Bodhisatta in her womb for ten months and then gives birth standing up. This is the proper way for a Bodhisatta's mother to give birth. Queen Mahāmāyā also carried the Bodhisatta in her womb for ten months, like carrying sesame oil in a vessel, and when the time for her delivery approached, she wanted to go to the home of her relatives [her family]. She spoke to the great king, Suddhodana, saying, "Sire, I would like to go to the city of Devadaha where my family dwells." "Certainly," said the king, and he had the road from Kapilavatthu to Devadaha made flat and had [the road] decorated with plantain trees, pots filled [with water], flags, and streamers. Seating the queen in a golden palanquin shouldered by a thousand courtiers [*amacca*], [the king] sent [her] off with a great crowd of attendants.[130]

Legends also relate that pregnant women experienced a craving (*dohaḷa*) for something different, so it is quite natural that the queen went to a garden to restore her spirits. That the birth took place in the garden gives the whole legend a poetic and romantic atmosphere.

A more realistic explanation might be related to the ancient Indian practice of isolating women at childbirth, a practice derived from a concern that the pollution surrounding birth should not affect others. The Brahmanic law codes regulate ritual purification at the time of a death and say that similar regulations should be applied to birth as well: "As this impurity on account of death is prescribed for [all] Sapiṇḍas, even so shall it be [held] on a birth by those who desire to be absolutely pure.[131] [Or while] the impurity on account of a death is common to all [Sapiṇḍas], that caused by a birth [falls] on the parents alone; [or] it shall fall on the mother alone and the father shall become pure by bathing."[132] It is very likely that Māyā went to Lumbinī to fulfill some such condition.[133]

Pilgrimages to Lumbinī were encouraged in the later strata of the Pāli canon,[134] and the legend of King Asoka relates that Asoka himself visited Lumbinī at the recommendation of the cleric Upagupta. Hsüan-tsang reported the existence of the horse figure on top of a stone pillar. Even today, great numbers of pilgrims visit Lumbinī. The Nepal government does not require visas of such pilgims, and the Indian government distributes tourist information for visitors to Lumbinī, even though it is in

Nepal. Since Lumbinī's existence has been verified through archaeological excavation, as well as by the inscription of Asoka, we may also be able to accept as fact other points mentioned in the ancient verses.

Another tradition is that Suddhodana, praying for the safe delivery of his child, made a great offering of food and clothes at Kapilavatthu.[135]

The birth of Sakyamuni is mentioned in detail in various Buddhist writings and depicted in works of art.[136] The *Nidānakathā* describes the birth as follows:

> Now between the two cities there was a pleasure grove of *sāla* trees for the inhabitants of both cities, called Lumbinī Garden. At that time the garden was one mass of blossoms, from the ground to the tips of the branches. Among the branches and the flowers flew swarms of five-colored bees, and flocks of various kinds of birds, roaming around and singing sweetly. Lumbinī Garden was like Cittalatā Garden [of Indra] or like the finely decorated banqueting hall of a great and powerful king. When the queen saw it, she wanted to spend some time in the grove of *sāla* trees, and her courtiers led her within. Then, going to the foot of a good-omened *sāla* tree, she tried to take hold of one of its branches. The *sāla* tree branch, like the tip of a well-steamed reed, bent down to within the queen's reach. As she reached out her hand to take hold of the branch, her labor pains began. Then the people, having hung a curtain around her, retired. Holding the branch of the *sāla* tree, she gave birth standing up. At that very moment four pure-minded Mahābrahman deities came up to her, bearing a golden net, in which they received the Bodhisatta and placed him before his mother, saying: "Rejoice, O queen! A mighty son has been born to you."[137]

The presence of the four Mahābrahman deities receiving the child denotes the influence of Hinduism on what is essentially a Buddhist myth. Though *sāla* (Skt., *śāla*) trees are mentioned here, in later biographies the Buddha is said to have been born beneath an *asoka* (Skt., *aśoka*) tree, which belongs to the pulse family. Of great interest is the lack of any mention of the Buddha being born from his mother's right side, as described in later legends.[138] Ancient Indians considered the right to be pure, so it is not surprising that this was the side from which the Buddha was born. It is puzzling, though, that biographers should have described the Buddha as emerging from his mother's *side*. (I am reminded of the statue of the Japanese Buddhist priest Kūya (903–972) who is shown with small images of Amitābha Buddha emerging from his mouth; something similar in

concept could account for the description of the Buddha's birth.) I believe that there has been considerable Brahmanic influence here. The *Ṛg Veda* mentions the emergence of class distinctions in a hymn describing how all things in the cosmos emerged from the primeval Man (Puruṣa): "When they [the gods] cut up and divided Puruṣa [as an offering at the cosmic sacrifice], into how many parts did they divide him? / What did his mouth become? What did his arms become? What were his thighs, what were his feet named? / His mouth was made the *brāmaṇa*. His arms were made the *rājanya*. His thighs were made the *vaiśya*. From his feet the *śūdra* were born."[139]

The Buddha may have been described, following this legend, as being born from the side, beneath the armpit, because he was a Kṣatriya, a member of the caste of warriors and the aristocracy. It is not likely, though, that such ideas held sway in the Terai basin at the time when the Buddha was born. The legend that he was born from his mother's right side does not appear in the early Pāli scriptures but rather in the prose portions of Mahāyāna scriptures whose original form dates from the Gupta dynasty (after 320 C.E.), the time of the Hindu revival when Buddhism was greatly influenced by other Indic cultural traditions, from Brahmanism to Hinduism.

The *Nidānakathā* relates:

> Now other living beings, when they emerge from the womb, are covered with that which is disagreeable and impure, but not so the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta emerged radiantly from his mother's womb like a preacher descending from the Dharma seat or like a person coming down a staircase, standing with arms and legs extended, not covered by any impurity issuing from his mother's womb, like a jewel placed on purified white *kāsi* cloth.
>
> Though this was so, there came from the sky two streams of water to honor the Bodhisatta and his mother, which [washed and] refreshed the bodies of the Bodhisatta and his mother. Then from the hands of Brahmā deities, who had received [the Bodhisatta] in a golden net, the four great heavenly kings received [him] on the soft serow skin selected for celebratory occasions. From the hands [of the four great heavenly kings], men received [him] on a jute pillow.[140]

This early legend describes no more than two streams of water flowing from the sky. Later legends say that the newborn child was consecrated with water sent by two dragons (*nāga*); specifically, in still later tradition,

by the dragon-kings Nanda and Upananda.[141] In the *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, Nanda and Upananda had been evil dragons who were subdued by Sakyamuni.[142] Their celebratory role on the occasion of his birth was a much later addition to the legend.

Legends relating that the standing baby, Sakyamuni, was consecrated with nectar (Skt., *amṛta*; Pāli, *amata*) are based on ancient rituals.[143] The consecration is also depicted in art. A carved panel showing the birth of the Buddha is on the crossbeam on the upper part of the South Gateway of Stupa 1 at Sāñcī. Māyā stands in the center, and elephants are pouring water on the left and the right. At the side, peacocks and other birds are depicted within a flower and leaf pattern inspired by the lotus.[144] According to the *Nidānakathā*,

> When he [the Bodhisatta] left their hands, he stood upon the earth and looked toward the east, where, before him, spread forth many thousands of worlds. There gods and men made offerings to him of incense, garlands, and so on, saying, "Great being! Here there are none that equal you and certainly none that are your superior." When he had surveyed the four cardinal directions and the four intermediate ones, and the zenith and the nadir, he could not discover any his equal, and he proclaimed, "This is the north," and took seven steps, accompanied by Mahābrahma holding a white parasol over him and by Suyāma bearing a whisk and other gods carrying other symbols of royalty in their hands. Then, at the seventh step, he stopped and uttered a lion's roar, a noble shout, beginning with, "First am I in all the world!"[145]

The legend that Sakyamuni took seven steps after his birth is depicted in sculptures from Gandhāra, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and Nālanda.[146] The *Suttanipāta*, however, contains no mention of this in its birth legend, which would suggest that the birth legend contained in that text, and the *Suttanipāta* as a whole (compiled in the third century B.C.E.?), came into existence before this element was created.

Here we already find the kernel of the later legends concerning the birth of the Buddha, but no mention is made of "the right hand raised and pointing to the sky and the left hand pointing to the ground." The verse said to have been spoken by the Buddha at that time is a very late addition.[147] Though the *Nidānakathā* explains *why* he spoke at his birth, this is clearly a later addition.

Later biographies of the Buddha say that Māyā died seven days after the Buddha was born, but the earlier writings make no mention of it. However, the *Nidānakathā* says: "Because the womb that holds a Bodhisatta is like the inner precincts of a temple, and therefore cannot be occupied or used again by others, the mother of the Bodhisatta died seven days after the Bodhisatta's birth and was reborn in the Tusita heaven."[148] We can perhaps accept the death of the Buddha's mother soon after his birth as fact, given the specificity of the legend and the attempts to rationalize the event. It is notable, though, that there is nowhere in any of the various streams of the legend any suggestion of a virgin birth.

The mythologization of traditions concerning Sakyamuni's birth evolved gradually. This is already apparent in the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* of the Pāli *Majjhima-Nikāya* and its Chinese equivalent *Wei-ts'eng-yu-fa-ching*.[149] Later biographies contained more exaggeration and further mythologization. For example, whereas the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* relates only the circumstances of the birth, its Chinese equivalent systematically deals with the events from birth to enlightenment. As such it represents a movement toward a more fully organized biography and should therefore be regarded as one of the prototypes of the biographies of later times.

DATES OF THE BUDDHA'S LIFE

The question of the Buddha's birth and death dates is crucially important for a number of reasons, not least because ancient Indian chronology can only be inferred by back-dating from the time of the Buddha. There is no chronological information for the Vedic era that precedes the days of the Buddha. Indeed, ancient Indian history enters the historical period with the Buddha.

There are, however, more than a hundred different traditions as to the date of the Buddha's death; the Chinese even had the legend that Laotzu went to India and became Sakyamuni.[150] In 1956–57 a number of South Asian countries, including Sri Lanka, India, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia, celebrated on a grand scale the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's death. The date was based on the traditional Southern Buddhist calculation that the first year of the Buddha's nirvana was 544–543 B.C.E. and that his death occurred during the month of Vesākha (Skt., Vaiśākha) in 544 B.C.E. Because all the traditions say that the Buddha lived eighty years, his birth year would then be 624 B.C.E. It is characteristic of Asian thinking, incidentally, that the chronology should begin with

the year of death rather than the year of birth as in the West. Such an emphasis cannot be wholly unrelated to the importance placed on memorial services to the dead in China and Japan.

These dates, which Buddhists around the world accept, offer considerable problems from an academic point of view, primarily because they are based on a tradition that cannot be traced beyond the middle of the eleventh century. Scholars using a variety of sources have suggested a number of dates for the Buddha's death, including 544, 484, 483, 482, 480, 478, and 477 B.C.E.[151] Most believe the year to have been somewhere around 480 B.C.E. The leading theory, held by scholars such as John Faithfull Fleet (1906, 1909), Wilhelm Geiger (1912), and Thomas William Rhys Davids (1922), offers as the Buddha's life dates the span 563–483 B.C.E. This theory is based on the Sri Lankan tradition that Asoka's consecration took place in 266 B.C.E. and that, according to the Southern Buddhist tradition, there were 218 years between that event and the Buddha's death (483 B.C.E.).[152] Others, such as Hermann Jacobi (using Jaina sources) and Jarl Charpentier (using Brahman sources in conjunction with the Sri Lankan chronicles *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Dīpavaṃsa*), have stated that the Buddha died in 487 B.C.E.

These hypotheses all have flaws. First, the interval of 218 years between the Buddha's death and Asoka's consecration is too long. It is said that five masters transmitted the *Vinaya* during those years, but it is hard to see how five lives could have spanned such a length of time. This would have meant that a master could only have transmitted the *Vinaya* to a successor who was some forty years younger, which is very unlikely. Further, there are lapses in the chronology of reigns of secular rulers during this period, reflecting the fact that it was impossible to fill 218 years with the reigns of actual kings. Second, the above theories are based only on the tradition of the Therāvadins of Sri Lanka. Third, the *Dīpavaṃsa*, which records the number of 218 years, was composed later, between the early fourth and early fifth century.

Another often-quoted authority for hypotheses about the Buddha's dates is the *chung-sheng-tien-chi* ("dotted record").[153] Tradition says that after Gotama Buddha died, *Vinaya* masters added a dot to the *Vinaya* each year at the end of the rainy-season retreat. According to the *Li-tai-san-pao-chi*, 1,082 years had passed since the Buddha's death at the time it was compiled (597).[154] That work mentions that a "foreign priest" called Saṅghabhadra arrived by ship in Canton during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Southern Ch'i dynasty. His nationality is unknown, but it is

more than likely he was from South Asia. Being his master's *Vinaya* successor, in Canton he translated a *Vinaya* commentary, *Samantapāsādikā*, as *Shan-chien-lü p'i-p'o-sha*[155] in collaboration with Seng-i in 488. The following year (489), after the end of the rainy-season retreat, "incense and flowers were offered in veneration of the *Vinaya*, and then one dot was inscribed. This year, when we counted, we found 975 dots inscribed. [One] dot represented one year." The ritual was based on the Indian custom since the Buddha's death that on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, after the retreat, the *Vinaya* master would "offer incense and flowers in veneration of the *Vinaya* and would inscribe a dot and place [that which has been inscribed] in front of the *Vinaya*. Each year this was repeated." Counting back, we accordingly have 486 B.C.E. as the year of the Buddha's death and therefore 566 B.C.E. for his birth.[156]

This theory, too, is problematic. The preceding account says that the *Vinaya*, in a written form, was venerated, but the Pāli texts were not committed to writing until the time of Vattagāmaṇi, king of Sri Lanka (first century B.C.E.). Before that time, they were memorized. Therefore it cannot be true that a dot was added every year after the Buddha died. The Chinese priest Chih-sheng, compiler of the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao-lu* in 730, had similar doubts: "After it [the *Vinaya*] was compiled, a dot was inscribed annually. This could possibly be true. But [the fact] that Upāli himself inscribed the dot, should not be taken as guidance."[157] Nien-ch'ang, compiler of the *Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai* around 1341, also regarded it as only a tradition: "The year of the Buddha Bhagavant's birth and that of his death are not uniform[ly held]. In the western regions, where the mountains and rivers are broad, there are many countries where people accepted [the teaching of] the Buddha intensely, each people adhering to their own sect. Because these are the traditions of each school, they should not be ignored. Therefore we added a mention of them here."[158]

The preceding theories are all based on the Sri Lankan tradition, as is that of the *Chang-so-chih-lun* (thirteenth century, during the Yüan dynasty), which also places the Buddha's death two hundred years before King Asoka.[159] By contrast, the various legends transmitted on the Indian subcontinent all state that there were one hundred–odd years between the Buddha's death and Asoka. In this virtually all the sects are in agreement, although this may mean no more than that they were all based on the Sarvāstivādin tradition or were under its influence.[160] This tradition appears in a large number of scriptures translated into Chinese, including the *Tsa a-han-ching*, as well as in the Sanskrit *Divyāvadāna*.[161] The eighteenth-

century Japanese scholar Tominaga Nakamoto also employed this version.

Scholars using these sources have calculated that the Buddha died in 368 (or 370) B.C.E. (Niels Ludwig Westergaard, 1860); in 370 (or 380 or 388) B.C.E. (Hendrik Kern); or in 386 B.C.E. (Hakuju Ui). Ui concluded, based on his study of the *Shih-pao-pu-lun*[162] that Asoka became king of Jambudīpa (India; Skt., Jambudvīpa) 116 years after the Buddha's death, which would make the Buddha's dates 466–386 B.C.E.[163] The year of Asoka's consecration, which is the basis for Ui's dating, has itself been determined by means of the reign dates of Greek kings, which now need revision in light of more recent Greek studies. Ui followed the dating of Asoka's consecration suggested by Vincent A. Smith. Karl Julius Beloch, in his revised edition of the *History of Greece*, represents an advance in the field that should be followed.[164] Eugen Hultzsch also accepts the theory of Beloch (the first edition) in determining the dates of Asoka, and Kentarō Murakawa, too, agrees with Beloch, so I will follow it as well here.[165] The revised date for Asoka's accession is 268 B.C.E., which gives 463–383 B.C.E. as the Buddha's dates. Buddhism therefore had its birth in 428 B.C.E., the year the Buddha attained enlightenment at the age of thirty-five.[166]

My hypothesis follows Ui's methodology while incorporating later developments in Greek studies. Since I first published it in 1955, advances in Greek studies might affect the dating of Buddhist history.[167] At present, however, according to Murakawa, Beloch's study is still reliable, and I see no need to revise my previous dating.

Though scholars vary by a century on the Buddha's dates, such a relatively small amount of time is amazing considering the obscurity of ancient Indian chronology. This affirms that scholars have recognized and confirmed the historicity of Gotama Buddha as an individual.

It is a widely held tradition that Sakyamuni was born on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month.[168] This day has long been celebrated in China and Japan as the festival of the Buddha's birth, when hydrangea tea is poured over an image of the infant Buddha. In Japan it is popularly known as the Flower Festival (*Hana Matsuri*). In Southern Buddhist countries, though, the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and death are all celebrated together at the time of the full moon in the month of Vesākha (second month in the traditional Indian calendar). In Sri Lanka it is called the Wesak Festival.

Some Chinese Buddhist literature says that the Buddha was born on the eighth day of the second lunar month, and Hsüan-tsang recorded that in India the day of birth was believed to be either the eighth or the

fifteenth day of the latter half of the month of Vesākha.[169] However, some texts, such as the *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching* and *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* give the day of birth as the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, the date followed in Japan.[170] It appears likely that some Chinese translators translated Vesākha as "fourth month," but because Vesākha is the second month according to the Indian calendar, others translated it as "second month."[171] The *Ch'ang a-han-ching* records that the Buddha's birth, renunciation of the world, enlightenment, and death all took place on the eighth day of the second month.[172] The eighth and the fifteenth of the month are important days in Southern Buddhism, when the twice-monthly *uposatha* meeting (where scriptures and precepts are expounded and clerics confess to any violations) is held, so they were both equally important to Buddhists in those countries. The actual day is not a question of great purport, for the various birth dates all originate in the work of scriptural commentators of later times.

THE INFANT BUDDHA

Works of art portray Suddhodana's visit to Māyā following the Buddha's birth, as well as the return from Lumbinī and the ablutions.[173] These incidents are probably factual.

The "Nālaka-sutta," in the *Suttanipāta,* records that a sage (Pāli, *isi;* Skt., *ṛṣi*) called Asita predicted the future of the newborn Sakyamuni:[174] "(679) The sage Asita saw, during the midday rest period, the group of Thirty Deities and Indra, all joyful and clad in clean garments, reverently holding up their robes and praising greatly."[175] The "midday rest period" refers to the time after the meal eaten before noon, when sitting meditation is usually practiced. In the number of the gods, we find the influence of the ancient *Vedas,* which stated that they numbered thirty-three. The Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures usually translate this as *San-shih-san-t'ien* ("Thirty-three Deities") or transliterate the Pāli *Tāvatiṃsa* (Skt., *Trāyastriṃśa*) as *Tao-li-t'ien;* here, though, it is expressed as "Thirty Deities." The *Ṛg Veda* regards Indra as the lord of the gods, and his mention here reflects that. We find no sense of any hierarchy of deities such as that of later Buddhist mythology.

The "Nālaka-sutta" continues, "(680) Seeing the gods being exalted and pleased in their minds, the sage asked reverently: 'Why is the group of gods so exceedingly joyful? What is the reason they are holding up their robes and waving them about? Even when there was an encounter

with the *asuras*, and they won and the *asuras* lost, there was not such utter joy. What rare event have the gods seen, that they are so joyful?'"[176] (The *Vedas* and the epic poems relate that the *asuras* were enemies of the gods, with whom they sometimes waged war.) Asita continues: "'(682) They shout, and sing, and play musical instruments, and clap their hands, and dance. I ask you who dwell on the peak of Mount Meru [Sumeru]. Venerable ones, quickly relieve me of my doubts.'"[177] Here we find the legend from the *Brāhmaṇas* that the gods fight with the *asuras*. We also see the influence of the epics' tales of the great mountain in the center of the world, Mount Sumeru (or Meru), on whose peak dwell the gods.

> (683) [The gods replied:] "The Bodhisatta, that incomparable and excellent jewel, has been born in the world of humans for their benefit and happiness, in the village of the Sakyas, in the country of Lumbinī. Therefore we are happy, exceedingly joyful.
>
> "(684) He is the greatest of all living beings, supreme, a bull among humans [lord of humans], supreme among all people [Buddha] and at length, in the grove of the sages [where sages gather], he will turn the wheel [of the Dhamma], like a powerful lion roaring a victory cry among all the beasts."[178]
>
> (685) The sage, hearing the voices [of the gods], hurried down [to the human world]. Then he approached Suddhodana's palace. Having sat down there, he said to the Sakyas: "Where is the prince? I too would like to see him."
>
> (686) Then the Sakyas showed the child to [the sage] called Asita, the child whose face shone with dazzling glory, like gold burnished by a skillful smith in the mouth of the furnace.
>
> (687) Having seen the child blazing like fire, purified like the lord of the stars [the moon] on his course in the sky, and shining like the brilliant autumn sun released from the clouds, he became joyful and overwhelming rapture welled up within him.[179]

Autumn skies are clear and transparent in India, with hardly any clouds, and in northern India, particularly, rain rarely falls at that season. Therefore we have the simile "shining like the brilliant autumn sun released from the clouds."

"(688) The gods held up in the sky a parasol with many ribs and a thousand circles. Whisks with golden handles fluttered up and down [over his body]. However, those who held the whisks and the parasol were invisible."[180] In India, attendants stand behind kings and nobles holding

parasols over them, a feature also found in Buddha statues. People carry whisks of soft hair to brush away insects so as not to kill them.

(689) The sage called Kaṇhasiri [Asita], with matted locks, took the child in his arms, joyful in mind and happy. The child, wrapped in a cream-colored [*paṇḍu*] blanket with a white parasol above his head, was like a golden ornament.[181]

(690) He, the one who had mastered the marks and the mantras [*Vedas*], took up a Sakya [child magnificent as a] bull and investigating [his marks] raised his voice with joy in his heart.[182] "This one is unsurpassed, supreme among humans."

(691) Then the sage, remembering his own departure, grew melancholy and shed tears. Observing the sage crying, the Sakyas asked: "Is there something wrong with the prince?"

(692) Observing the Sakyas being depressed by anxiety, the sage said: "I do not recollect any unlucky signs on the prince. Nor will any harm come to him. This one is not inferior. Pay careful attention to him.

"(693) This prince will attain the highest enlightenment. Seeing that which is supremely purified, having sympathy for the benefit of the many, he will turn the wheel of the Dhamma.[183] His holy life will be widely acclaimed.[184]

"(694) However, I do not have much of my life remaining in this world. I will die [before the prince attains enlightenment]. I will not be able to hear the teachings of him of peerless strength. Therefore I am distressed and grieve and suffer."

(695) This holy practitioner [sage Asita], having given great joy to the Sakyas, left the palace. Taking pity on his nephew [Nālaka], he urged him to follow the teachings of him of peerless strength [the Buddha].

(696) [Asita said,] "If at a later time you hear the words, 'There is the awakened one, the one who has attained enlightenment, who walks the way of Truth,' then go there, inquire after his teaching, and practice the holy life under that teacher."

(697) The holy man with his mind set on benefiting others foresaw the supreme and pure realm of the future. Nālaka, instructed by that holy man and with many accumulated merits, waited in hope of the Conqueror [the Buddha], living with his sense-faculties guarded.[185]

In this oldest legend, Asita grieves because his approaching death means that he will not be able to see the newborn Sakyamuni become a great religious leader or hear his teachings. In the second stage of the same legend, those skilled at reading characteristic marks prophesy that the baby will either renounce the world and become a great religious teacher or remain in the world and become a universal monarch (*cakkavattin*).[186] This element did not appear in the original legend dating from the early period of Buddhism, but entered it later, perhaps under the influence of the ideal of the universal monarch as it developed through the process of unification of India, extending from the late Nanda [fourth century B.C.E.] to the Maurya dynasty period [317 B.C.E.–ca. 180 B.C.E.].[187] "(698) Hearing a rumor that the great Conqueror had turned the wheel of the Dharma [preached the teaching], when the teaching of [the sage] called Asita had come to pass, he set out and meeting with the greatest of the sages [the Buddha] and believing in him, he asked the excellent sage about the realm of the supreme sages."[188] Following this verse, the text reads, "The end of the verses of the prologue," and next, Nālaka, the son of Asita's younger sister, speaks to the Buddha. "(699) [Nālaka said to the Teacher:] 'The utterance of Asita is understood to be correct, for, Gotama, I have come asking you, knower of all Truth [Buddha]. (700) I am one who has renounced the home life, longing to practice alms-seeking. Tell me, sage, explain to me the supreme realm, the state of the sage.'"[189] Sakyamuni then explains the holy practice to Nālaka.

These introductory verses have no Chinese translation and are not quoted in other Buddhist scriptures, so they are considered to be a relatively late section of the *Suttanipāta*. Nevertheless they are of an earlier form than scriptures written in prose.[190] They are a prototype or forerunner of the later Buddha legends. Although this story of Asita contains some mythological elements, they are not as excessive as those of the later period.

With the growing deification of the Buddha in later times, it was believed that the Buddha declared his own greatness at his birth. In the same way, the legend grew that Vipassin Buddha uttered the following verses about himself when he was born: "Chief [*agga*] am I in all the world. Eldest [*jeṭṭha*] am I in the world. Superior [*seṭṭha*] am I in the world. This is my last birth [*jāti*]. No more will I enter existence [*punabbhava*]."[191] The later verse, "In heaven and earth, I alone am to be honored," has its origins in this passage.[192] In the *Suttanipāta* legend, the newborn Sakyamuni was

praised by others as supreme among living beings, but as the legend developed, this changed, and he himself made the declaration. Because of this legend, on April 8 Japanese temples set up small shrines called *hanamidō* in which are placed statues of the Buddha as a baby, his right arm raised and his left arm pointing to the ground.

The modern mind may raise the following objection to this. Gotama Buddha, in opposition to the authorities of his time, stressed overcoming the system of social discrimination and insisted that anyone could become a buddha. The statement "I alone in all the world am to be honored," however, goes against Gotama's fundamental idea of the equality of human beings and is extremely conceited. It is possible to analyze the thinking behind this statement in three steps: 1) All living beings are equal; 2) One who realizes that all living beings are equal is to be honored; and 3) Only the Buddha teaches that all beings are equal; therefore he is to be honored. The religious sentiment of later times stressed the Buddha's superhuman nature. People therefore saw no contradiction in stating that only the Buddha, of all human beings, was to be honored, but this change should be taken as backsliding in a philosophic sense. After all, in symbolic terms, the legend means that "I—that is, the original self of each human—am to be honored."

Possessing life, human beings are all separate individuals. I am I. You are you. There is nothing more, nothing less. The decision of how to lead my life rests with me, no other, and because this is so the small self is to be honored infinitely. In the phrase "I alone am to be honored" we have the discovery of the dignity of the human being symbolized in mythical terms.

This has a practical meaning. I exist in physical form, and for me, my body is the most precious. Because each person's body is as precious to that person as mine is to me, it must be cared for; recognition of the importance of one's own body means recognition of that of other people. As a result people are able to honor and feel compassion for one another. Such is the teaching inherent in the small statue of the newborn Sakyamuni.

The tradition that the Buddha took seven steps after his birth appeared in Buddhist writings of later times, not in the oldest texts. Such legends were intended to show the Buddha's majesty to people of the time.

The right arm raised upward and the left hand pointing to the ground represent "heaven" and "earth" respectively. The right arm points to heaven because this is the side Indians considered to be noble from ancient times, leaving the left hand to indicate this world below.

BIRTH LEGENDS IN LATER TIMES

As time passed, the birth legend gradually developed and became embellished. Systematic consideration of all the legends that arose is impossible, so I will limit my discussion to the *Nidānakathā*, *Mahāvastu*, and *Buddhacarita*.

Nidānakathā

The *Nidānakathā* sets out the legend as follows:

> The inhabitants of both cities took the Bodhisatta back to the city of Kapilavatthu. On the same day, in the palace of the Heaven of the Thirty-three [*Tāvatiṃsa* Heaven], the deities of the group were filled with joy, celebrating by waving their garments and saying: "In the city of Kapilavatthu, a son has been born to Great King Suddhodana. This child should sit at the foot of the *bodhi* tree and become a buddha." At that time, an ascetic called Kāḷadevala, who was an intimate of Great King Suddhodana and had attained the eight stages of meditation, went, during the midday rest period following the meal, to the palace of the Heaven of the Thirty-three, and there he sat down taking his midday rest. Seeing the deities, he asked: "Why are you celebrating so joyfully? Tell me, also, the reason." The deities replied: "Friend, a son has been born to King Suddhodana. He will sit at the foot of the *bodhi* tree and become a buddha and turn the wheel of the Dhamma. We are delighted that we will be able to witness his infinite grace as a buddha and hear his teaching." The ascetic, hearing these words [of the deities], quickly descended from the world of the gods, and having entered the king's palace and seated himself on the prepared seat, said: "Great king, I have heard that a son has been born to you. I would like to see him." The king had the child brought in, all dressed up, and carried up to pay his respects to the ascetic. At that moment, the Bodhisatta's feet turned and touched the matted locks of the ascetic. This was because there was no one worthy of the Bodhisatta's reverence throughout his life, and if, unknowingly, the people had put the Bodhisatta's head at the ascetic's feet [to pay reverence], the [ascetic's] head would have cracked into seven pieces.

Here we see the influence of pre-Buddhist Brahmanic writings, and of the *Upaniṣads*, which maintain that the heads of those who argue above their station or who have been unjust will fall off.[193]

[Then] the ascetic thought: "I should not destroy myself," and he rose from the seat and joined his hands together in reverence of the Bodhisatta. When the king saw this wonder, he also bowed before his son.

The ascetic was remembering forty *kappas* [Skt., *kalpa;* an eon, thousands of billions of years] into the past and forty *kappas* into the future, that is, eighty *kappas* altogether. Seeing on the Bodhisatta the auspicious marks, he reflected: "Will he perhaps become a buddha, or will he not?" Then, perceiving, "He will without doubt become a buddha," he smiled, saying, "What a rare person he is." Then he considered: "Will I be able to see this person become a buddha, or will I not?" He perceived: "I will die before that time and be reborn in the Nonmaterial Realm, so even if a hundred or a thousand buddhas appear [in this realm] I will not be able to [go to them and] attain enlightenment." Then he wept, [thinking]: "I will not see this rare person become a buddha. How great is my loss!" Seeing him [weeping], the people asked "Our venerable teacher smiled but a moment ago, and now he is weeping. Venerable One, is there something wrong with our young master?"

"There is nothing wrong with him. He will without doubt become a buddha." "Then why are you weeping?" "I weep in pity for myself because of the greatness of my loss in that I will not be able to see such a person become a buddha," he replied. Then [the ascetic] considered: "Is there, among my relatives, someone who will be able to see this person after he becomes a buddha?" His nephew Nālaka came to mind. He went to his sister's house and inquired: "Where is your son Nālaka?" "[He is] in the house, my brother." "Call him." [Nālaka] came to where he was and he said to him: "A child who will become a buddha has been born in the family of Great King Suddhodana. After thirty-five years have passed he will become a buddha. You will be able to see him; renounce the world, therefore, on this very day."[194]

And the text says that Nālaka did so.

Mahāvastu

This is a relatively early Sanskrit work. (The corrupt nature of the text makes translation difficult, however.)

Mothers of all bodhisattvas give birth when the tenth month [after conception] is completed. The Śākya Subhūti sent a messenger to the

king, saying: "Please set out. The queen will give birth to her child here [in Lumbinī Garden]."

The king replied. The king would come and perform [the ceremony of] breaking the branch of the *śāla* tree.

In Lumbinī Garden quickly remove the piles of grasses, branches, and leaves,

And fill [it] with sweet-smelling flowers and make the [ground] fragrant with perfume.

Also in Lumbinī Garden let breezes laden with the scent of leaves of the *tamāla* [tree] diffuse an ambrosial fragrance. All that gives rise to passion, depart.

Let smoke of a pleasant and subtle scent and clouds descend from the sky to [Lumbinī Garden].

Suffuse Lumbinī Garden richly with the aroma of subtle incense.

Cover each fine strolling path with silken cloth.

Like the heavenly strolling path of the lord of the *devas*.

Consider [the trees] to be *kalpavṛkṣa* trees.

Devas and heavenly maidens carrying scented garlands have come to Lumbinī Garden.

Heavenly maidens wearing earrings made of crystal and *maṇi* jewels and jeweled necklaces descended from heaven, opening their robes and carrying flower garlands.

Some heavenly maidens carry large numbers of *mandārava* flowers,

Other heavenly maidens carry garlands of land and water flowers, suffused with the scent of green sandalwood of those who wear suitable silken robes,[195]

They come, their hearts full of joy.

Adorned with the superlatively beautiful jewels of Jambudvīpa [this world], and carrying parasols made from the yellow jewels of eighty-four thousand people,

The heavenly maidens descend from the sky.

Though the sky carried beautiful crystal and jewels and coral, equal [in beauty] to soaring towers, it had a banner [made of] hundreds of [pieces of] superior cotton cloth.

The autumn clouds, like the breath of elephants, shine in the birds' course.[196]

This beautiful verse is followed by matter-of-fact prose:

The mother of the Bodhisattva does not deliver lying down or sitting, as other women do. The mother of the Bodhisattva stands when [she] delivers the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva, mindful and thoughtful, appears from the [mother's] right side without causing his mother any trouble.

The supreme among human beings are born from the right side.
Those who are as great as tigers all remain as such.
Does not the fact of [being born from] the side differ? And no pain is caused.
Tathāgatas appear in the form made from mind.
And so the fact of [being born from] the side does not differ. And no pain is caused.
The Bodhisattva, being tired of staying in his mother's womb, took seven steps when he finally appeared.
[Śākyamuni] walked seven steps upon the ground as soon as he was born.
He looked around [each] direction and let out a loud laugh.[197]

We do not find in the *Mahāvastu* the verse "In heaven and earth I alone am to be honored." Similar though, are the words "I shall become all-knowing and all-seeing, the supreme of all beings."[198] The Chinese translation closest to this work is the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* in which the eighth fascicle of the text says that the infant Buddha made the following declaration: "In this world I am supreme."[199] This tradition grew of its own accord in later times, a product of people's veneration of the Buddha. The formula "In heaven and earth I alone am to be honored" eventually became the fixed form.

The *Mahāvastu* continues:

When the Sugata [i.e., Buddha] was born, the Bodhisattva's mother suffered no wounds, no abcesses, due to the power of the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva's birth-route was complete, with no casing or restraint. When the Bodhisattva was born, amid the four hundred *koṭis* [forty billion] of continents [*dvīpa*] the long and slender *aśvattha* tree [*bodhi* tree], whose [trunk] forms the main part of the terrestrial ring [of the universe], is supposed to appear. On the small continents [*antardvīpa*], a grove of sandalwood trees is supposed to appear. Come to the realm of ease that is the Bodhisattva's, through the Bodhisattva's power.

Thousands of *devaputras* and thousands of heavenly maidens bearing garlands of flowers came to venerate the Bodhisattva. One *devaputra* asked another *devaputra:* "Where do you go?"

The latter replied: "The consort of the king of this country is about to give birth to the peerless child—the white lotus womb will awaken and open forth.

"He will destroy Māra and attain the highest purpose on earth.

"I am going to approach and venerate that powerful hero."[200]

The tale continues at length. The *Mahāvastu,* one of the older biographies of the Buddha, is confused and awkward in style. Nevertheless, it amply expresses an overwhelming feeling of adoration toward the Buddha. For those of us living in the prison of a mechanized culture, adoration for something other and greater than ourselves is a heartwarming experience.

Buddhacarita

People have celebrated the Buddha's birth and have expressed their feeling in words from ancient times. A clear example is the poet Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita,* a Sanskrit work from the second century. It is said that Aśvaghoṣa lived in the time of King Kaniṣka and was his teacher.

Though the following verses of *Buddhacarita* (I, 8–24) were created later and are considerably removed from historical fact, the kernel of the story is, I believe, based on historical fact. The verses first praise the Buddha's birth in Lumbinī Garden.

In that auspicious grove the queen, [anxiously] waiting for the time of the [prince's] birth, proceeded to a couch covered with a canopy, with the blessings of thousands of serving women.

At that time the constellation of Puṣya was auspiciously clear. From the right side of the queen, purified by her vows, was born a son, with no pain or distress to her, [born] for the happiness of the people of the world.[201]

Gradually [he] emerged shining from the mother's womb, like that which shines brilliantly coming down from the sky. He was not born from the birth canal.

[He was] born having perfected [his] practice across many *kalpas,* correctly mindful and with a calmness of mind, having no disturbance or delusion.

The child shone in splendor and steadfastness, like the sun coming

down on the earth and shining. So brilliantly shining was he that he drew the eyes of all, like the moon.

With the burning radiance of his limbs, like the sun he outshone the brilliance of the lighted lamp. He illuminated all the directions with the glorious color of the expensive gold of the Jambūnada River.

The child walked seven steps, like the constellation of the Seven *Ṛṣis* [the Great Bear]. The seven steps were not hesitant but like stamping on the ground, high and long, firm and calm.

The Seven *Ṛṣis* had long been revered in India, and from this tradition developed the veneration of the seven buddhas of the past. Note that the legend of seven steps appears here.

With a lion's tread, he looked in the four directions and said, speaking of his future aim: "I was born to attain enlightenment and to bring happiness to the beings of the world. This will be my final birth among the realms of delusion."

From the sky came flowing down two streams of water, clear as moonlight. One stream had the power of cold, and the other stream had the power of heat. They fell down upon his benign head to bring refreshment to his body.[202]

He lay on a bed overhung with a splendid canopy, with a frame that shone with gold and feet made of lapis lazuli. *Yakṣa* kings stood around [the bed], guarding him, golden lotuses held in their hands in honor of the child.

In the sky, dwellers of heaven bowed their heads before his majesty, held up a white parasol, and recited words of supreme blessing that he might attain enlightenment.

The great dragon kings [*mahoraga*], thirsting after the wonderful teachings and therefore having served the buddhas of the past, fanned the child with whisks, with eyes of faith, and strewed *mandāra* flowers in every place.

The idea of streams of water and *mandāra* flowers falling from heaven also exists in Hinduism. Kālidāsa, in the *Meghadūta* (43), describes a similar legend concerning the birth of the warrior deity, Skanda. These legends probably reflect a traditional Indian idea. Aśvaghoṣa continues:

The gods of the pure abode, unsullied in body or mind, were gladdened by the auspicious sign of the Tathāgata coming into the world, and even though all their passions had already been extinguished, they

were filled with joy for the sake of the happiness of worldly beings drowned in their sufferings.

When he was born, the earth, though restrained by the monarch of mountains [Himalayas], shook like a boat buffeted by the wind. Rain fell, though the sky was cloudless, a rain containing blue and red lotuses perfumed with sandalwood.

Pleasant breezes blew, soft to the touch, making the heavenly garments flutter. More and more the sun increased in brilliance, and fire burned with a soft flame, not fanned by the breeze.

In the northeastern part of the dwelling, a well of pure water appeared of its own accord. The beauties of the female quarter in the palace, struck with wonder, began to perform the religious ritual of ablution there, as they would perform their ablutions at a holy place in a pilgrimage resort.

Bands of divine spirits, seeking religion, filled the grove to see him, and unseasonable flowers burst forth on the trees, curious [to behold him].

Aśvaghoṣa's poem originally contained more verses before and after this section, but they are missing, and I have translated here only what is extant in the Sanskrit text. The poem alludes to Hindu myths and legends, which I have abridged because they probably are not familiar to my readers. They indicate that Aśvaghoṣa, writing during the period of Hindu revival, used Hindu sources extensively in his praise of the Buddha's life.

Kaniṣka's empire was a sort of world empire. The king was not an Indian, but from near Khotan in Central Asia. He used a variety of titles, including the Indian *mahārāja* ("great king"), *rājatirāja,* derived from the Iranian *shahanshah* ("king of kings"), *devaputra,* from the Chinese *t'ien-tze* ("son of heaven"), and *caesara,* from the Roman *Caesar.*[203] It is important to note that it was in such a cultural environment that Aśvaghoṣa composed his biography of the Buddha, employing a new literary form and incorporating generally accepted ideas of Hinduism.

What would modern versions of this Buddhist poet and his work be like? The late Rev. Kyogoku Itsuzo, who spread Buddhist teachings in the United States, once mentioned to me that the two books that were most influential among those in America who had a sympathy for Buddhism were Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia* and Paul Carus's *The Gospel of Buddha.* Both relate the life of the Buddha. Arnold's is a poetic work, whereas Carus's compares events from the Buddha's life with events set out in the

New Testament, thus making it more accessible to Americans. These books might well be called modern versions of Aśvaghoṣa's biography.

Today it is difficult to move people's hearts merely by echoing the traditional narrative of the events of the Buddha's life. In order to make the Buddha's life relevant to people today, we should first examine the events in the Buddha's life in relation to the historical and social background of his times. Second, we should think about what meaning these events have for us, living in the modern age, because human events have concurrent supratemporal and suprahistorical meaning. If we do these things, the emotion of the ancient poets when they praised the life of the Buddha would be alive in our hearts.

NAME-GIVING CEREMONY

After the birth a name-giving ceremony was held. According to various Buddhist writings, the personal name of the Buddha was Siddhattha (Skt., Siddhārtha), "one who has achieved his purpose."[204] Later commentators interpreted this to mean that the name was given because he had successfully accomplished everything in the heavenly realm. Chinese translations of the Buddhist texts transliterate the name as Hsi-t'o t'ai-tzu.[205]

The *Nidānakathā* relates the event as follows:

> On the fifth day, [the king] had the Bodhisatta's head washed and said: "[We] will perform the ceremony of name giving," and anointed the palace with four kinds of perfumes and strewed it with *rāja* flowers and others, five kinds in all. [The king] made ready a milk-porridge without adulteration and invited one hundred eight Brahmins, masters of the deepest teachings of the three *Vedas,* seating them in the palace. After they had been served delicate food and [the king] had expressed great esteem [for them], they were asked to prophesy [the prince's] marks. "What would he be?" Among them, at that time there were eight Brahmins, Rāma, Dhaja, Lakkhaṇa, and Mantī, Koṇḍañña, Bhoja, Suyāma, Sudatta, learned in six types of supplementary learning of the *Vedas,* who intoned magical phrases.
>
> These eight Brahmins alone were the ones who prophesied according to the [Bodhisatta's] special marks, and it was these same men who interpreted [Māyā's] dream of the day [the Bodhisatta] was conceived. Of these, seven raised two fingers each and gave a double prediction, saying: "One who has these marks will, if he continues a secular life,

> become a wheel-rolling king. Should he renounce the world, he will become a buddha." They then explained all about the glory and prosperity of a wheel-rolling king. However, the youngest of them, a Brahmin youth whose *gotta* [family name] was Koṇḍañña, seeing that the Bodhisatta was perfectly endowed with splendid marks, raised only one finger and gave a single prediction, saying: "This person will not remain in the household life. He will undoubtedly become a buddha who will remove the veil [of delusion]." For he was one who had served [former buddhas] and had reached his final existence [in the realm of delusion], and he was superior in wisdom to the seven others.[206]

Although embellishments have accrued to this story, the fact of the name-giving ceremony itself is perhaps historical, since the Brahmanical texts state that a name-giving ceremony (*nāmakaraṇa*) is one of the essential purifying rituals (*saṃskāra*) in human life.

The *Nidānakathā* then tells how Suddhodana had no wish for his young son to renounce the world and become a buddha.

> Then the king asked [his ministers]: "What will my son see that will cause him to renounce the world?"
>
> "There will be four signs."
>
> "And what will they be?"
>
> "An old man, a sick man, a dead man, and one who has renounced the world."
>
> "From now on," said the king, "let no such people approach my son. There is no need for my son to become a buddha. What I want to see is my son ruling over the four great continents surrounded by the two thousand islands and striding through the heavens surrounded by a retinue thirty-six *yojanas* [one *yojana* = about seven kilometers] in circumference." Then [he] placed guards for a *gāvuta* [quarter of a *yojana*] in the four directions so that none of these four kinds of people should enter the sight of the prince.[207]

This episode is clearly a later legend, since such a discussion could hardly have arisen concerning the newborn heir. The fact that Gotama Buddha renounced secular life after seeing human birth, old age, sickness, and death, and his father's opposition to such an action, have been projected back to the time of his birth.

2. Youth

Life in the Palace

CHILDHOOD

The biographies that are believed to transmit relatively old legends with little hyperbole relate very little about the Buddha's childhood,[1] and virtually nothing about the period before the Buddha's renunciation appears in any of the four *Nikāyas* (*Dīgha-Nikāya, Majjhima-Nikāya, Saṃyutta-Nikāya,* and *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*) or in the Pāli *Vinaya.* The colorful tales surrounding the young prince appear only in the developed and expanded versions of the Buddha biographies created in later periods.

Those later biographies relate that Gotama Buddha's mother, Māyā, died seven days after his birth[2] and that he was brought up by his mother's younger sister, Mahāpajāpatī.[3] This implies that Mahāpajāpatī became Suddhodana's second wife. Traditionally in Asia, a man marrying his dead wife's sister is not unusual, and since such a fact contributes nothing to the deification of Gotama Buddha, its occurrence can probably be regarded as historically true.

Mahāpajāpatī gave birth to a son called Nanda, Gotama's half-brother. She later renounced the world herself and became the first *bhikkhunī* (female monk) of the Buddhist *saṅgha* (community). These details do not occur in the oldest sutras but may be assumed to be factual, given that they are very specific and that there is very little contradiction about them in the various sources. It is said that Mahāpajāpatī, unable to bear

witnessing Gotama's passing from the world, died before him.[4] The Buddha appears to have had only the one half-brother, Nanda; it is said, though, that he had a number of cousins, including Devadatta, Ānanda, Anuruddha, and Mahānāma, but whether they were older or younger than the Buddha is not clear.

A legend in the *Nidānakathā* illustrates how Siddhattha was revered by the retainers, as the eldest son of the king, because of his father's maintenance of confidence among the warriors: "And on that same day, eighty thousand clansmen gathered in the hall where ceremonies were held and each promised [the prince] one of his sons, saying: 'Whether [the prince] becomes a buddha or a king, we shall each give one son. If he becomes a buddha, he will be revered and surrounded by religious practitioners of the Ksatriya caste, and if he becomes a king, he will be revered and surrounded by nobles of the Ksatriya caste.'"[5] There is here a certain amount of later coloration, but it is almost certain that Prince Siddhattha was esteemed and made much of by the court in which he lived.

The legend in the *Nidānakathā* about his nurses' devotion is also probably factual: "The king gave the Bodhisatta nurses who were endowed with the finest features and who were without any fault. Surrounded by innumerable attendants, the Bodhisatta grew in great splendor."[6] The description of the great luxury of his life in the palace is, however, exaggerated:

> Having amused himself there the whole day and having bathed in the auspicious lotus pond, he went after sunset to the auspicious resting-stone where he sat down with the intention of having himself adorned. Then his servants gathered around him from all sides, bringing with them robes of many colors, ornaments of various kinds, garlands, perfumes, and scented ointments. At that moment, the throne on which [the *deva*] Sakka was sitting grew hot. Thinking, "Who can be trying to remove me from here?" he perceived that it was the time when the Bodhisatta was being adorned. Then, addressing Vissakamma [the divine architect] he said, "Vissakamma, tonight, at midnight, Prince Siddhattha will make his great renunciation of the world. Because this will be the last time that he adorns himself thus, go to the park and adorn that Supreme Man with celestial ornaments."
>
> "Very well," replied Vissakamma, and went to [where the Bodhisatta was] in an instant, by the power of the gods. Assuming the form of the [Bodhisatta's] barber, he took from the [other] barber the cloth

> of the turban, and wrapped it around the Bodhisatta's head. As soon as the Bodhisatta felt the touch of his hand, he inferred that it was no man but a *devaputta*. To wind the cloth but once around his head took a thousand cloths, which made the shape of a jewel above the crown. The next fold also needed one thousand cloths; ten needed ten thousand cloths. Do not wonder how so many cloths could be wound around a small head. The largest of [the cloths] was the size of a *sāmalatā* flower, and the others were the size of *kutumbaka* flowers. The Bodhisatta's head was like a *kuyyaka* flower with its stamens fully extended.
>
> And so he was adorned all over with ornaments, and as the musicians all showed their various skills, the Brahmins cried out words like "Victory" and "Joy," and the bards and sellers of incense expressed their respect with phrases of congratulation and praise, [he] mounted his fine royal chariot.[7]

The Sakyas were a farming people, and even the king's retainers would have done farm work. This is illustrated in the *Nidānakathā* by the legend of the Sowing Festival (*vappa-maṅgala*), which occurred soon after Prince Siddhattha's birth:

> Now, on a certain day, the king held what is called the Sowing Festival. On that day [the people] decorated the whole city, so that it looked like a palace of the gods [*devavimāna*]. Slaves and servants [*dāsakammakarādayo*] all wore new clothes, and perfumed and garlanded, they assembled at the palace. On the king's plowing ground, a thousand plows were yoked [to oxen]. On that day there were 107 plows ornamented with silver, as were the oxen, their reins, and their traces. The plow that was held by the king, though, was ornamented with brilliant gold, and the horns of the oxen, the reins, and the whip were also ornamented with gold. The king set out with a large number of retainers, taking his son [Sakyamuni] with him too. In the plowing field there was a single *jambu* tree, its thick foliage providing dense shade. Under it they placed the bed for the prince, with a canopy patterned with golden stars over it and a screen around it. Having set some [retainers] to watch over [the prince], the king, wearing all his ornaments and accompanied by his retainers, proceeded to the place where they were to plow. There the king took hold of the golden plow, and his courtiers the 107 silver plows, and the farmers the other plows, and

> with all these in their hands, they plowed together here and there. The king went from this side to the other side, and back from the other side to this side. There, [the king] was filled with great happiness.[8]

Reliefs from later times show the young prince visiting the temple (*devakulālaya*; however, the *Nidānakathā* has it as *devavimāna*);[9] such an event must also have occurred in an agricultural society. The various legends about the Buddha are also witness to his visiting the temple.

Gotama Buddha received the education, both academic and practical, necessary for the scion of a royal house. Later legends relate that he showed uncommon ability in them.[10] Some Buddhist writings record that he began to learn to read at the age of seven.[11] This may be fact, though the legends in the later biographies are highly inflated. Gotama is said to have gone to a "writing school" (*lipiśālā*) and there studied under a teacher (*ācārya*) called Viśvāmitra.[12] The *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i-ching* says that the prince attended lessons at his teacher's school accompanied by five hundred servants.[13] The *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching* says, however, that a special school was created for the prince and that he was taught by a Brahmin named Pa-t'o-lo-ni (Bhaddalāni?).[14] The steady growth in the prince's majesty was a product of later times. A number of reliefs depicting his schooling survive, interesting for the picture they give of schools of the time.[15] Sakyamuni very likely listened to his lessons with his schoolmates, their slates balanced on their knees.[16] Vedic learning consisted of memorizing the sacred works, so writing materials were unnecessary. The learning that Sakyamuni received, though, was practical and written down. He probably studied things quite different in content from the Vedic learning of the Brahmins. It is interesting also that the ancient Indian writers described Sakyamuni as attending school, rather than being taught at the palace by tutors. In this we can surmise the transmission of historical fact, predating the deification of the Buddha.

Later biographies presented the Buddha as a prodigy. Aśvaghoṣa wrote in the *Buddhacarita:* "Then, like the morning sun appearing above the eastern mountain, or like a flame fanned by the wind, the prince gradually grew in robustness, like the bright moon when it is full" (II, 20). "When he had passed beyond childhood, he in due time received the initiation ceremony. He mastered in only a few days the various sciences suitable to his standing that [ordinary people] took many years to learn" (II, 24). Another biography says that the prince knew everything, to the extent that his teacher cried out in admiration, saying, "That such a one of rare

and pure wisdom, knowing the secular teachings and already profoundly versed in all of the theories, should enter my school!"[17]

EARLY SPIRITUAL CONCERNS

Born into a royal family, Gotama was assured of social position and material comfort. All the same, he was not able to find satisfaction in these things. From the time he was very young he had been sensitive to the pain and distress that afflict human life, a quality seemingly inherent in his character but perhaps intensified by the early loss of his mother. When young he tended to become absorbed in meditation.[18] According to the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, he spoke later of that time: "I well remember how once, when I was sitting in the shade of a *jambu* tree on a path between the fields while my father [Suddhodana], a Sakka [Sakya], was attending to the affairs of government, I became detached from desire and from that which is wrong and attained the pleasant state of the first stage of meditation [*jhāna*], born of detachment, the contemplation accompanied by reasoning [*savitakka*] and the contemplation accompanied by investigation [*savicāra*]. I thought that this was truly the path leading to enlightenment."[19] Like all Indian religious practitioners, Gotama seems to have preferred meditation sitting in the shade at the base of a tree. The "first stage of meditation" mentioned here is the first of the four stages of mental concentration (*jhāna*), which were systematized in a later period but are applied here.

The *Nidānakathā* also relates that Gotama tended from a very young age to become immersed in meditation. At the time of the Sowing Festival,

> The nurses who were sitting surrounding the Bodhisatta, [thinking,] "Let us go see the king's happiness," came out from behind the screen. The Bodhisatta, looking around here and there and seeing no one, quickly arose and sat down cross-legged, and regulating his inhaling and his exhaling, entered the first stage of meditation [*jhāna*]. The nurses were a little late returning, having pursued good things to eat. Though the shadows of the other trees were moving, that of the tree beneath which [the Bodhisatta] sat remained circular. The nurses, remembering their young master was alone, quickly pulled aside the screen and entered. Seeing the Bodhisatta sitting cross-legged on the bed and perceiving the wonder [of the shadow], they went to the king

> and reported, "Sire, thus is the prince sitting. And though the shadows of the other trees are moving, that of the *jambu* tree remains circular." The king came in haste and, seeing the wonder, said, bowing to his son, "My beloved child, this is my second obeisance to you."[20]

The latter part of the tale is perhaps later embroidery, but the former part may contain historical fact.

The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* relates that later, when the Buddha was staying at Sāvatthī in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika, "giver of alms to the destitute," he recalled his youth while talking to the *bhikkhus*.

> I was slender and delicate, extremely slender and delicate, exceedingly slender and delicate. In my father's house lotus ponds had been made. In one place blue lotuses had been planted, in another place red lotuses, and in another place white lotuses, all for my sake [to please me]. I never used any sandalwood that did not come from Kāsi [Varanasi]. My clothes were made of Kāsi cloth, and my under-robe and my inner robe, of Kāsi cloth. [Even when I was walking within my dwelling] a white parasol was held above me, both day and night, so that I would not be touched by cold or heat, by dust or weeds or dew.
>
> I had three palaces, one for the winter, one for the summer, and one for the rainy season. During the four months of rains, in the palace for the rainy season, entertained by all-female musicians, I did not descend from the palace. In the [ordinary] dwellings of other people, slaves and workers and servants are given broken rice together with sour gruel, but in my father's dwelling, slaves and workers and servants were given white rice and meat.[21]

I think that these memories are close to fact. Even in recent times wealthy Indian *mahārājas* have owned palaces in different places and had attendants hold parasols over them when they sat. Their gardens contain beautiful lotus ponds, still to be seen, where people delight in bathing. Varanasi has been renowned for its weaving since ancient times, and in the time of the Buddha it produced high-quality textiles; it is more than likely, therefore, that they were also used in southern Nepal.

Because of the elegant lifestyle he had become used to, the Buddha was delicate in constitution and mild in temperament. Because he was shut away inside the palace, he most likely did not have children of his own age to play with. He was probably also a sensitive youth. In the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* he says:

> And though I was blessed with prosperity and was excessively slender and delicate, I thought, "The ignorant ordinary person, subject to old age and unable to avoid old age, when seeing another who is old and weak is troubled and feels anxiety, shame, and disgust, overlooking [the fact that] oneself [also is subject to old age].[22] But I too am subject to old age and cannot avoid it, and seeing one who is old and weak, I will probably be troubled and feel anxiety, shame, and disgust." This seemed to me not to be fitting. At this thought, all pride in my youth [i.e., the arrogance of the young] vanished.
>
> "The ignorant ordinary person, subject to illness and unable to avoid illness, when seeing another who is ill, is troubled and feels anxiety, shame, and disgust, overlooking [the fact that] oneself [also is subject to illness]. But I too am subject to illness and cannot avoid it, and seeing one who is ill, I will probably be troubled and feel anxiety, shame, and disgust." This seemed to me not to be fitting. At this thought, all pride in my health [i.e., the arrogance of the healthy] vanished.
>
> "The ignorant ordinary person, subject to death and unable to avoid death, when seeing another who is dead is troubled and feels anxiety, shame, and disgust, overlooking [the fact that] oneself [also is subject to death]. But I too am subject to death and cannot avoid it, and seeing one who is dead, I will probably be troubled and feel anxiety, shame, and disgust." This seemed to me not to be fitting. At this thought, all pride in my life [i.e., the arrogance of life] vanished.[23]

Gotama's renunciation of the life of a ruler to become a wandering ascetic presupposes some such profound reflection. Ignorant, ordinary people like us experience disgust when seeing someone old and weak, despite the fact that we ourselves cannot avoid the same fate. Gotama, experiencing the same emotion, turned that disgust toward himself, ashamed that he should feel that way toward someone whose fate he would eventually share. He similarly personalized the problems of illness and death.

Such reflection is the outcome of a genuine and keenly felt emotion. Every grown person wants to remain forever young, never to grow old, fall sick, and die. Such a wish, though, arising as it does from the nature of human existence, can never be attained. The *Suttanipāta* says: "How short it is, this human life. [People] die before they reach a hundred years. Even if they live longer [than one hundred years], they die because of old age" (804).

Early Buddhists regarded reflections such as those quoted in the pre-

ceding passage from the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* as the expression of the "three forms of arrogance": the arrogance of youth (*yobbana-mada*), arrogance of health (*ārogya-mada*), and arrogance of life (*jīvita-mada*).[24] Arrogance is generally associated with those occupying important positions in society—those with wealth, those with intellectual and artistic attainment, and those with high technical skill—and is often the butt of criticism by the public. The problem, however, is somewhat more acute. Even those who criticize these people as being arrogant are themselves filled with arrogance, i.e., arrogance that derives from being young, from being healthy, and even just from being alive. Such arrogance is a fundamental part of human life. Although empty, it pervades human existence.

Desire swirls in the depths of life. Gotama realized, when still a youth, that it rules people and that suffering arises because they are dominated by it. All the same, he did not look to something greater than himself to depend on. The *Cūḷadukkhanda-sutta* relates that later he spoke of this to a Sakya, Mahānāma:

> Before I attained enlightenment [*saṃbodha*], Mahānāma, when I was a bodhisatta and not yet arrived at true and complete enlightenment, I had a clear comprehension, through correct understanding, that there is little that is pleasurable in desires, that they bring suffering and anxiety and misfortune. All the same I did not experience zest and pleasure [*pītisukha*] outside the desires, outside wrong dispositions, and I did not reach anything that was of higher goodness [*santatara*]. So I could not say that I was not ensnared by desire.[25]

Finally he found that which transcended the desires:

> But I clearly comprehended, through correct understanding, that there is little that is pleasurable in desires, that they bring suffering and anxiety and misfortune. More than that, I experienced zest and pleasure outside the desires, outside wrong dispositions, and reached that which was of higher goodness. So I could say that I was no longer ensnared by desire.[26]

Though Gotama, while still living a secular life, realized that in the desires there is little that is pleasurable but much that causes suffering, he was still ensnared by them and grieved because he could not find "that which was of higher goodness," true zest and pleasure. His discovery of that was to be his enlightenment.

The Chinese equivalent of the Pāli *Cūḷadukkhanda-sutta* passage con-

cerning old age, sickness, and death is a bit more detailed. Here, Gotama is depicted leaving the palace for his pleasure garden, and the text says that his observation of the condition of humankind at that time led to his reflections on old age, sickness, and death. Before that part, the Buddha's recollections of reflections in his youth are added.

> When I wanted to go and visit my pleasure garden, thirty horsemen selected the best mounts and accompanied me in procession, before and after. The rest of the people, of course [also accompanied the procession]. This supernatural power [*iddhipāda*?] I had was the most delicate. I also remember that then I saw a cultivator resting in the field. [I] went under a *jambu* tree, sat there, cross-legged, and was separated from desire, from all evil and wrong teachings. Applying reasoning [*savitakka*?] and investigation [*savicāra*?] I attained the first stage of *jhāna*, with the joy of freedom from the evils of life.
>
> And then I thought, "The ordinary person, ignorant and unlearned, is subject to the law of sickness but does not escape from sickness. . . ."[27]

The passage alludes to sickness and old age, but not death. Equivalent passages in other Chinese translated texts, though, do mention all three.[28] It is the Chinese translations that add descriptions of the prince's reflections on seeing the human sufferings of sickness, old age, and death during his excursions from the palace. Observing a person feeble with age, he acutely felt the suffering that life engenders, and when he saw a sick person and a corpse, he involuntarily experienced a sense of life's transience.

The next stage of the developing legend relates that when the prince was fourteen, on setting out from the eastern gate of the city he saw an old person; on setting out from the southern gate he saw a sick person; and on setting out from the western gate he saw a corpse. Then, returning to the city, he noticed a religious practitioner.[29] At each instance his father was concerned that he might follow the religious life and urged him to further delights of the senses. The later systematic version of the legend as it developed is known as "The Excursion from the Four Gates"; here, a fourth element of suffering, birth, has been added. A further addition of the eight forms of suffering reflects the doctrinal views of later times.

A comparatively late sutra, the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta,* gives a typical version of the developed legend: "When I was still a bodhisatta, and not yet

fully enlightened, though subject myself to birth, [I] sought that which was subject to birth; though subject myself to old age, [I] sought that which was subject to old age; though subject myself to sickness, [I] sought that which was subject to sickness; though subject myself to death, [I] sought that which was subject to death; though subject myself to sorrow, [I] sought that which was subject to sorrow; and though subject myself to impurity, [I] sought that which was subject to impurity."[30] "Subject myself to birth" means that though the suffering caused by birth is inherent, we further seek after that which is subject to birth, wishing for children, for wealth, for fame, only to increase our suffering. "Subject myself to old age" means that though the suffering of old age is inherent, we seek after that which is subject to old age, such as children, grandchildren, or relations, and want wealth or fame, which inevitably dwindle with time. Likewise, though we are all eventually destined to fall ill, we seek others who are also subject to illness. Though we are subject ourselves to death, we look to those who will also die; should we not seek after that which is deathless? Human beings, however, do no such thing.

The sutra continues:

> Then the thought came to me. "Why, when I myself am subject to birth, old age, sickness, death, sorrow, impurity, [do I] seek after that which is subject to birth, old age, sickness, death, sorrow, impurity? Though I am myself subject to birth, I know the suffering in that which is subject to birth, and therefore I will seek that which is birthless, the supreme tranquillity of nirvana. Though I am myself subject to old age, sickness, death, sorrow, impurity, I know the suffering in that which is subject to these, and therefore I will seek that which is not subject to old age, sickness, death, sorrow, impurity, the supreme tranquillity of nirvana."[31]

The sutra calls this endeavor to seek out the Way the "noble quest" (*ariyā pariyesanā*). Though the four *Nikāyas* do not make any reference to the legend of the excursions from the four gates, they do contain the story of Vipassin, a buddha of the past, who before his enlightenment, while still a prince, rode in his chariot out of his palace, and on the way to his pleasure garden saw an old man, a sick man, and a corpse, which made him think deeply; he talked with his attendant about what he saw.[32] A similar story was later incorporated into the legend of Sakyamuni.[33]

The *Nidānakathā* gives a detailed description of the Buddha seeing an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a religious practitioner:

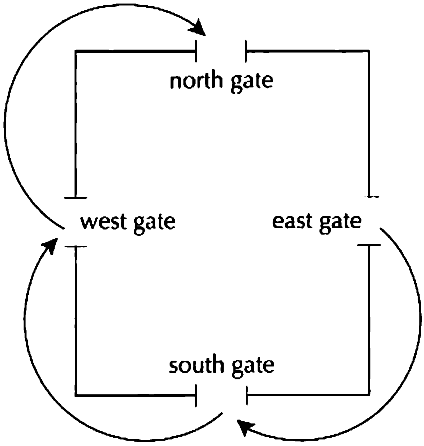
> Now, on a certain day, the Bodhisatta wished to go to the pleasure garden and so told his driver, "Prepare the chariot." "Yes, Sire," he answered, and brought out the supreme chariot of great value and, after decorating it, harnessed to it four Sindhava horses of state, the color of the petals of the white lotus, and then announced to the Bodhisatta [that all was ready]. The Bodhisatta stepped up into the chariot, like the palace of the gods, and set out for the garden.
>
> "The time is close for Prince Siddhattha to attain supreme enlightenment," said the gods. "We will give him a sign." They changed a *devaputta* into a frail old man, toothless, white-haired, crooked and bent, leaning on a staff and trembling, and the Bodhisatta and the driver saw him.
>
> Then the Bodhisatta asked the driver, "What sort of man is that? His hair is different from that of other men." When he heard [the driver's] answer [he said], "A disgusting thing is birth, since to all that are born old age must come." Agitated in mind, he turned around and returned to the palace.
>
> "Why has my son returned so quickly?" asked the king.
>
> [The courtiers] replied, "Sire, he has seen an old man. Having seen an old man, he will perhaps renounce the world."
>
> "Why do you trouble me so? Quickly prepare plays to entertain my son. As long as he is enjoying himself he will not feel any urge to renounce the world." Then the king increased the guard and placed men at a distance of half a *yojana* in each direction.
>
> Again, on a certain day, when the Bodhisatta was on his way to the pleasure garden, his gaze was arrested by a sick man, whom the gods had fashioned, and he inquired as before, became agitated in mind, and again returned to the palace. And the king questioned as he had done before, and gave the same orders, and again extending the guard, placed men at a distance of three *gāvuta* [three-quarters of a *yojana*] in each direction.
>
> And again, on a certain day, when the Bodhisatta was on his way to the pleasure garden, his gaze was arrested by a corpse, which the gods had fashioned, and he inquired as before, became agitated in mind, and again returned to the palace. And the king questioned as he had

> done before, and gave the same orders, and again extending the guard, placed men at a distance of one *yojana* in each direction.
>
> And again, on a certain day, when [the Bodhisatta] was on his way to the pleasure garden, his gaze was arrested by the one who had renounced the world [*pabbajita*], whom the gods had fashioned, carefully and properly dressed, and he asked the driver, "What kind of man is this?" The driver, though he knew nothing of the one who had renounced the world or the merit of the one who had renounced the world because of there being no buddha in the world, replied through the power of the gods, "Sire, this is the one who has renounced the world," and spoke of the merits of renouncing the world. The Bodhisatta was deeply impressed with the idea of renouncing the world, and this day he went on until he came to the pleasure garden.[34]

The compiler of the *Nidānakathā* then expressed the germ of a critical attitude toward his sources, commenting, "However, the reciters of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* say that [he went to the park] after seeing all the four signs on the same day."[35]

In later centuries the tale took fixed shape[36] as "The Excursion from the Four Gates."[37] Here, the prince is said to have gone out from each of the four gates of the palace, meeting in turn an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a religious practitioner. Seeing also how insects and birds fed off each other, he realized that no reliance could be placed on a world where such cruelty existed, and this understanding led him eventually to renounce the world. The legend has a mechanical form: exiting from the eastern gate, he saw an old man; exiting from the southern gate, he saw a sick man; exiting from the western gate, he saw a corpse; and exiting from the northern gate, he saw a religious practitioner (see diagram). Such clockwise rotation recalls the way Brahmins circumambulated the Vedic altar and how armies returning victorious from war would circle the city walls three times. The order of meeting the various people is merely a device to fit the traditional rotation and does not mean that Prince Siddhattha actually exited in such a fashion.

The legend in its fixed shape was an important theme in Buddhist art of later periods.[38] An unusual sculpture, which was found in Gandhāra, shows the newly married Gotama and his wife observing birth, old age, sickness, and death in human beings.[39] It is an important composition, for it implies that Siddhattha and his bride were alike in realizing the transience of life through their observations. This would mean, then, that



"The Excursion from the Four Gates."

Siddhattha did not abandon his wife when he renounced the world, but that his act was based on a mutual understanding between them.

Another tale describes Siddhattha as being saddened by the sufferings of farm laborers in their toil.[40] This has important implications for Buddhism. Old age, sickness, and death are, in themselves, personal problems, but compassion for the suffering of others makes the problems of others one's own. We find in this the beginnings of the Buddhist ideal of benefiting others.

MARRIAGE

Without a doubt Gotama once had a wife. All the biographies mention that fact and the birth of his son, Rāhula. The early writings, however, barely mention the marriage, which, for us living in the modern age, seems to be a climax in any biography. The *Nidānakathā* speaks of it only as a subsidiary matter, as a mere aspect of his life in the palace with its attendant sensual delights. Marriage, as far as the early biographers were concerned, was no more than an episode in the life of pleasure.

According to the *Nidānakathā*, Gotama was married at the age of sixteen. The Northern Buddhist tradition, though, gives seventeen.[41] The *Nidānakathā* says: "In due course the Bodhisatta turned sixteen. The king built three palaces for the Bodhisatta, appropriate for the three seasons.

One was of nine stories, another was of seven stories, and another was of five stories. He was waited upon by 40,000 dancing girls. The Bodhisatta, surrounded by his costumed dancing girls, was like a god surrounded by a group of heavenly women. In enjoyment of musical instruments that were played only by women, and in great happiness, he lived, as the seasons changed, in each of his palaces. Rāhula's mother was his principal consort."[42] The palaces of various heights and the 40,000 dancing girls are, of course, imaginary elaborations.

The name of Gotama's wife remains virtually unmentioned in the texts of Southern Buddhism, whereas those of Northern Buddhism transmit various names. One well-known name is Yasodharā (Skt., Yaśodharā).[43] Even the comparatively late *Nidānakathā* gives only Rāhulamātā (Rāhula's mother). Oldenberg argued that the name of Gotama's principal wife must have been Bhaddakaccā, because this is the name that appears in the *Buddhavaṃsa*.[44] A name somewhat similar to this, Bhaddā Kaccānā, appears in the Pāli scriptures as the chief of those who attained supernatural powers (Skt., *abhijñā;* Pāli, *abhiññā*).[45] A gloss says she was a later incarnation of Yasodharā.[46] All these texts, though, are very late and are not authoritative. In the *Lalitavistara*, the Buddha's wife is called Gopā or Yaśovatī, and in the *Mahāvastu* and the *Buddhacarita*, Yaśodharā.[47] In a few of the original manuscripts from which Chinese translations were made, it appears that the Buddha's wife was called Gopī.[48] Despite all the variants, the name most commonly applied to the Buddha's wife is Rāhulamātā, Rahula's mother.[49]

There is no single tradition concerning her birth and lineage. Some believe that she was the Buddha's cousin. Also, because the *Nidānakathā* refers to her as the Buddha's "principal consort," there is the possibility that there were other wives, but nothing definite is known.

Yasodharā is a name often used in India. The fact that her name has not come down to us perhaps implies that she was a typical Indian noble's wife, gentle and subservient to her husband, who did not exert such a dramatic influence on Gotama as to appear in the forefront of his life. If she had been malignant in any way, or unfaithful, becoming a factor in Gotama's decision to renounce the world, her personal name would certainly have been recorded from early on in the Buddhist texts, as Devadatta's was, for example. Because she was not conspicuous in any way, though, the compilers of the texts forgot her name. Therefore, when the later writers of Buddha biographies found that they had to make some mention of her, they individually fabricated suitable names. In their

creations we can discern the characteristics of a typical Nepalese or Indian lady.

It is possible that Gotama had a number of wives and that the various names belonged to different women. A later tradition says that Siddhattha had three wives: Yasodharā, the principal one, and Migajā (Skt., Mṛgajā) and Gopikā.[50] The possibility cannot be denied, but in view of the fact that only Rāhula is given as the Buddha's son, it is very likely he had only one wife.

The ancient texts do not give any indication of a romantic episode in Gotama's life. As in many other societies, unarranged love was considered self-indulgent and improper among people of high rank. One text says that Gotama's marriage was arranged for him by the king, his father.[51]

That the ancient sutras and *Vinayas* (*Wu-fen-lü*, *Ssu-fen-lü*, etc.) do not mention Gotama's "marriage" as such indicates that the compilers of those works did not see the marriage as having any special significance, being no more than another event in delusion-filled secular life. They therefore felt free to ignore it. (However, the compilers went into great detail in describing episodes they regarded as intrinsically interesting, such as Sakyamuni's subduing of the magic of the three Kassapa brothers, which is, for modern people, of little interest.) In any case, far too little is written about Gotama's marriage. It is likely, though, that it was not a marriage as we think of it today.

All the same, marriage is one of the milestones in a person's life. Ordinary people would not permit it to be ignored or glossed over. It is probable, therefore, that the later biographies made far more of Gotama "receiving his bride." Biographers in later centuries gave the Buddha's marriage much more prominence because it was a very "human" event in his life, and the topic was also a favorite subject in Buddhist art.[52]

A popular topic in later biographies, the quarrel between Siddhattha and Devadatta over a woman each sought as his own consort, cannot be found in the ancient texts. Despite the fact that Gotama's consort is hardly mentioned in the early writings, modern interest has focused on her supposed relationship with Devadatta, and a Japanese film about Sakyamuni that portrayed his consort being raped by Devadatta caused a great deal of adverse comment when shown in other Buddhist countries. Although purely fictional, the later legend said that Devadatta went to Kapilavatthu after Gotama's enlightenment, while he was away teaching, and tried to seduce Yasodharā, who rebuffed him.[53] Devadatta was about a

generation younger than the Buddha and his wife, so it is unlikely the story is historical in any way. Later Buddhists probably created the story in order to blacken Devadatta's bad name even further. How the story evolved would be an interesting topic for further research, but our object is to describe Gotama's life based on materials predating the formal biographies, so we must reluctantly leave the question there.

The Birth of Rāhula

Though Buddhist writings mention the birth of Rāhula,[54] it is not a theme in Buddhist art. The *Nidānakathā* relates, "Hearing that Rāhula's mother had given birth to a son, King Suddhodana sent a messenger, saying: 'Announce my joy to my son [the Bodhisatta].'" The Buddha's father was delighted that he now had a future successor in his grandson. Siddhattha, though, did not share his joy: "On hearing the message, the Bodhisatta said, 'Rāhula has been born; a bond has been born.'"[55]

Legend says that Gotama's son, Rāhula, was a fetter while being a bond of love. Also, later Buddhists may have associated the name with an *asura,* Rāhu,[56] who in Indian myth swallows the sun and the moon during an eclipse.[57] Because the child might have become an obstacle to Siddhattha, and because the name Rāhula reminded later people of an *asura,* later generations popularly interpreted his name as "fetter" or "bond."

Suddhodana had no such association in his mind when he gave the baby the name Rāhula with rejoicing: "'What did my son say?' asked the king. When he had heard the answer, he said, 'From now on my grandson's name shall be Rāhula.'"[58] It has long been a custom in India, from ancient times to nowadays, for the grandfather to name the newborn child. It is historically certain that Suddhodana rejoiced in the birth of a grandson and named him Rāhula, and it may also be factual that, if Siddhattha had an introspective character, he was aware of the association with Rāhu. Though the customary name-giving ceremony (*nāmakaraṇa*) would have taken place, there is no record of it.

Training in the Martial Arts

Prince Siddhattha's training in the martial arts was another important event in his life. As a Ksatriya by birth he was naturally expected to be

competent in military things. The *Nidānakathā* relates the episode with stark realism:

> Now while he [Siddhattha] was thus enjoying great happiness, there arose one day, during a meeting of his relatives, the following conversation:
>
> "Siddhattha is living absorbed in enjoyment and is not learning any [military] skill at all. What would he do should war come?"
>
> The king called the Bodhisatta to him and said, "My dear child, your relatives are saying, 'Siddhattha is not learning any [military] skill at all and is absorbed in enjoyment.' What do you think you should do about this?"
>
> "Father, there is no skill that I must learn. Have the drum beaten in the city, to announce that I will show my skill. In seven days from now I will show my skill to the relatives."
>
> The king did so. The Bodhisatta had assembled archers who could hit [the target] like lightning and archers who could hit a hair; and among the assembly of the people, he demonstrated to his relatives twelve kinds of skill that none of the other archers did. All this is to be understood as it is related in the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*. So, the assembly of the relatives worried no longer.[59]

Gotama would certainly have learned archery. This is mentioned in various Buddhist works, and it is also the subject for later Buddhist art.[60] The wrestling episode is also treated in both texts and art.[61] The earliest texts, though, do not include the later legend of Siddhattha's youthful valor in throwing an elephant.[62] It is very likely that the Sakya clan was not particularly skilled in martial arts and that Gotama himself did not practice them much. The stories of valor in the legend are later additions, imaginary accounts intended to extol the Buddha's majesty.

According to the ancient legends, though, the Sakyas did not conduct aggressive wars and were annihilated by the Kosalas. Even if the Sakyas were proficient in martial arts, they were not skilled enough to prevent invasion by the massive force of the Kosalas.

The Pleasures of the Palace

A large number of legends relate that while Gotama was still living amid the luxuries of the palace, he awoke one night to be revolted by the sight

of his women sprawled out asleep in slovenly attitudes. This episode is not to be found, however, in the most ancient texts, though a simplified version appears in the *Wu-fen-lü:*

> The Bodhisatta, having been entertained by his singing girls, finally fell asleep. All the women fell into deep sleep. Then the Bodhisatta awoke and saw the singing-girl servants lying with their heads on one another, revealing their limbs like wooden dolls, their noses running, tears seeping from their eyes, saliva dribbling from mouths, and stringed instruments and flutes carelessly laid down here and there. The palace looked to him like a burial mound. Having seen this, he said three times, "Woeful, O woeful!" Hurrying to his father's palace, he saw that that too had changed [to look like a burial mound], and again he said, "Woeful!" A deep distaste [for the world] was born within him.[63]

Even here we can already see the first stages of the Buddha's deification. Those who had reveled in the musical delights were the singing girls, not Gotama. The Chinese text treats Gotama grammatically in the passive; the active proponents, the singing girls, are the ones who tried to tempt him and not the contrary.

The *Nidānakathā* treats this episode vividly in a realistic manner:

> The Bodhisatta entered his palace in great splendor and lay down upon his radiant couch [of state]. And immediately women adorned with all ornaments, skilled in dancing, singing, and so on and as beautiful as heavenly maidens, came and surrounded him, bearing with them various musical instruments, and began to dance, sing, and play musical instruments in order to bring him delight. The Bodhisatta, his mind removed from the defilements, did not take pleasure in the dancing and so on and fell into a brief sleep.
>
> And the women too, [saying,] "He for whose sake we have been dancing and so on has fallen asleep. It's a waste [for us] to keep going now," threw down their instruments and lay down to sleep. The scented oil lamps were shining. And the Bodhisatta awoke and, seating himself cross-legged on the couch, saw that the women had thrown down their instruments and were asleep. Some were dribbling, making their bodies wet, some were grinding their teeth, some were snoring, some were talking in their sleep, some had their mouths open, and some [lay] with their clothes fallen apart and horribly revealing their private parts. Seeing this great alteration in their appearance, he felt less and less

> sensual desire. The majestic building, like the adorned and prepared dwelling of Sakka, seemed [to him] like a new cemetery filled with various pierced corpses. The world of the three modes of existence appeared to him as a house on fire. "How pitiful it all is! How wretched it all is!" he cried lamentingly, and his mind was turned utterly to the thought of renouncing the world.[64]

Such is the realism of this description that, though it belongs to a late stratum of the legend, it seems to be speaking of an actual occurrence. The palace setting and the beautiful women might have attracted the imaginations of the people of later periods, and this story became an indispensable theme in later Buddhist writing and art.[65]

The Renunciation

THE DECISION TO RENOUNCE HOME LIFE

Despite the joys of marriage, Gotama could not escape from his depression, for he could not be content while he remained within the luxurious confines of the palace. Obsessed by the problems associated with human existence, he grew weary, and not even his love for his baby son could bind him to the world forever.[66] By the time he was twenty-nine, his resolve to seek the Truth and try to solve the problems of human existence could be denied no longer, and he left the palace to follow the life of a *samaṇa,* a wandering mendicant and religious practitioner.[67] Though some texts give the age of renunciation as nineteen, the majority, including the most ancient, favor twenty-nine, and we will follow that here.[68]

The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* describes the renunciation as follows: *"Bhikkhus,* there was a time when [determining to seek the Way] I, still young, with glossy black hair and full of youth, in the prime of life and despite the unwillingness of [my] parents, who wept and lamented, cut off [my] hair and beard, donned the robe [of a *samaṇa*], and left home as a homeless ascetic."[69]

There is a strong sense of realism in this confession. Other texts expand upon it, with Brahmin manor lords like Soṇadaṇḍa and Kūṭadanta in later years praising the magnificence of Gotama's renunciation of the world. According to the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta,* Soṇadaṇḍa said: "The *samaṇa* Gotama has left his home, abandoning the large clan of his relations

[*ñāti*]. The *samaṇa* Gotama has left his home, abandoning [its] abundant gold, buried in the ground and standing in the air."[70] The gold "buried in the ground" may refer to gold ore as yet unmined or to gold buried to prevent the depredations of robbers. The curious expression about gold "standing in the air" may mean gold in the palace treasury, gold above ground.

According to the *Kūṭadanta-sutta*, Kūṭadanta gave the following account: "When the *samaṇa* Gotama was still young, with glossy black hair and full of youth, in the prime of life, [he] left [his] home and went forth into homelessness. Despite the unwillingness of [his] parents, who wept and lamented, he cut off [his] hair and [his] beard, donned the robe [of a *samaṇa*], and left [his] home and went forth into homelessness. . . . Truly the *samaṇa* Gotama went forth from a noble and undefeated Ksatriya family. He went forth from a family prosperous, wealthy, and of great riches."[71] Thus even the Brahmins of the time believed that Gotama had gone from a secular nobility to one in which he reached an even greater position. The final part of this passage seems to be a collection of set phrases, but even so, I believe that it relates fact. The renunciation was the determining event in the Buddha's life. As such it was expounded in detail in later Buddhist works and also made the subject of Buddhist art.[72]

There is modern resistance to the idea of abandoning one's family for the life of a wandering practitioner. "Is there such significance," people inquire, "in renouncing the world? Was not the Buddha taking a cold attitude to his wife, Yasodharā, and his son, Rāhula? Did he not decline to teach the way of salvation for humankind as a husband and father in the fold of his family after his enlightenment?" Such criticisms have been raised in the past by Hindus, particularly those of the Mīmāṃsā school, which has tended to value lay life; by Chinese Confucianists; and by Japanese nativist scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The criticism is, I think, valid from a modern point of view. Nevertheless, we have to look at the issue in terms of the period in which Gotama was born, when the social conditions must have made leaving home a necessity.

Another form of criticism concerns the fact that in ancient India only those who could ensure that their families would not be economically deprived were permitted to leave home to become wandering practitioners. This would mean, therefore, that ancient Brahmanism and Buddhism belonged only to the propertied classes and that Gotama Buddha was a representative of this social stratum.[73] This criticism is valid in

regard to his leaving home. As his *saṅgha* grew in size, however, many troubled people not of the propertied class were admitted without distinction. The *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā* clearly describe this.

Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, also renounced home life after having married and had a child. This seems to have been the pattern for an Indian wandering practitioner and perhaps was, in fact, only possible for one who had money or property. Though there were, of course, some who took up the life of a wandering practitioner to avoid repaying loans or who were ejected from the family as wastrels, the point remains that those who had been abandoned by the breadwinner had to maintain their livelihood somehow. Thus Kauṭiliya's *Arthaśāstra* (2.14) stipulates the responsibilities for looking after family and relatives and forbids people to enter the wandering life until they have divided their possessions among their dependents. Gotama's family did not face financial hardship as a result of his leaving home, and this would have been a strong factor in his decision. Leaving his beloved family as he did accorded with the custom of wandering practitioners of his time, a custom widely practiced at least among the upper classes. In modern terms it is somewhat similar to leaving one's family to go to the city or overseas to study.

The question still remains whether such behavior is acceptable. The Sakyas were later annihilated by their powerful neighbor Kosala. Even if Gotama had remained at home as a prince, the country would doubtless have been destroyed. He sought a life with spiritual meaning; he wanted to walk his own road.

According to the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, at the end of his life, Gotama told Subhadda: "When I was twenty-nine, Subhadda, / I left home to seek the greatest good.[74] / Now more than fifty years have passed, Subhadda, / Since I renounced the world."[75] This verse suggests that Gotama left home to resolve his question of what is good in this world, which means that in a sense his concern had a very large ethical component.

The phenomena of human sickness, aging, and death are evident in every aspect of life. All the same, why did Gotama make that the overriding human problem, and why did this view come to be shared by people throughout Asia? The fact that he abandoned even his royal heritage indicates that the glories of royalty were seen as empty of meaning. At the time, the smaller Indian states were being conquered by the larger countries, so that the minor monarchies were in jeopardy. The young Gotama may have been sensitive to the probable fate of his clan; during his lifetime,

in fact, the Sakyas were wiped out by Kosala. If we bear this historical fate in mind, the meaning of the legend of the prophecies made concerning his life becomes clear.

The decision that lay before Gotama was whether to become a great emperor, having repelled the military threats of other states, or a spiritual master, having abandoned all worldly concerns. As we know, he elected the latter path. If it was impossible for him to deal with the political situation just described, his state of mind in abandoning his home and position and becoming a wandering ascetic may be understandable. Another supposition is that he believed that he could do more for humankind by founding a great world religion than by being the monarch of a small state. Of course he laid himself open to blame according to the moral dictates of his time by abandoning the responsibilities of a monarch. What he did was not considered the behavior of the ideal man. Biographers of later times idealized him, from the viewpoint that the actions of a buddha must be blameless: "Exalted buddhas do not enter *parinirvāṇa* until the prince has been anointed [heir to the throne]."[76]

SEEKING THE GOOD

That Gotama Buddha took a new path in his efforts "to seek the good" reveals his attitude to the problems of human life. In his society were thinkers who not only denied ethics but also openly declared their denial. Typical of such was Pūraṇa Kassapa, one of whose followers said: "Kassapa sees no evil in this world in slashing or killing, in injury or plunder. Nor does he see any merit for the self. He truly declared that with confidence. He is worthy of being honored as a master."[77] The *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* also explains Pūraṇa Kassapa's teachings:

> Then Pūraṇa Kassapa said to me: "No matter what he does or causes [another] to do, [whether] he mutilates or causes [another] to mutilate, brings suffering [to others] or causes [another] to bring suffering [to others], causes others grief or torment, makes [others] tremble or causes [another] to make [them] tremble, takes life, steals, breaks into the house of another, loots, robs, becomes a highway robber, commits adultery, or speaks lies, though he does these things, there is no evil done. Even if with a razor-sharp weapon he should make all the beings of the whole earth a single mass of flesh, a single lump of flesh, there would be no evil for this and no evil resulting. And if he were to go to

the south bank of the Ganges and murder, slay, mutilate, and cause to mutilate, bring suffering and cause [another] to bring suffering, there would be no evil for these and no evil resulting. And if he were to go to the north bank of the Ganges and give or cause [another] to give, or perform sacrifices or cause [another] to perform sacrifices, there would be no merit for these and no merit resulting. In giving, self-control, control of the senses, and telling the truth there is no merit and no merit resulting."

In this manner did Pūraṇa Kassapa expound his [theory of] nonaction, even when being asked the actual fruits of the life of a *samaṇa*.[78] Just as if a person, when asked what a mango is, explained what a breadfruit is, or when asked what a breadfruit is explained what a mango is, so did Pūraṇa Kassapa, when asked the actual fruits of the life of a *samaṇa*, expound his [theory of] nonaction.[79]

This denial of ethics is based, metaphysically, on materialism. The same scripture outlines the ideas of the materialist Ajita.

Ajita of the garment of hair said: "There is no giving, there is no sacrifice, there is no offering. There is neither fruit nor result from good or bad actions. This world does not exist, nor does the world beyond. There is no father, there is no mother, and there are none who arise spontaneously [without father or mother]. There are in the world no *samaṇas* or Brahmins who have rightly attained [spiritual] fruit and who are practicing rightly, having known and realized this world and the next world through their own understanding, who speak [to the others].

"The human being is composed of the four great elements [*cātummahābhūta*]. When he dies, the earth [element in the composition of his body] returns to the body of the earth, the water element returns to the body of the water, the fire element returns to the body of the fire, the wind element returns to the body of the wind, and all his faculties pass into the air. Four men go with the bier of a corpse. They pronounce eulogies until [they reach] the cremation ground. [The corpse is cremated and] becomes pigeon-colored bones, and the offerings become ashes. Gifts are what fools talk about. When people talk about the doctrine of existence [after death], it is empty, idle talk. The foolish and the wise alike, when the body breaks up, are destroyed and annihilated. After death, nothing exists."

> Thus did Ajita of the garment of hair, when asked the actual fruits of the life of a *samaṇa,* expound his [theory of] annihilation.[80]

Pakudha Kaccāyana expounded a similar materialist metaphysics, arguing that the human being is composed of seven elements. The scripture continues:

> Pakudha Kaccāyana said: "What are the seven [aggregates]? They are the aggregate of earth, the aggregate of water, the aggregate of fire, the aggregate of wind, ease, and suffering, and the seventh is the soul. These seven aggregates are neither made nor not made, are not created, and have no creator; they give rise to nothing, but are as eternal as a mountain peak, as stable as a stone pillar. They do not move, they do not change, they do not harm each other. How can they then bring ease or suffering, or ease and suffering?"
>
> This position also leads to denial of morality.
>
> "So [in this world] there is neither the slayer nor the causer of slaying, there is neither the hearer nor the causer of hearing, there is neither the recognizer nor the causer of recognizing. Though someone cuts off another's head with a sharp sword, he does not deprive anyone of life. A sword just intervenes between the seven aggregates."[81]

In terms of intellectual history, it appears that the doctrine of denial of ethics first gained public support, then provided a base for materialist metaphysics.[82] The young Gotama was not able to support such degenerate and destructive ideas. He sought the good, the right path. In this decision we may discern the seed of Buddhism, which was to expand into a great and constructive religion.

GOING FORTH FROM THE PALACE

Sometimes Gotama's leaving home (*abhinikkhamana*)[83] and his becoming a wandering practitioner (*pabbajjā*) are differentiated and treated as separate events.[84] This separation suggests that the legend of the Buddha's sad parting from his horse, Kanthaka, already existed at the time those texts were written.

According to the *Wu-fen-lü,* Prince Siddhattha ordered his attendant Channa to bring his white horse to him in the courtyard in the middle of the night.[85] He mounted and, departing from the palace gate, rode to the

Anūpiya (Anupiya) grove on the outskirts of the city. There he took off his jewels and robes and had Channa take them back to his parents. He himself went farther, and exchanged his clothes for the ragged robe of a hunter. Still farther along he met the "head-shaving master" under a tree and there had his head shaved. He then went to Rājagaha, where he saw King Bimbisāra. (The horse's name, Kanthaka, does not appear in this account.)[86]

The *Nidānakathā* gives a moving description of the event:

> Then, thinking, "I must make the great renunciation of the world right now," he arose from his couch, went to the door, and called out, "Who is there?" Channa, who had been sleeping with his head resting on the threshold, replied, "Prince, it is I, Channa."
>
> "I have decided to make the great renunciation of the world today. Saddle a horse for me."
>
> "Yes, sir," [Channa] replied, and went to the stable with the saddle and bridle. In the light of the lamps of scented oil he saw the king of horses, Kanthaka, standing in a pleasant area, under a canopy of cloth patterned with jasmine flowers. "This is the horse for me to saddle today," [thought Channa,] and he saddled Kanthaka.
>
> As he was being saddled, Kanthaka thought, "He is drawing the girth tight. He is not saddling me as he does on other days for rides to the park. Without a doubt the prince has today decided to make the great renunciation of the world." In his delight he neighed loudly. The sound would have spread throughout the city, but the gods muffled the sound so that no one heard it.

Having made the decision to leave lay life, Gotama was filled with love for his child and decided to take a last look at him.

> Meanwhile, after the Bodhisatta had sent Channa [to saddle the horse], he thought, "I will take a look at my child." He rose from the couch where he had been sitting and, going to where Rāhula's mother dwelt, he opened the door of an inner room. At that moment the lamp of scented oil lit up. Rāhula's mother was sleeping on a bed strewn with an *ammaṇa* [a unit of volume] of *sumana, mallikā,* and other flowers, her hand resting on her son's head. The Bodhisatta stopped, standing at the threshold, and gazed [at his wife and son].
>
> "If I take my wife's hand off [his head] and hold my son, she will awaken, and will be an obstacle to my leaving. I will come back and

> see [my son] after I have become a buddha." So thinking, he descended from the flat roof of the palace.

Here Buddhaghosa injects a critical opinion.

> It is said in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā,* however, "At that time, Prince Rāhula was seven days old." Other commentaries do not contain this. Therefore, only the account itself should be accepted.

Though a doctrinal scholar, Buddhaghosa retains a critical attitude.

> When the Bodhisatta had descended from the flat roof of the palace, he approached his horse and said, "My dear Kanthaka, take me away this night. If I can borrow your strength now, I will become a buddha and save all the beings of this world, together with the gods." Then he vaulted up on Kanthaka's back. Kanthaka was eighteen *hatthas* long [one *hattha* = a cubit] from the poll, and of a height to match; he was strong and fast, and white all over like a washed conch shell. Should he neigh or stamp, the sound would be heard throughout the whole city. Thus the gods exerted their power and muffled the sounds of neighing and placed the palms of their hands [under his hoofs] at every step so that no one would hear [the sound].
>
> The Bodhisatta rode in the middle of the splendid back of that excellent steed and had Channa hold the horse's tail, and so at midnight they approached the great gate.

Since the king had not been able to dissuade the prince from leaving home, he had placed guards at all the gates of the palace to force the prince to remain at home. When Siddhattha arrived at the gate, however, it opened itself quietly through divine intervention.

> The king, though, had at that time made each of the two doors of the gate so heavy that a thousand men could not move it, thinking, "If I do so, the Bodhisatta cannot open the city gate and leave at any time." The Bodhisatta had great strength, calculated in terms of elephants the strength of ten billion elephants, and calculated in terms of men the strength of one hundred billion men.
>
> "If," thought [the Bodhisatta], "the gate does not open, I will grip Kanthaka tightly between my thighs and jump over the eighteen-*hattha*-high wall, seated as I am on Kanthaka's back and with Channa holding onto the tail."

"If," thought Channa, "the gate does not open, I will put the prince on my shoulder and carry Kanthaka with my right arm under his belly and jump over the wall."

"If," thought Kanthaka, "the gate does not open, I will take up my master, still seated on my back, with Channa holding onto my tail, and jump over the wall."

If the gate had not opened, one of the three would have done as they had thought. But the deity that lived in the gate [*dvāre adhivatthā devatā,* sing.] had the gate opened.

According to legend, Māra then attempted to keep Gotama from leaving the city. This is mere myth, however.

At that moment Māra approached, thinking, "I will make the Bodhisatta turn back," and standing in the air said, "Sir, do not leave! The wheeled treasure will appear before you seven days from now and you will rule over the four great continents surrounded with two thousand islands. Sir, turn back!"

"Who are you?"

"I am Vasavattī [the almighty one]."

"Māra, I know that the wheeled treasure will appear to me. Even so, I do not seek sovereignty. I will cause the ten thousand worlds to resound and will become a buddha," replied the Bodhisatta.

"I will expose you," [thought] Māra, "whenever you harbor a lustful, angry, or harmful thought," and he followed as closely as a shadow, ever ready to find fault [with the Bodhisatta].

This legend perhaps indicates the prince's own inner struggle, his hesitation being expressed by the metaphor of Māra.

As the prince left the city he felt compelled to turn around and gaze upon it one last time.

The Bodhisatta, abandoning without regret the universal sovereignty that was within his grasp like a glob of phlegm, departed from the city in great honor. He left the city at the time when the full moon of the month of Āsāḷha was in the constellation of Uttarāsāḷhā, and the desire to see the city once again sprang up [within him]. At the instant this thought occurred, however, the earth split and turned around like a potter's wheel, as if to say, "Great being, you should not look back." After the Bodhisatta had stood a while and gazed on the city and indicated the

spot where the Shrine of Kanthaka's Turning Back [*Kanthakanivattana cetiya*] should be built, he turned Kanthaka in the direction he should go and, in great honor and exceeding glory, departed.

The next section of the *Jātaka* records the later legend of the gods' praise of the Bodhisatta. Perhaps the metaphor of the deities was used to indicate Gotama's peace of mind and clearheadedness once he had made his decision. He may in fact have had such a vision, since he himself recognized the existence of the gods.

It is related that the prince then arrived at the banks of the Anomā River. This is considered to be either the Aumi River,[87] which flows through the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh, or the Kudawa River, which flows through the Basti district of the same state. Some authorities, however, maintain that the name does not refer to an actual river at all.[88]

Advancing in this glory, the Bodhisatta crossed three kingdoms in just one night and reached the banks of a river called the Anomā, thirty *yojanas* distant. But was this as far as the horse could go? It certainly was not. That horse was able to make the circuit of one *cakkavāḷa* [the entire world encircled by a range of lofty mountains] as if treading on the rim of a wheel lying on its hub and return before breakfast and be able to eat the feed prepared for him. At that time, however, he was covered to the upper legs by the fragrant garlands and other [offerings] thrown down from the sky by gods, dragons, fabulous birds, and other [beings], and [to extract himself he had to] cut through the tangled fragrant garlands and so was delayed greatly. This is why he progressed no more than thirty *yojanas*.

Standing on the riverbank, the Bodhisatta asked Channa, "What is this river called?"

"It is called the Anomā, lord."

"My renunciation of the world will also be supreme [*anomā*]," [he said,] and signaled the horse by striking [him with his heel]. The horse sprang and stood on the opposite bank of the river, a distance of eight *usabhas* [one *usabha* = the length of 140 cubits]. The Bodhisatta dismounted from the horse and, standing on the sandy beach that was like a silver tablet, announced to Channa, "Return now, Channa, taking with you my ornaments and Kanthaka. I wish to renounce the world."

"I wish to renounce the world also, lord."

Three times the Bodhisatta refused him, saying, "You are not allowed to renounce the world. You must return."[89]

CUTTING THE HAIR

The *Nidānakathā* describes how Gotama cut his hair after his flight from home. "After he had given his ornaments and Kanthaka [to Channa], he thought, 'My hair is not suited to a *samaṇa*,' but there was no one there fit to cut the Bodhisatta's hair. Therefore, thinking, 'I will cut [my hair] myself with my sword,' and taking the sword in his right hand, he took hold of his coronet and his topknot in his left hand and cut them off together." This incident, marking Gotama's complete transformation into a wandering practitioner, struck a sympathetic chord among later Buddhists, and it was related widely in Buddhist literature. It was also a popular subject in Buddhist art.[90]

> The Bodhisatta gripped his coronet and topknot and threw them into the air, saying, "If I am to become a buddha, remain in the air; if not, fall to the ground." The jeweled topknot and the coronet flew to a distance of one *yojana* high in the sky and there came to a stop. Sakka, king of the gods, observing them with his divine eye, received them and placed them in a casket of jewels one *yojana* in size, which he installed in the Heaven of the Thirty-three as the Shrine of the Jeweled Topknot.
>
> 272. The Supreme Among Men cut off his fragrant topknot and threw it into the sky.
> Thousand-eyed Vāsava [Sakka], bowing his head, caught it in a superb golden casket.
>
> Again, the Bodhisatta thought, "These clothes of mine made of Kāsi cloth are not suited to a *samaṇa*." Just then the Mahābrahmā Ghaṭīkāra, who had been a friend of his at the time of Kassapa Buddha, thought with friendship that had not withered during the one buddha interval [the period between the appearance of one buddha and the next]: "Today my friend has gone out for the great renunciation. For his sake I will take him those things necessary for a *samaṇa*."
>
> 273. Three robes, a bowl, a razor, a needle, a sash, and a water strainer:
> These are the eight [necessities] of the *bhikkhu* who absorbs himself in *yoga* [mental concentration].
>
> And taking those eight requisites of a *samaṇa*, he gave them to him.
>
> When the Bodhisatta had put on the banner of an *arhant* [the robe of a wandering practitioner], and taken the supreme cloth of one who

had renounced the world, he dismissed [Channa], saying, "Channa, tell my mother and father that I am well."

Channa made obeisance to the Bodhisatta and, moving around him to the right, departed.

This heartbreaking scene of parting also became a widely recorded episode in Buddhist literature and a favorite subject in art.[91] The *Nidāna-kathā* goes on to report the death of Kanthaka: "Kanthaka, however, who had stood listening to the words of the Bodhisatta as he was conversing with Channa, thought, 'I shall never see my master again,' and his heart broke and he died, unable to bear his grief at [the Bodhisatta's] disappearing from sight, being reborn as a *devaputta* named Kanthaka in the Heaven of the Thirty-three. At first Channa's grief had been but that of one [parting from the Bodhisatta], but now he was crushed by a second grief, the death of Kanthaka, and he returned to the city weeping and wailing."[92]

A later scripture, the *Vimānavatthu,* describes Kanthaka's recollection of his former existence after his rebirth:

Once I was Kanthaka, born at the same time as the prince of King Suddhodana in Kapilavatthu, the capital of the Sākiyas [Sakyas].

When, in the middle of the night, the prince left [the palace] for enlightenment, he patted my flank with his soft hand and gleaming nails, saying, "Carry me out [of the city]. I am going to attain supreme enlightenment and save the world." When I heard those words, I felt great joy. I was so happy and wishful.

Knowing that the renowned son of the Sakyas was riding on my back, I felt great joy and carried the Supreme Among Men. When the sun rose, we had reached the territory of another country, and he left Channa and me without any longing. I licked his copper-colored toenails with my tongue and watched, in tears, the great hero leaving. Having lost the fortunate one, the son of the Sakyas, I fell grievously ill and soon died.[93]

3. Seeking the Way

THE MEETING WITH BHAGGAVA

While Prince Siddhattha was going from place to place seeking the Way, his grieving father, Suddhodana, sent one of his ministers and a court priest to bring the prince back.[1] In the forest the two met a Brahmin hermit named Bhaggava (Skt., Bhārgava), who admonished them. Eventually they continued on their way and came across the prince sitting beneath a tree.[2] They spoke of the king's grief and tried to persuade him to return to the palace, but to no avail. This episode appears in many biographies of the Buddha, though not in the oldest texts.[3] Its realism nevertheless suggests a certain historicity.

THE JOURNEY TO RĀJAGAHA

RĀJAGAHA

Southern Buddhist tradition relates that seven days after Gotama renounced the world he arrived at Rājagaha (Skt., Rājagṛha; lit., "king's house"), the capital of Magadha.[4] The ruler of Magadha was Bimbisāra, a member of the Ksatriya caste with the title of *mahārāja*, "great king."[5] "Seven days" is probably a literary device, since Rājagaha was more than 480 kilometers from Kapilavatthu as the crow flies, and the overland route could cover more than 640 kilometers. A mendicant could not possibly cover that distance in such a short time.

It is interesting, though, that after his renunciation Gotama went directly to Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, then the most powerful state in the region.[6] Magadha was in the southern part of the present state of Bihar, which used to be a wealthy urban area but is now impoverished, its economy having been destroyed by British industry. Political corruption is also said to have contributed to the area's degeneration. Economic problems have forced many to leave and seek their livelihood elsewhere. Nevertheless, in the Buddha's lifetime Magadha was renowned for its wealth and culture, and was held in high esteem for its employment of new technology. It was therefore natural that Gotama should go there in his quest for the truth.

Today Rājagaha is known as Rājgīr. The city is about a hundred kilometers southeast of Patna, the capital of Bihar, at one end of the Bihar-Bakhtiarpur narrow-gauge railway. The ancient capital lay in a valley surrounded by mountains (the site was the crater of an extinct volcano, whose rim constituted the encircling range), along whose ridges was built a long protecting wall with gateways to north and south. An inner circuit of fortifications encircled the city itself and was connected with the outer wall at the two gateways. The remains of these walls, dating from the time of Gotama or a little before, still exist.[7]

Rājagaha consisted of two parts, the old city and the new. In the old city, called Giribbaja ("mountain fenced"),[8] remains have been found of stone buildings that are the oldest in India apart from those of the Indus civilization. Legend says that they were built by King Mahāgovinda.[9] Old Rājagaha was once the largest city in India, but is now a desolate expanse of grass and trees with no sign of habitation. The new city was built in the time of King Bimbisāra on flat land outside the old north gate.[10] Five mountains surrounded Old Rājagaha: Paṇḍava, Gijjhakūṭa, Vebhāra, Isigiri, and Vepulla.[11] In later years, the Buddha often spoke of Gijjhakūṭa (Skt., Gṛdhrakūta), better known as Vulture Peak, a sacred mountain whose strangely shaped rocks and boulders give it a numinous aura.[12] Religious practitioners have long secluded themselves there. Thus Vulture Peak could have been the site of an early Indian mountain cult. Unlike the thickly forested mountains of Japan, Vulture Peak has only a thin covering of shrubs, and thus does not have a dark and deep atmosphere.

As the capital of a kingdom, Rājagaha must have been an important stronghold. Local people say that Gotama used to pass through the gateway on the northern side of the valley, where a small river now flows. Once the gate was shut, the city was impregnable, an ideal situation at a time when

various kingdoms were engaged in conflict. Once Magadha grew in power and did not have to fear invasion, however, Rājagaha was no longer suitable as a capital, and the capital was eventually transfered to Pāṭaliputta (Skt., Pāṭaliputra; modern Patna), with its easy access to roads and waterways.[13] This move is thought to have been made by King Udāyibhadda (Skt., Udāyibhadra), the son of Ajātasattu (Skt., Ajātaśatru).[14] In the Buddha's time, however, Rājagaha was flourishing as Magadha's capital and "greatest city."[15] Indeed, it may well have been India's most prosperous city. A short section in a fairly early portion of the *Suttanipāta*[16] describes Gotama's arrival in Rājagaha.[17] (It is said that Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, also taught in that area; thus two of India's great religions emerged from Rājagaha.)

There is little to be seen at the site of Old Rājagaha, though a Hindu shrine called Maniyar Maṭha stands prominently in the middle, a little over a kilometer from the old north gate. It may have been dedicated to Mani, a *nāga* (dragon) king who was the protector of Rājagaha. Outside the north gate there is a tank near what used to be the Veḷuvana (Bamboo Grove) park (its actual site has not been confirmed). Today a white-painted Japanese temple, Nihonzan Myōhōji, can be seen from an excavated area believed to have been the park.

Remains of stone walls have been found at the site of the prison where King Bimbisāra was incarcerated by his son.[18] They may indeed be ruins of a former prison, since manacles (*hathakaḍī*)[19] have been found there. Nearby are two caves connected with Jainism, possibly storerooms used by Jaina followers.[20] The surrounding area is exposed, with little undergrowth. The site of an arena for chariot racing has also been discovered.

Outside the north gate, at the foot of Mount Vaibhara (Vebhāra), and to the west of the road connecting the new and old cities, are hot springs, a great rarity in India. They are widely used even now. A "hot spring monastery" existed at the time of the Buddha, and practitioners and pilgrims of many religions are said to have bathed there. Today a white Hindu temple stands near the springs, which still flow plentifully, and people bathe in their waters.[21] Men and women, old and young, immerse themselves in the large tank, the men wearing dhotis to cover their lower bodies and the women wearing saris. It is forbidden to photograph people bathing.

Hsüan-tsang described the hot springs in his travel record:

> To the west of the northern gate of the mountain city is Mount Vepulla. According to a local report, "On the northern side of the

> southwestern cliff of the mountain there were formerly five hundred hot springs. Now there are only a few dozen. Some are hot springs, some are cold springs; that is, not all of them have hot water. The springs originate in Lake Anotatta, south of the Snow Mountains, and flow underground to here. The water here is very pure and clear, and the taste is the same as [the water of] the lake. The stream [from the lake] divides into five hundred branches, and they are heated by the flames ascending from the smaller hot hells." At the mouths of the streams are carved stones, some shaped like lions or the heads of white elephants. In some cases stone conduits lead the streams to fall into stone-paved tanks below. People from far and wide gather here to bathe. Many who are suffering from chronic illness are cured. To the left and right of the hot springs are many remains of stupas and monasteries in close proximity to one another. They are remains of places where the Four Buddhas of the Past sat and walked. Since this is a place surrounded by mountains and water, it is suitable for the abode of people of virtue and wisdom, and many people are living in seclusion here.[22]

A hot spring that existed in the times of Gotama and Hsüan-tsang remains today. Though there is no scriptural record of it, Gotama himself may have bathed there. Near the hot spring is a park where Hindu ascetics live. The sign at its entrance declares that only Hindus are allowed in. It is said that the Hot Spring Monastery existed here in the time of King Bimbisāra, and might have been founded by the king himself.

THE MEETING WITH KING BIMBISĀRA

Throughout their lives people are inspired, encouraged, and instructed by others. Sometimes an encounter with a particular person will change an individual's entire life. Gotama brought about great changes in the lives of those he met, and the scriptures record his encounters extensively. The spread of Buddhism was, in fact, encouraged by Gotama's ability to convert even monarchs to his teaching and their consequent support. In later times, too, whenever Buddhism deeply penetrated society, it gained the acceptance and support of rulers, such as the kings Aśoka and Kaniṣka. Without royal financial and political support, the great edifices of ancient Buddhism could not have been constructed.

Gotama's meeting with Bimbisāra is vividly described in the section of the *Suttanipāta* titled "Renunciation of the World."[23]

> I will speak of the renunciation of the world of he who had vision [Gotama], how he renounced the world, and how he examined and found pleasure in renouncing the world.
>
> "Life in the home is constricted and annoying; [it is] the place where dust accumulates. Renunciation of the world is a vast expanse of open land [and undefiled]." Thus seeing, he renounced the world.
>
> After renouncing the world, he avoided evil actions of the body, abandoned bad words, and thoroughly purified his mode of living.
>
> The Buddha went to [the capital of] Magadha, to Rājagaha surrounded by mountains. He, completely endowed with excellent marks, went there for alms.[24]

Here "Buddha" is in the singular. This does not preclude the existence of multiple buddhas. "Buddha" seems to have been used as an honorific title, as one might call a person "Professor." The Gotama described here, judging from these verses and their commentaries, seems to be the Buddha before his enlightenment. This is somewhat puzzling, for one would expect Gotama then to be referred to as "Bodhisatta" rather than "Buddha." Probably in this context "Buddha" means no more than "awakened one" in the sense of one seeking the Truth. T. W. Rhys Davids has noted that this usage corresponds to that of "converted" in Christianity.[25] It may be, in fact, that in the early period of Buddhism no sharp distinction was made between "Bodhisatta" and "Buddha." Early Buddhists and members of other religious groups of the time called religious practitioners in general "Buddha"; they did not reserve the title for someone of special attainment. The preceding verse reflects that usage.

The *Suttanipāta* continues: "Bimbisāra, [king of Magadha], standing atop his high palace, saw him." The king had come out onto the flat roof of his high palace (*pāsāda*) and was looking down from there. In India the roofs of palaces and houses of the wealthy are flat. There people can rest, gaze at the moon, and spread out their bedding and sleep. (I myself slept on the roof when I visited India in my younger days.) Since the roof is surrounded by a low wall, one is in no danger of falling off if one rolls out of bed. Indians call the sloped roofs found in areas with heavy rainfall, such as Assam in the northeast, the highlands of Karnataka in the southwest, and Kerala on the southwestern coast, "Chinese-style roofs." In

most lowland areas the rainfall is relatively light, however, so roofs tend to be flat. Seeing [the enlightened one] endowed with excellent marks, he said [to his ministers]: "Look, you, at this man! He is handsome, large, pure, and endowed with [good] actions, and he looks only a little distance ahead. "His eyes look down and he is mindful.[26] This man appears not to be from a lowly family. King's messengers, run out after him. Where does this *bhikkhu* go?"[27]

Gotama's stance of mindfully looking down was in accordance with the custom of religious wanderers of the time. Walking with the eyes fixed on the ground ahead was also a rule for Jaina practitioners.[28] They had to walk carefully, watching the road ahead, so that they would not inadvertently step on any insects. The same regulation is found in a Brahmanic law book, the *Manu-smṛti:* "To perfectly protect living things, walk along constantly observing the ground both day and night, even with physical pain to the body."[29]

"The royal messengers, sent out, followed him [wondering], 'Where is the *bhikkhu* going? Where does he live?' He, with his senses governed, well guarded, and being correctly attentive [*sampajāna*] and mindful, sought food from house to house and quickly filled his bowl."[30] People coming into contact with the virtue of religious practitioners were glad to give them food when they came seeking alms. The support practitioners received from ordinary people is evidenced by the fact that Gotama "quickly filled his bowl."

"The sage, having finished his alms round, left the city and went to Mount Paṇḍava.[31] Perhaps he dwells there. Having seen [Gotama] approach [his] dwelling, the messengers drew close to him. One of the messengers returned [to the palace] and reported to the king: 'Great king, that *bhikkhu* sits in a mountain cave on the front side of Mount Paṇḍava, like a tiger or a bull or like a lion.'"[32] Tigers are said to have been found in the vicinity of Rājagaha up to the beginning of this century. Though neither tigers nor lions inhabit the area now, that tigers—and probably lions—did so in the past lends realism to the similes.

"Having heard the messenger's report, the Ksatriya [King Bimbisāra] mounted a splendid carriage and hurried to Mount Paṇḍava. The Ksatriya rode in his carriage as far as the road was accessible to vehicles and then got down from the carriage and proceeded on foot. Drawing near him, [the king] sat down."[33] Even today the mountainous nature of Rājagaha's surroundings forces people to leave their cars and proceed on foot once they have reached the foothills. "The king, having sat down,

then joyfully exchanged greetings.[34] Having exchanged greetings, he said: 'You are young and fresh, a young man at the beginning of your life. You are endowed with great beauty, like a Ksatriya of good birth. Adorning a splendid army headed by a band of elephants, I will give you this wealth; accept it. I would ask about your birth; tell me of it.'"[35]

Bimbisāra's offer is worthy of note. He is offering a Sakya prince his patronage by giving him an armed force. (At that time elephants were the strongest weapons in an army; in later times they were used to repel Greek invaders.) What did the king have in mind? At that time Magadha and Kosala were rivals, but they also had political links. Indeed, the two states had tried to establish peace. One means of doing so was political marriage. Bimbisāra's consort was the sister of King Pasenadi of Kosala and was therefore known as "the queen from Kosala" (*Kosala-devī*). Part of the state of Kāsi (the present Varanasi region) had been given to Magadha as her dowry. The marriage, however, did not entirely defuse the tension. For Magadha a treaty with the Sakyas, a Kosala client state, accompanied by military and economic aid, would pin down Kosala from both the north and the south. In the circumstances, such an offering from Bimbisāra to a Sakya prince seems quite natural. Gotama refused the offer, however. He had, after all, renounced the world; no amount of persuasion could make him change his mind. What is most important about the meeting of Gotama and Bimbisāra is that Gotama turned down the king's offer. Had he accepted, Buddhism would never have evolved. Later texts related this episode extensively.[36]

The account in the *Ssu-fen-lü* adds drama to the story.[37] In this version the king mounts an elephant and sets out to meet Sakyamuni. Confronting him, he says, "You should become a great king. I will now give you all the possessions of my country. I will remove my jeweled crown and give it to you. Take the throne and rule. I will become a vassal." (It is unlikely that a ruler of the most powerful state in the region would willingly propose to become a vassal in this way.) Sakyamuni replied, "I relinquished the position of wheel-rolling king and renounced the world and have been studying the Way. How could I enjoy the throne of an outlying country and be in the secular world?" This version of the encounter diverges considerably from historical fact.

According to the *Suttanipāta*, "[Gotama said:] 'On the middle slopes of those Snow Mountains [Himalayas],[38] O King, there live a people, the inhabitants of Kosala, who are upright in nature and endowed with wealth and courage.'"[39] The expression "endowed with wealth and courage" is

interesting. The district around Lumbinī in the Terai Basin was much better watered than the surrounding areas and was eminently suited to rice cultivation. Though today it is desolate, the area between Kusinārā (in the vicinity of the modern town of Kasia) and Lumbinī is studded with puddles. The Gurkhas of Nepal have long been renowned for their bravery.

Gotama continued, "'By clan they are Ādicca, by tribe Sākiya [Sakya]. From that family I renounced the world, king, not seeking to satisfy my desires.'"[40] The clan name *Ādicca* can be translated as "kinsmen of the sun," although the term itself only means "sun" (the text has *Ādiccā nāma gottena*).[41] For further information on this subject, see pp. 40–48. Vestiges of sun worship can be discerned in the fact that Gotama called himself a kinsman of the sun. Medieval Indian royal families claimed either solar or lunar lineage. "'Having seen the afflictions within the desires,[42] and seeing also that renunciation of the world is tranquillity, I shall go on in order to strive. My mind delights in that.'"[43]

The following account, in the *Nidānakathā*, is based on that in the *Suttanipāta*.

> When the Bodhisatta renounced the world, there was a mango grove called Anūpiya, and after spending seven days [there] in joy at his renunciation of the world, in just one day he walked a distance of thirty *yojanas* and entered Rājagaha. Entering [the city], he went from house to house seeking alms. The whole city was thrown into a commotion by seeing the figure of the Bodhisatta, as when [the rogue elephant] Dhanapālaka entered Rājagaha or when the Asura king entered the city of the gods. The king's men went [to the king, saying]: "King, there is such a person seeking alms in the city. We do not know whether he is a god or a human being or a *nāga* or a fabulous bird or what he is." The king, standing on the flat roof of the lofty palace and seeing the great being, was amazed and said to [his] men: "All of you! Go and investigate! If [he] is not a human being, he will vanish as soon as he leaves the city. If he is a god, he will travel through the air. If he is a *nāga*, he will dive into the earth. If he is a human being, he will eat the food he has received."
>
> The great being, collecting a number of scraps of food, knew, "This will be enough to sustain my body," passed through the gate by which he had entered, and left the city. In the shadow of Mount Paṇḍava he sat down facing east and started eating. Then his stomach turned, and [the food] was on the point of coming out of his mouth. He had never

> in his life even seen such food, but even in his distress at such unappetizing food, he admonished himself: "Siddhattha, you were born into a family where food and drink could easily be obtained, into a state of life in which [you] could eat fragrant three-year-old rice with various [foods of] the finest taste, and when you saw a person dressed in rags you thought: 'At some time will I too be like that man and eat by begging food? Will I have such an opportunity?' And then you renounced the world. What is this you are doing now?" As he thus admonished himself, his trembling stopped, and he ate all the food.

Gotama's disgust at unappetizing food and his determination to overcome it are probably based on fact. Here we glimpse his inner struggle and his higher self admonishing his lower self.

> The king's men [*rājapurisā*], having seen this, returned and reported to the king. When the king had heard the messengers' words, he hurried out of the city, went to where the Bodhisatta was, and, being pleased and having faith in [*pasīditvā*] his deportment, offered total rulership [*issariya*] to the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta said: "Great king, there is no meaning for me in desires for things or in lustful desires. I have left the world to seek supreme enlightenment." The king asked in many ways but was unable to captivate his heart, and said: "You will surely become a buddha. When you become a buddha, please come to my kingdom first."

Buddhaghosa then makes a comment that reminds us of a modern critical scholar: "The above is an abridgement, but a full account, beginning with the lines 'I will speak of the renunciation of the world of he who had vision, how he renounced the world' can be found by referring to the *Pabbajjā-sutta* and its commentary."[44]

RENOUNCING A WORLDLY THRONE

The *Suttanipāta* tells, in a conversation between Gotama and the Brahmin Sela, how Gotama abandoned any idea of becoming a wheel-rolling king, the ideal emperor, in order to become a monarch in religious terms.[45] The Brahmin said:

> "Master![46] You are perfect in body, you shine, you are of good birth, and you are beautiful to the sight. You are golden colored, and your teeth are exceedingly white. You are a man of great energy.

"Distinctive marks of a man of good birth, all the marks of a great man, are endowed in your body.

"Your eyes are clear, you are beautiful of face, you are large in body, upright, radiant, and among the band of men of the Way[47] you shine like the sun.

"You are a *bhikkhu* beautiful to look at, and your skin is like gold. With such an excellent appearance, why has it been necessary [for you] to become a man of the Way?

"You should be a wheel-rolling king, a lord of charioteers, a conqueror of the four quarters [the whole world], the lord of Jambusaṇḍa [all of India].

"Ksatriyas and kings of villagers become your attendants. Rule, Gotama, you are the king of kings, the lord of humankind."

Gotama replied:

"Sela, I am a king, the king of supreme Truth. I set the wheel rolling by the Truth, the wheel that [no one] can roll back."[48]

The wheel (*cakka*) was a weapon in ancient India, and it was also regarded as the symbol of sovereignty. The ideal of a universal "wheel-rolling king" who would unify the world under his sway appears in the teachings of Brahmanism, Jainism, and other modes of thought. Buddhism inherited the concept, teaching that Gotama refused to become a wheel-rolling king in order to become a monarch in religious terms instead.

According to the *Suttanipāta* and the *Theragāthā*, the preceding anecdote took place after Gotama had established his authority as a religious figure. No doubt this was so. Since the intent of the dialogue is the same as that of the meeting with Bimbisāra, I have dealt with it here. All the same, Gotama is described simply as "*bhikkhu.*"[49]

THE VISIT TO ĀḶĀRA KĀLĀMA

After the meeting with Bimbisāra, Gotama visited two sages in his search for the Truth. The *Nidānakathā* relates the episode only briefly: "The Bodhisatta, having made his promise to the king, continued on his journey. He visited Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta and practiced various forms of meditation, but [thinking], 'This is not the way to enlightenment,' he did not respect the practice of such meditation."[50]

Other traditions also say that Gotama visited the two sages (referred to simply as Āḷāra and Udakka) after meeting the king of Magadha. Since this story appears in many of the early biographies of the Buddha, we can assume that it is historical fact. It has also been portrayed in works of art.[51] Though the two men practiced a variety of meditations (*samāpatti*, "attainment") Gotama was not inclined to adhere to them.

Gotama first visited Āḷāra Kālāma (Skt., Ārāḍa Kālāma), who lived, according to the *Buddhacarita*, in the Vindhya mountains (Skt., Vindhyakoṣṭha).[52] Gotama met Bimbisāra in Rājagaha while on his way to see Āḷāra. Having studied under Āḷāra, he went on to the dwelling of Uddaka,[53] but its location is not recorded. The *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, however, states that Āḷāra lived with three hundred students on the outskirts of Vesāli and that it was only after Gotama had visited him that he went to Rājagaha and met Bimbisāra; after that meeting Gotama visited Uddaka, who was living nearby with seven hundred students.[54] But whether Āḷāra lived in the Vindhya mountains or on the outskirts of Vesāli, the distances involved are too great. The meeting with Bimbisāra is recorded as having occurred in Rājagaha, whereas the enlightenment took place at Bodhgaya, which means that the meetings with Āḷāra and Uddaka must have taken place somewhere near Rājagaha or Bodhgaya, that is, in southern Bihar, south of the Ganges.

Unlike Uttar Pradesh, Bihar is studded with small, bare hills and hillocks and rocky crags. The broad plains are dotted with great trees, and the rice fields are completely dried up. In 1976 I left Varanasi by car at 10:30 A.M. and reached Bodhgaya at 5:30 P.M.

The Pāli texts, which are older than the previously mentioned sources, do not mention any geographic details. The *Majjhima-Nikāya* describes the circumstances of the visit to Āḷāra as a later recollection of the Buddha.[55]

> Having thus renounced the world to seek that which was good and the state of incomparable tranquillity, I went to where Āḷāra Kālāma was and arriving there said to Āḷāra Kālāma: "Kālāma, I would like to practice the pure way of [your] teaching and moral code [*dhamma-vinaya*]." This said, Āḷāra Kālāma said to me: "Please remain here. This teaching is such that a learned man, if he abides in it, in a short time may himself know, realize, and take it upon [himself] that he himself is a teacher." And so it was that in a short time I quickly attained that teaching. I, as much as the mere touching of the lips [lip service], or mere talking, could speak the words of wisdom and the words of the

elders, and I acknowledged—I and others—"I know, I see." Then it occurred to me: "Āḷāra Kālāma only has faith in this teaching, and does not proclaim: 'I myself know, realize, and take upon [myself this teaching], abiding in it.' And truly Āḷāra Kālāma knows and sees this teaching and abides in it."

Then I went to where Āḷāra Kālāma was and arriving there said to Āḷāra Kālāma: "Kālāma, to what extent have you known, realized, and taken upon [yourself] this teaching for yourself, proclaiming it?" This said, Āḷāra Kālāma proclaimed the abode of nothingness [*ākiñcaññāyatana*].[56]

Then it occurred to me: "Not only Āḷāra Kālāma has faith; I too have faith. Not only Āḷāra Kālāma has effort; I too have effort. Not only Āḷāra Kālāma has mindfulness; I too have mindfulness. Not only Āḷāra Kālāma has concentration [*samādhi*]; I too have concentration. Not only Āḷāra Kālāma has wisdom; I too have wisdom. Now I shall strive to take upon [myself] the teaching of which Āḷāra Kālāma proclaims: 'I myself know, realize, and take it upon [myself], abiding in it.'" Before long I had quickly come to know, realize, and take upon [myself] that teaching myself.

Then I went to where Āḷāra Kālāma was and arriving there said to Āḷāra Kālāma: "Kālāma, to what extent have you yourself known, realized, and taken upon [yourself] this teaching, proclaiming it?" [Kālāma replied:] "To this extent have I myself known, realized, and taken upon [myself] this teaching, proclaiming it." [I said:] "In truth I myself have also known, realized, and taken upon [myself] this teaching to this extent." [Kālāma said:] "It is profitable, very profitable, that we can see such a one as you as a companion in the practice of the holy way [*sabrahmacārin*]. Thus the teaching that I myself have known, realized, and taken upon [myself], and proclaimed, you yourself have also known, realized, and taken upon [yourself], and [you] abide therein. The teaching that you yourself have known, realized, and taken upon [yourself], and in which [you] abide, I myself have also known, realized, and taken upon [myself], and proclaimed. Thus the teaching that I know, you also know. The teaching that you know, I also know. Thus you are as I, I am as you. Revered One, come, let the two of us lead this group."

In this way Āḷāra Kālāma, being my teacher, made me, a student, an equal, and honored me with great honor. Then I thought: "This teaching does not lead to disenchantment, to dispassion, to cessation,

to calm, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to *nibbāna*, but only to the attainment of the abode of nothingness." Therefore I did not place importance in that teaching, and I had had enough of this teaching and left.

Later Buddhist scholarship divided the universe into three realms: that of desire (ordinary realm), that of form (which transcended desire but where form still remained), and that of formlessness (which transcended both desire and form). Later Buddhists supposed that in the ultimate, formless realm there was a stage called the abode of nothingness and that to be born there one had to attain the concentration of the abode of nothingness. The preceding passage, however, makes no distinction between the abode of nothingness and the concentration of the abode of nothingness. Āḷāra Kālāma had, while still alive, tried to realize the abode of nothingness (a view close to that of *nibbāna* in this very life, which was one of the "sixty-two heretical views" that existed at the time).

A scripture that records the events of the Buddha's later years relates the recollection of Pukkusa, a disciple of Āḷāra Kālāma, that his master was skilled in meditation.[57] Since it also notes that Pukkusa was a Mallā, Āḷāra Kālāma's fame must have extended close to the present borders of Nepal.

THE VISIT TO UDDAKA RĀMAPUTTA

Many biographies of the Buddha mention Gotama's next visit, to the sage Uddaka Rāmaputta.[58]

A late biography relates that Uddaka Rāmaputta (Skt., Udraka Rāmaputra), that is, Uddaka, Rāma's son, expounded the pragmatic teaching of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception.[59] The *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, however, does not set forth the content of his teaching in any detail, merely recording that Uddaka replied to Gotama's inquiry by saying, "I came to realization naturally, without a teacher."[60] The Pāli *Majjhima-Nikāya* relates the incident as part of the Buddha's reminiscences:

> Having thus sought that which was good and the state of incomparable tranquillity, I went to where Uddaka, Rāma's son, was and arriving there said to Uddaka, Rāma's son: "I would like to practice the pure way of [your] teaching and moral code." This said, Uddaka, Rāma's

son, said to me: "Please remain here. This teaching is such that a learned man, if he abides in it, in a short time may himself know, realize, and take it upon [himself] that he himself is a teacher." And so it was that in a short time I quickly attained that teaching. I, as much as the mere touching of the lips [lip service], or mere talking, could speak the words of wisdom and the words of the elders, and I acknowledged—I and others—"I know, I see." Then it occurred to me: "Rāma only has faith in this teaching, and does not proclaim: 'I myself know, realize, and take upon [myself this teaching], abiding in it.' And truly Rāma knows and sees this teaching and abides in it."

Then I went to where Uddaka, Rāma's son, was and arriving there said to Uddaka, Rāma's son: "Rāma, to what extent have you known, realized, and taken upon [yourself] this teaching for yourself, proclaiming it?" This said, Uddaka, Rāma's son, proclaimed the abode of neither perception nor nonperception [*nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatana*].

Here "perception" (*saññā*) appears to refer to the workings of the ideating consciousness. "The abode of neither perception nor nonperception," where there are neither such workings nor no such workings, seems to be a special mental state, either a form of *samādhi* or the practice of *jhāna*.

Then it occurred to me: "Not only Rāma has faith; I too have faith. Not only Rāma has effort; I too have effort. Not only Rāma has mindfulness; I too have mindfulness. Not only Rāma has concentration; I too have concentration. Not only Rāma has wisdom; I too have wisdom. Now I shall strive to take upon [myself] the teaching of which Rāma proclaims: 'I myself know, realize, and take it upon [myself], abiding in it.'" Before long I had quickly come to know, realize, and take upon [myself] that teaching myself.

Then I went to where Uddaka, Rāma's son, was and arriving there said to Uddaka, Rāma's son: "Rāma, to what extent have you yourself known, realized, and taken upon [yourself] this teaching, proclaiming it?" [Uddaka replied:] "To this extent have I myself known, realized, and taken upon [myself] this teaching, proclaiming it." [I said:] "In truth I myself have also known, realized, and taken upon [myself] this teaching to this extent." [Udakka said:] "It is profitable, very profitable, that we can see such a one as you as a companion in the practice of the holy way. Thus the teaching that Rāma himself has known, real-

ized, and taken upon [himself], and proclaimed, you yourself have also known, realized, and taken upon [yourself], and [you] abide therein. The teaching that you yourself have known, realized, and taken upon [yourself], and in which [you] abide, I myself have also known, realized, and taken upon [myself], and proclaimed. Thus the teaching that Rāma knows, you also know. The teaching that you know, Rāma also knows. Thus you are as Rāma was, Rāma was as you. Revered One, come, let yourself lead this group."

In this way Uddaka, Rāma's son, my fellow student, made me a teacher, and honored me with great honor. Then I thought: "This teaching does not lead to disenchantment, to dispassion, to cessation, to calm, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to *nibbāna,* but only to the attainment of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception." Therefore I did not place importance in that teaching, and I had had enough of this teaching and left.[61]

THE ABODE OF NOTHINGNESS

Gotama's visits to Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta may have been historical facts, for since ancient times Indians have regarded yoga and meditation as practices that should be conducted under the tutelage of a personal master. Since Gotama may have actually practiced under these teachers, their teachings should be examined in more detail.

Āḷāra is said to have tried to attain the abode of nothingness, translated by Hsüan-tsang and others as *wu-so-yo-ch'u.* The *Chung a-han-ching,* the Chinese translation of the *Madhyamāgama* (*Majjhima-Nikāya*), relates that the Buddha "dwelt in *yüan-li-k'ung an-ching-ch'u* [the abode of nothingness],"[62] that Āḷāra taught "the attainment of *wu-so-yo-ch'u* [the abode of nothingness] by proceeding through the abode of the infinity of consciousness," and that Uddaka stated that his father, Rāma, had taught "the attainment of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception." It is clear, therefore, that in the text from which the *Chung a-han-ching* was translated the concept of the four abodes of the formless realm (the abodes of the infinity of space, of the infinity of consciousness, of nothingness, and of neither perception nor nonperception) had already been formulated, though the idea of the formless realm itself did not yet exist.

During the period of early Buddhism "nothingness" (*ākiñcañña*) was a state sought by religious practitioners in general, not just those who fol-

lowed the teachings of the Buddha. For example, the *Suttanipāta* contains the words "A Brahmin who had mastered the [Vedic] mantras, desiring to attain the realm of nothingness [*ākiñcañña*], went from the beautiful city of the Kosalas to the southern country."[63] This indicates that the Brahmins of the time also sought nothingness. Jainas also often sought nothingness (*akiṃcaṇa*) as their ideal,[64] and the early *Upaniṣads* stipulate that the true Brahmin, enlightened to the nature of *ātman,* should abandon all desires for descendants, wealth, and worldly fame, and become a wandering mendicant.[65]

The teaching of nothingness appears in the oldest section, "Pārāyana-vagga," of the oldest Buddhist text, the *Suttanipāta,* in instructions given to the Brahmin student Upasīva: "Upasīva asked: 'Sakka [Sakya], alone and not dependent [on others], I cannot cross the great flood [of the defilements].[66] Tell me, you who see everything, a ground whereby I might cross over the flood.' The Blessed One said: 'Upasīva, cross over the flood by seeking out nothingness, contemplating, and believing that "nothing exists." Abandon desires, dispel doubts, and see the extinction of cravings day and night.'"[67]

"Nothingness" means that nothing exists. According to the commentary, the term here means "the concentration of the abode of nothingness."[68] Yet because the commentary was written after the establishment of the concept of the four formless concentrations, the Buddha was said to have gone from the concentration of the abode of nothingness to the concentration of neither perception nor nonperception, and then on to a higher realm. This, however, is clearly a deviation from the original text. "The extinction of cravings" (*taṇhakkhaya*) is nirvana, which is a "moving" state rather than a static one. Buddhaghosa writes: "Make nirvana distinct day and night, and observe."[69] When we are completely at ease, we can make the tranquil realm expand, and in the same way we can cause nirvana to prosper and grow, or at least bring it into being. The *Suttanipāta* says:

> Upasīva asked: "Would one who has departed from the passion for desires, who is grounded in nothingness, and who has abandoned others and has been released at the highest release from perception remain there without retrogression?"
>
> The Bhagavant said: "Upasīva, one who has departed from the passion for desires, who is grounded in nothingness, and who has abandoned

others and has been released at the highest release from perception would remain there without retrogression."[70]

In the same vein we have the following:

He who has nothing of his own in this world,[71] he who does not grieve over what does not exist, he who does not go toward things, he is called "tranquil."[72]

Here "nothing of his own" means having no possessions.

We can hypothesize that in the earliest period of Buddhism the state of nothingness, a concept that had existed before Buddhism, was a goal of religious practice and that Buddhists practiced concentration to attain that state. Later, when the prototype of the extant versions of the Pāli *Majjhima-Nikāya* took form, this was no longer the case, and the concept was attributed to a non-Buddhist teacher, Āḷāra Kālāma.

THE ABODE OF NEITHER PERCEPTION NOR NONPERCEPTION AND THE FOUR FORMLESS CONCENTRATIONS

The concept of neither perception nor nonperception, said to have been taught by Uddaka Rāmaputta, was also taught in the earliest period of Buddhism.[73] The "Aṭṭhaka-vagga" of the *Suttanipāta* presents it as a teaching of the Buddha himself. The Buddha was asked: "For the one who has practiced[74] how does form disappear? How do happiness and suffering disappear? Tell me how they disappear. It is what I want to know. This is how I have thought." The text maintains that he replied as follows: "He is not one who has ordinary perceptions, he is not one who has wrong perceptions, he is not one who is without perceptions, he is not one who has made the perceptions disappear. For one who believes in this way, form disappears, since diffuse consciousness has its origin in perception."[75]

This text clearly indicates neither perception nor nonperception. Uddaka is described as seeking to enter the abode of neither perception nor nonperception through concentration. In the "Aṭṭhaka-vagga," too, the practitioner seeks to enter the state wherein "diffuse consciousness of the world" (*papañcasaṃkhā*) is eradicated by eliminating perception (*saññā*) through concentration. Thus a concept that had been current in earliest Buddhism, that is, in the "Aṭṭhaka-vagga," was attributed to Uddaka in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*.

The opposite hypothesis, of course, is also possible: that Āḷāra and Uddaka themselves held those ideas, which were then taken over by earliest Buddhism and reflected in the *Suttanipāta* (particularly the "Aṭṭhaka-vagga" and the "Pārāyana-vagga"). It was not possible, however, to present the ideas of these two teachers, which were supposed to be rejected, as the teaching of Gotama *after* his enlightenment.

Because the *Suttanipāta* is among the most ancient Buddhist texts, we can draw the following conclusion. In the earliest period of early Buddhism (earliest Buddhism A), represented by the oldest of the Buddhist scriptures, the "Pārāyana-vagga," the state of nothingness was sought as the logical conclusion of the teaching of freedom from self-attachment, and it was for this reason that concentration was practiced. Nothingness was also the ideal state sought by the Jainas, a state they called "release from perception" (*saññāvimokkha*). As Buddhism developed and reached its next stage (earliest Buddhism B), represented by the "Aṭṭhaka-vagga," the teaching went one step further, and the ultimate state taught was neither perception nor nonperception. This probably came about to avoid the misapprehension of Buddhism as nihilistic, a possibility if only such ideas as the nonexistence of perceptions and the existence of nothing at all were taught.

When Buddhism began its period of rapid growth (after Aśoka [r. ca. 268–ca. 232 B.C.E.] or, at the earliest, after the Nanda dynasty [fourth century B.C.E.]), the ideas of the two earliest periods no longer met people's spiritual needs, and new concepts were urgently required. Under those circumstances, as new thought developed within Buddhism, the idea of nothingness was attributed to Āḷāra, and the idea of neither perception nor nonperception to Uddaka. (This situation is similar to the later period when the Mahāyāna movement arose to counter what the Mahāyānists called Hīnayāna.) Once the new way of thinking was formalized in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, teachings that had originally been Buddhist were attributed to a non-Buddhist source and were absorbed into the framework of the four formless concentrations by placing nothingness in the third heaven of the formless realm and neither perception nor nonperception in the fourth.

The abode of the infinity of consciousness, which was assigned to the second heaven of the formless realm, can also be discerned in embryo in the earliest Buddhist texts. It was thought that to contemplate the nonexistence of everything was to contemplate the workings of the conscious-

ness of everything. This is evident in the Buddha's reply to the Brahmin student Posāla in the *Suttanipāta:*

> Posāla said: "I have come to ask the one who tells about the things of the past, who is unmoved by desire,[76] who has cut away all doubts, and who has penetrated all phenomena.
>
> "I ask Sakka [Sakya] about the knowledge of one who is without all perception of material form,[77] who has entirely abandoned the body, and who observes that 'nothing exists' either internally or externally. How should such a one be led further?"
>
> The Bhagavant said: "Posāla, the Tathāgata, recognizing all phases of consciousness,[78] knows the manner of his existence. Being released, he finds in it his support.
>
> "Knowing the origin of the coming about of nothingness,[79] that is, knowing that 'enjoyment is a fetter,' and knowing this thus, he then quietly contemplates it. This is the knowledge that sees reality as it is, [the knowledge] of the Brahmin who has reached perfection."[80]

The "phases of consciousness" (*viññāṇaṭṭhiti*) appear to correspond more or less to "the origin of the coming about of nothingness." It is therefore reasonable to consider the contemplation of the manner of consciousness to be a stage prior to nothingness. The development of this way of thinking probably resulted in the later concept of the abode of the infinity of consciousness. With the formulation of the idea of the three realms (desire, form, and formlessness) in later times, the phases of consciousness were taught in a group of four or seven.

The verse sections of early Buddhist texts do not mention the concentration of the infinity of consciousness. There are, however, several expositions in the *Suttanipāta* stating that ultimate release is the extinction of the workings of consciousness.

> "How is consciousness destroyed for one who conducts oneself mindfully? It is this I have come to ask the Bhagavant, and we would hear your words."
>
> "If a person does not enjoy feeling[81] either internally or externally, in this way consciousness is destroyed[82] for one who conducts oneself mindfully."[83]

Whatever suffering arises, all is because of consciousness;[84] if consciousness is abolished, suffering does not arise.

> Knowing this danger, that "suffering [arises] because of consciousness," a *bhikkhu* who quietens consciousness has no cravings and is completely at peace.[85]

The early verse sections of Buddhist texts also make no specific mention of the concentration of the infinity of space, which is the first stage of the formless realm. The embryo of such a concept, however, can be discerned: "[The Buddha said:] 'Mogharāja, always mindful, destroy the wrong view of attachment to self and view the world as empty [*suñña*]. By doing so, one may overcome death. The king of death cannot see one who views the world in such a way.'"[86]

Mahāyāna texts repeat over and over again that everything must be observed as *ākāśa* (Pāli, *ākāsa*) in order to observe that everything is empty (Skt., *śūnya;* Pāli, *suñña*). (*Ākāśa* here refers to a principle of the natural world that corresponds to both space and ether.) Similarly, in the above verse, viewing the world as empty is virtually the same as viewing it as *ākāśa.*

Examination of each of the four formless concentrations, and of the passages that disparage them, enables us to understand how Buddhist thought developed in the earliest period. Certain elements were attributed to non-Buddhist teachers. The systematization of the heavens of the realms of desire and form occurred considerably after the time of Gotama.[87] The practice of attributing heretical thought to Āḷāra and Uddaka also belongs to a later period. For example, the *Buddhacarita* uses Āḷāra to expound Sāṃkhya philosophy.[88] Since this was clearly a deliberate device of Buddhists of later times, it is not surprising that the same practice is found in the prose sections of the Pāli texts.

The following account in the Pāli *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* is presented as Uddaka's own philosophy.

> Uddaka, Rāma's son, spoke thus: "Here, surely, is a man who has attained the highest knowledge [*vedagū*]. Here, surely, is the victor over all. Here, surely, he has dug out the gnarled root[89] not uprooted."
>
> It is like this. Uddaka, Rāma's son, though not a man who had attained the highest knowledge, said: "I am a man who has attained the highest knowledge." Though he was not the victor over all, he said: "I am the victor over all." Though he had not dug out the gnarled root, he said: "I have dug out the gnarled root."
>
> Here a *bhikkhu* should say rightly: "Here, surely, is a man who has

attained the highest knowledge. Here, surely, is the victor over all. Here, surely, he has dug out the gnarled root not uprooted." In what way is a *bhikkhu* a man who has attained the highest knowledge? In that a *bhikkhu* understands, in reality, the arising, the destruction, the enjoyment, the danger, and the departure of the six sense organs [*phassāyatana*], he is a man who has attained the highest knowledge.

In what way is a *bhikkhu* the victor over all? In that a *bhikkhu* knows, in reality, the arising, the destruction, the enjoyment, the danger, and the departure of the six sense organs, and is released without attachment, he is the victor over all.

In what way has a *bhikkhu* dug out the gnarled root not uprooted? "Gnarled" is a term for the body, composed of the four great elements, arising from mother and father, an accumulation of boiled rice and gruel, its nature subject to impermanence, decay, abrasion, dissolution, and disintegration. "The gnarled root" is a term for craving [*taṇhā*].[90] In that a *bhikkhu* has eliminated craving, like a palm with its root destroyed and deprived of its base, and will not come into existence in the future, a *bhikkhu* has dug out the gnarled root not uprooted.[91]

If the above passage is historically accurate, Uddaka must have been full of pride and arrogance. Because becoming "the victor over all" was the ideal of a perfected person in Jainism and was also accepted by later Buddhism, it was probably an ideal common to religious practitioners of the time. In the Chinese equivalent of the Pāli text Gotama instructs his disciples on concentration, accepting Uddaka Rāmaputta's words: "'As the Venerable Master [Uddaka] has done for the sake of his students, I have already aroused great compassion, had pity and affection, sought the reason and welfare of the people, and sought tranquillity and spiritual pleasure. You also should do this yourselves. Go to a place where there are no distractions, to a quiet and empty place within a forest beneath a tree, and sit down and contemplate. Never become indolent. Persevere with your training and have no regrets later. This is my instruction and my admonition.' This is what the Buddha taught."[92] In this way what Gotama had learned from Uddaka was incorporated into Buddhism.

Another account concerning Uddaka is recorded in the Pāli *Dīgha-Nikāya* as the Buddha's words to the novice (*samaṇuddesa*) Cunda.

Cunda. Uddaka, Rāma's son, used to say: "Seeing, one does not see." On seeing, what does one not see? One sees the surface of a well-

sharpened razor, but not the edge. This, Cunda, is what is called "seeing, one does not see." What Uddaka son of Rāma said was inferior, vulgar, [the words] of an ordinary being, not noble, and not profitable, reflecting only upon a razor.[93] If, however, Cunda, one who speaks correctly of "seeing, one does not see" should speak, he should speak correctly of "seeing, one does not see." On seeing, what does one not see? "Thus endowed with all marks, having perfected all marks, without deficiency, without redundancy, well preached, and filled in its entirety, the holy conduct of life [*brahmacariya*] was well manifested." Truly he sees thus. "Here, this should be taken away. This should be purified thus." Truly he does not see thus. "Here, this should be filled in. This should be completed thus." Truly he does not see it in such a manner. This is what is called 'seeing, one does not see.'"[94]

The expression "seeing, one does not see" is found nowhere else in the canon; it is therefore possible to assume that Uddaka actually uttered it. Buddhaghosa in his commentary wrote that Uddaka used this paradoxical expression to confuse people; when, unable to understand, they asked him the meaning, he said: "The meaning is deep and profound, and I cannot explain it if the time is not right. I will reply at a later time." Having received the reverence of the people for four months, he then explained "seeing, one does not see" as "seeing the blade of a well-sharpened razor, but not the edge."[95] We know from Buddhist and Jaina scriptures and grammatical texts that many people used such sophistical expressions, and it seems likely that Uddaka belonged to such a school of thought.

Today it is virtually impossible to know what Āḷāra and Uddaka actually taught. It seems, however, that the two stages associated with them reflect two stages in the development of various Buddhist meditations. And it is likely that the concept of the four formless concentrations was formulated at a later time.[96]

A Jaina work, the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, mentions a sage named Rāmaputta.

The two kinds of death in this world are explained [*āhijanti* = *ākhyāyate*] thus: peaceful death [*suda-mata*] and suffering death [*duha-mata*]. Thus spoke Rāmaputta, *arahant* and sage.

I speak of what I have recognized [*viṇṇatti* = *vijñapti*] concerning this. For those who are harmed by the fetter[97] of the workings [*lesa*] of a mind attached to the self and unconcentrated, and those who grow old be-

cause of the fetter, I will destroy the fetter. Desist from what was thought before. After [the suffering death = *dukkha-maraṇa*] I will destroy the fetters, and I will use knowledge [*ñāṇa*], discernment [*daṃsaṇa*], and actions [*caritta*]. Knowing by knowledge, discerning by discernment, controlling by curbs [*saṃjama*], eliminating the stain of the eight karmas by ascetic practice [*tava*], purifying, passing through the wilderness of transmigration, which is without beginning and limitless, spanning a long period and the whole world, and arriving at the stage that should be named progress toward realization, which is purified and auspicious, unmoved, without disease and undying, without obstruction, and never returning, I will abide there in the future over unbounded time.

In that way he is one who has accomplished, a buddha, removed from pollution, removed from evil . . . one who is controlled, who has destroyed his shackles, who is a splendid person [*tāi*], and because he is such a person with such a purpose, I say that he will never return to this world.

This is the end of the chapter titled "Concerning Rāmaputta."[98]

Though the passage is short and difficult to understand, Rāmaputta's thought appears quite close to Jainism in terms of the eight karmas and ascetic practice.

Rāmaputta was apparently renowned in the Magadha area, to the displeasure of the Brahmins. According to the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, the Brahmin Vassakāra, prime minister of Magadha, stated:

On one occasion, there were some who reproached others in the company of the Ṭodeyya Brahmins [the Brahmins of the village of Tudi]: "That King Eḷeyya is a fool, believing in Samaṇa Rāmaputta and showing Samaṇa Rāmaputta great obeisance, such as saluting, rising up [from his seat], placing his hands together, and paying homage. The attendants of King Eḷeyya—Yamaka, Moggalla, Ugga, Nāvindaki, Gandhabba, and Aggivessa—are also fools, believing in Samaṇa Rāmaputta and showing Samaṇa Rāmaputta great obeisance, such as saluting, rising up [from their seats], placing their hands together, and paying homage."[99]

According to Buddhaghosa's commentary, this passage refers to Uddaka Rāmaputta.[100] If so, Uddaka must have had considerable support within society.

It is a pity that the ideas of Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta are now so unclear and beyond verification. What is indisputable, though,

from the fact that their names were not deleted from biographies of the Buddha, is that Gotama received considerable spiritual influence from them. Where and for how long he studied under them, however, we have no way of knowing.

Ascetic Practices

POPULAR LEGENDS CONCERNING GOTAMA'S ASCETIC PRACTICES AND ENLIGHTENMENT

Undertaking ascetic practices

Accounts of Gotama's ascetic practices before his enlightenment usually follow the *Nidānakathā* and similar biographies. Let us therefore begin by investigating these sources.

After Gotama parted company with his teachers, he began a series of ascetic practices in the company of five companions from the Sakya tribe whom King Suddhodana had selected to follow the prince and look after his needs.[101] The *Nidānakathā* speaks in considerable detail of how the five came to join Gotama, giving their names as Aññāta-Koṇḍañña (or Añña-Koṇḍañña), Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma, and Assaji. Koṇḍañña was the eldest (*jeṭṭhaka*).[102] It should be noted that all five were Brahmins.[103] They eventually became the Buddha's first disciples and came to be called "the band of the five elders" (*pañcavaggiyatherā*).[104] A later biography says that the five were students of Uddaka Rāmaputta, but when they realized Gotama had attained their master's ultimate state in such a short time, they left Uddaka to follow Gotama.[105] First Gotama and the five set off toward Mount Gayā, on whose peak they "sat under a tree, spread grass for a seat, and entered into contemplation." Next they "arrived at the east bank of the Uruvelā Pond and saw the Nerañjarā River."

Gotama's ascetic practices were severe.[106] He fasted until he was nothing but skin and bones. A number of sculptures of Gotama in an emaciated state were made in Gandhāra, perhaps under the influence of Greek realism.[107]

The *Nidānakathā* describes Gotama's ascetic practices as follows: "And wishing to undertake the great struggle, to show this world and the gods his power and effort, he went to Uruvelā. 'This place is truly delightful,' [he said,] and remained there, and took up the great struggle. The five wandering practitioners, headed by Koṇḍañña, begging for alms in vil-

lages, towns, and royal cities, here met the Bodhisatta. For the six years that he was engaged in the great struggle, they served him by sweeping the cell [*pariveṇa*] and so on, thinking, 'Now he will become the Buddha, now he will become the Buddha.'"[108]

Since a great many biographies of the Buddha refer to the six years of ascetic practices, they may be considered historical fact. Uruvelā, the place where Gotama practiced his austerities, appears to mean "a place where sand is piled over an untold distance."[109] Early scriptures and the *Nidānakathā* provide no clue as to where in Uruvelā this was. A few later biographies of the Buddha, though, say that the site was Gayāsīsa (Skt., Gayāśīrṣa), translated into Chinese as "Elephant's Head Peak," an interpretation based on folk etymology.[110] It was near Gayā but not the same mountain as Prāgbodha. The place where Gotama practiced austerities is commonly called *tapovana*, "grove of austerities." This is a common noun and does not appear as the name of a particular place in the Pāli biographies.[111]

The *Nidānakathā* describes austerities so severe that they almost cost Gotama his life:

> And the Bodhisatta, [thinking,] "I will carry out austerities to the very limit," lived off one sesame seed or one grain of rice, and so on, and even fasted completely. He rebuffed the gods when they tried to infuse nourishment through the pores of his skin. Because of that fasting, his body became emaciated to an extreme, his golden body turned black, and the thirty-two marks of a Great Man were concealed. At one time, when he had entered the meditation of stopping the breath, he was wracked with severe pain and lost consciousness, falling down at one end of the walking area.
>
> Then certain gods said: "The Samaṇa Gotama is dead," and others said: "This is the mode of life of *arhants*." Those who thought him dead went to King Suddhodana and said: "Your son has died." "Did my son die after becoming a buddha or before?" "He could not become a buddha. At the place of his struggle he fell down and died." When the king heard this, he rejected it, [saying,] "I do not believe it. My son could not die before attaining enlightenment." Why would the king not believe it? Because he had seen [the wonder of] the day when [he] caused [the prince] to do homage to the ascetic Kāladevala and the wonder at the foot of the *jambu* tree.
>
> When the Bodhisatta regained consciousness and stood up, those

gods went [to the king] and announced: "Great king, your son is well." The king said: "I knew my son had not died."[112]

Renouncing ascetic practices

Gotama's realization that extreme asceticism was meaningless had a profound effect on the development of Buddhism. The *Nidānakathā* relates this event in a simple manner:[113] "The Great Being had spent six years undergoing austerities; it was time spent [meaninglessly], as if trying to tie a knot in the air. He thought: 'These austerities are not the way to enlightenment,' and went alms-seeking in the towns and villages to get ordinary material food and received food."

Giving up austerities and going out to seek alms meant moving among people again. Gotama's five companions, considering him to have given up, deserted him.

> The band of five *bhikkhus* [said]: "For six years this man has been performing austerities without being able to attain [the wisdom of] one who masters omniscience. Now he is seeking alms in the towns and so on, receiving ordinary material food. What can he do? He has become luxury loving and has abandoned the struggle. For us to look to him for something extraordinary would be like one who wants to wash his head seeking for a dewdrop. What merit does he have for us?" They took up their bowls and robes and left the Great Being, and going along the road for eighteen *yojanas*, they entered Isipatana [Deer Park].

The episode of Gotama's abandonment by his five companions also appears in other Buddhist texts.[114] Popular legends relate that after this event Gotama received an offering of milk porridge from a young woman named Sujātā who lived in a nearby village.[115] According to the *Nidānakathā*,

> At that time, in the village of Senāni in Uruvelā, there was a girl of marriageable age named Sujātā, born into the household of the landowner Senāni, who prayed to a *nigrodha* tree: "If I am [married into] a family of equal rank and my firstborn is a son, I will make an offering of 100,000 [pieces of gold] to you every year." Her prayer was fulfilled. On the day of the full moon of the month of Visākhā, fully six years after the Great Being began his austerities, she wanted to make the offering and so first pastured a thousand cows in Laṭṭhimadhuka Wood and gave their milk to five hundred cows to drink, then the milk of those [five hundred] to two hundred and fifty, until [she] gave the

milk of sixteen cows to eight to drink. This, called rotating the milk, was done to increase the milk's thickness, sweetness, and nutritive essences. Early in the morning on the day of the full moon of Visākhā, she, [thinking,] "I will make the offering," rose at dawn and milked the eight cows. Though the calves had not gone under the udders of the cows, as soon as new vessels were placed under the udders the milk flowed in a stream of its own accord. Seeing this wonder, Sujātā took the milk with her own hands and put it in a new vessel and with her own hands made a fire and began to cook it. While the milk porridge was boiling, many large bubbles arose and swirled around to the right, but not a drop boiled over, and not the least smoke rose from the oven. At that time the four guardians of the world had come and stood guard over the oven. Mahābrahmā held high a canopy, and Sakka brought brands and lit the fire. The gods through their heavenly power collected nutritive essences beneficial to the gods and human beings of the four great continents surrounded by two thousand islands, just as one gets honey by crushing a honeycomb attached to a stick, and infused them into [the milk porridge]. At other times the deities infused nutritive essences little by little, but on the day when [the Bodhisatta] attained enlightenment, and on the day of his *parinibbāna*, they infused them all at once.

Having seen so many wonders in just one day, Sujātā said to her servant Puṇṇā: "Puṇṇā, today our god is very pleased. I have never before seen so many wonders. Go quickly and look at the god's place." "Yes, my lady." Complying with those words, she went in great haste to the foot of the tree.

The [previous] night the Bodhisatta had seen five great dreams and after consideration resolved: "Without doubt I will become a buddha this very day." When the night ended, he attended to his body, came early to the foot of that tree, and sat there to await the time to seek alms, illuminating the whole tree with the radiance of his [body].

Then came Puṇṇā, and she saw the Bodhisatta sitting at the foot of the tree looking toward the eastern realm. Seeing that the whole tree had turned golden with the radiance from his body, she thought: "Today our god has descended from the tree and sits there to receive our offering with his own hands." Excited, she went [home] quickly and told Sujātā.

When Sujātā heard her words, her mind was filled with joy and content, and she said: "From this day forward, you will be my eldest

daughter," and she gave her all the ornaments appropriate to a daughter. Since [a bodhisatta] on the day he attains buddhahood must receive a golden bowl worth 100,000 [pieces of gold], the idea came to her: "I will put the milk porridge in a golden bowl." She had a golden bowl worth 100,000 [pieces of gold] brought, and she tilted the boiling vessel to pour the milk porridge into [the bowl]. Like water falling from a lotus leaf, all the milk porridge flowed into the bowl and filled the bowl exactly. She covered the bowl with another golden bowl and wrapped them in a cloth. Then she adorned herself with all her ornaments and with the bowl on her head she went, [drawn] by great majesty, to the foot of the *nigrodha* tree. Seeing the Bodhisatta, she became exceedingly joyful, supposing him to be the tree god [*rukkhadevatā*], and after seeing him she walked constantly bowing down. Taking the bowl from her head, she unwrapped it, and pouring some flower-scented water into a golden vase, she approached the Bodhisatta and stood by.

Sujātā had never seen a buddha, and it was only natural that she should have thought him a tree god. The cult of tree spirits was widespread at the time, as evidenced by the large number of carvings of tree spirits at Bhārhut and Sāñcī.

The earthenware bowl given to the Bodhisatta by the Mahābrahmā Ghaṭīkāra [the potter], and which had never left his side, in that instant disappeared. Unable to see the [earthenware] bowl, the Bodhisatta stretched out his right hand and received the water. Sujātā placed the milk porridge in the [golden] bowl in the hand of the Great Man, and the Great Man looked at Sujātā, and observing this, she paid homage, [saying,] "Lord, accept what I have offered you, and go as you please." Then saying, "As my wish was accomplished, may yours also be accomplished," she left, as indifferent to the golden bowl worth 100,000 [pieces of gold] as if it were a withered leaf.

The story of Sujātā adds a romantic flavor of female gentleness and warmth to the biographies of the Buddha, and thus it has long been a favorite in southern Asia and Japan. Its historicity is certainly open to question, however, since the name Sujātā does not appear in any Buddhist texts other than biographies of the Buddha, and even those treat her in a number of ways. For example, the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* says: "In the house of the Brahmin Senāni were two women; the first was named Nandā,

and the second was named Balā."[116] These two women offered milk porridge to Sakyamuni. The text also says they were "the two daughters of Sujāta, the village headman."

Another biography of the Buddha says that Senāpati, the village headman of Uruvelā, had ten young daughters, who, "knowing that the Bodhisatta had already abandoned austerities, made various kinds of food and drink and offered them. Although not many days had passed, [his] body was already radiant." The youngest of the ten girls was named Sujātā.[117]

The *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* relates that after Sakyamuni attained enlightenment he went to Sujātā's house seeking alms and received food and drink from her:[118]

> At that time the World-honored One, seven days having passed, early in the morning put on his robe, took his bowl, and visited the house of the headman of the village of Nandikā. Arriving at his house, he stepped to one side, standing silently, for he was seeking food. The headman's daughter saw that the World-honored One was standing silently by the gate to beg for food. Seeing [him], she reverently took the bowl from his hand and took it inside the house and filled it with many different kinds of tasty food and drink. Going out again, she offered it to the World-honored One, saying, "I beg you, World-honored One, to accept this food in order to have compassion for me." The World-honored One, having received the food from the headman's daughter, Sujātā, said to her: "Come, Sujātā, and receive the three refuges and the five precepts. Truly you will receive great benefit and attain great bliss for a long time." Sujātā, hearing the Buddha's words, said: "World-honored One, I will not deviate from the teachings of the World-honored One," and received the three refuges and the five precepts. At that time Sujātā was the first human being to receive the three refuges and the five precepts, and [she] became the female lay devotee [*upāsikā*] known as Sujātā, the headman's daughter. At that time the World-honored One, having accepted and eaten the food offered by Sujātā, sat at the foot of the *bodhi* tree and received the medicine of liberation, and so another seven days passed.

It is probably true that one or two women offered milk porridge to Gotama, but her or their identity changed over time in the legends.

Just across the Nerañjarā River is a small hill covered with crimson flowers, which is said to have been the site of Sujātā's house, and there is

also the forest Sujātā is said to have entered. The reputed site of the house has been excavated, and articles from Gotama's time have been found. The stupa built there by King Aśoka to commemorate Sujātā's virtue no longer exists, but the brickwork from its base is said to have been found. The authenticity of these finds remains open to question, however.

Yūshō Miyasaka, in a review of an earlier edition of this book, has commented on the story of Sujātā: "The story of the ascetic Gotama who recovered his health after receiving milk from the farm girl Sujātā bears many resemblances to a myth dealing with the beginning of communal living in India—the ancient tradition that the creator, Prajāpati, was saved from starvation with a drink of milk."[119] It is apparent that the custom of drinking milk to revive health existed from very ancient times in India, so such episodes appear in a number of myths and legends. Indians drink milk in much the same way that Europeans and Japanese drink tea. A Sanskrit text for children at a primary school in India run by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan states: "Children should not drink tea. Drink milk!" (It is said that the reason for this injunction is that tea contains stimulants.)

Next Gotama took a bath at a bathing place called Suppatiṭṭhita (*nahānaṭṭhānaṃ Suppatiṭṭhita-titthaṃ nāma atthi*). This shows that he observed the ancient Brahman custom of ritual bathing at sacred places (*tīrtha*).[120] The *Nidānakathā* says:

> The Bodhisatta rose from where he was sitting and walked around the tree to the right. Taking the bowl, he went to the bank of the Nerañjarā. There was a place named Suppatiṭṭhita bathing place, where many thousands of bodhisattas had descended and bathed on the day they attained higher enlightenment. He put his bowl down on the bank and then descended and bathed, put on the banner of an *arhant* [the robe of a wandering practitioner], the clothing of many hundreds of thousands of buddhas, and sat down facing east. He made the honeyed milk porridge into forty-nine balls the size of a single-seeded fruit of the *tāla* tree and ate all of them. After he became a buddha he stayed seven weeks at the throne of enlightenment, and that was the food for [those] forty-nine days. During all that time he ate no other food at all, he did not bathe, he did not rinse his mouth, and he did not defecate, spending time in the pleasure of meditation, the pleasure of the way [to enlightenment], and the pleasure of [its] fruits.

The Nerañjarā (Skt., Nairañjanā) River, transliterated into Chinese as Ni-lien-ch'an, is a western tributary of the Phalgu River, which flows

through the area near Bodhgaya.[121] Its waters become a little muddy during the rainy season, but the sand on the banks of the river gleams white in the sunlight, and coconut and windmill palms grow here and there. Though the Nerañjarā may rise in the rainy season, its waters extending as far as the nearest town, it has very little water in the dry season, and the local people dry their washing in the riverbed.

The tradition that Gotama purified himself by bathing in this river on December 8 needs confirmation. I once drove from Gayā to Rājgīr in January. Crossing the Phalgu on my way to Tuṅgi Bazaar, I saw hardly any water in the river, though water was still flowing beneath the soil. The Nerañjarā was nothing but an expanse of mud. Downstream from Bodhgaya I could see water where people had dug into the riverbed. Others who have visited at that time of year have also commented that although there were a few puddles, no water was flowing. In January, at any rate, the Nerañjarā is dry, nothing but mud and grass. People who have visited the area in March report a stream about two meters wide. When I visited in August, during the rainy season, the Nerañjarā was full of water. But the water level drops between August and October, and in the winter there is no water at all. It would be impossible to bathe there in November or December. The tradition that Gotama bathed in the river on December 8 according to the solar calendar is thus an impossibility.

It seems that the flow of the Nerañjarā constantly changes, however. One pilgrim has noted that a small amount of fresh water was still flowing one year at the end of January; he was surprised to find any water at all so long after the rainy season. Another year there was no water at the end of February. Since in Gotama's time the population was small and the expanse of jungle was extensive, some people think that there may once have been water in the river even in December. (For example, the Hiraṇyavatī River, associated with the Buddha's last journey, is now only a small stream.) All the same, the identification of December 8 as the day that Gotama attained enlightenment, after having bathed and purified himself in the Nerañjarā, is a later legend.

The *Nidānakathā* also relates that after eating the milk porridge Gotama threw the golden bowl into the stream, which carried it to the palace of the *nāga* king, Kālika [Kāla], causing him to praise the appearance of another buddha.[122] The historical basis of this legend is obscure. Later Buddhists probably added the legend to legitimize the Buddha's renunciation of austerities, an act criticized by religious practitioners of his time.

The relatively late *Majjhima-Nikāya* takes the form of memories related

by Gotama in his old age to his disciple Sāriputta, focusing on the severe ascetic practices of his youth in order to show that they were meaningless:[123] "But even by this conduct, this practice, this austerity, I did not attain the truly excellent and sacred knowledge and insight surpassing the nature of human beings. What is the reason? I had not yet attained this sacred wisdom. When this sacred wisdom is attained, which leads out [of transmigration], it leads the doer to the complete destruction of suffering."

The *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* states the Buddha's reasons for abandoning ascetic practices even more concretely. After telling how he took up severe austerities after being dissatisfied by the teachings of Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, he says:

> Then it occurred to me: "It is not easy to reach that well-being with such an extremely emaciated body. I will take ordinary material food, milk porridge." And so I took ordinary material food, milk porridge. At that time the five *bhikkhus* approached me, saying, "Samaṇa Gotama will announce the Law to us when he attains it." Now, when I took ordinary material food, milk porridge, these five *bhikkhus* went away in disgust, saying, "Samaṇa Gotama is luxury loving, he has forsaken his striving, he has become extravagant." After I had taken ordinary material food, having gained strength, I became detached from desires and from that which is wrong and attained the pleasant state of the first stage of meditation [*jhāna*], born of detachment: the contemplation accompanied by reasoning [*savitakka*] and the contemplation accompanied by investigation [*savicāra*].[124]

The Buddha went on to speak of the four *jhāna* stages one by one. The *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* does not exist in Chinese translation, which argues for its relatively late composition in Pāli. The abandonment of ascetic practices is treated in detail for the first time here.

According to the version of the legend best known among Japanese Buddhists, after accepting milk porridge Gotama went to Mount Prāgbodhi to attain enlightenment but was told by the *nāga* king that it was not a suitable place. Therefore he went to the foot of the *bodhi* tree, beside the Nerañjarā. This legend is not found in any Buddhist scriptures, but gained popularity because it was described in Hsüan-tsang's *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi.*

> Going to the east from the place where Gayā-Kāśyapa made the fire sacrifice and crossing a great river [the Nerañjarā], I arrived at Mount

Prāgbodhi. (In T'ang we call this Ch'ien-cheng-chüeh shan [Mountain Prior to Perfect Enlightenment; Prāgbodhi]. The Tathāgata, for the first time, climbed this mountain to achieve enlightenment. Therefore it is called "Prior to Perfect Enlightenment.") The Tathāgata, though he had practiced for six years, had still not attained enlightenment. After that he gave up his ascetic practices and accepted milk porridge. As he moved from the northeast, he saw a mountain, which appeared serene and quiet, and he thought he would attain enlightenment there. When he had reached the summit by climbing the northeast slope, the earth trembled and the mountain leaned and shook. The mountain god was frightened and said to the Bodhisattva: "This mountain is not a good place to attain enlightenment. Should you enter the diamond *samādhi* here, the earth will subside and the mountain will collapse." The Bodhisattva descended the mountain from the southwest. In a cliff halfway down the mountain there was a great stone cavern, backed by a crag and overlooking a valley. The Bodhisattva entered and sat down cross-legged. Again the earth trembled and the mountain leaned. At that time the great voice of the Heaven of the Pure Abode echoed down from the air, saying, "This is not the place for the Tathāgata to attain enlightenment. Fourteen or fifteen *li* southwest of here, not far from the place of austerities, there is a *pippala* tree, under which is the diamond seat. All the buddhas of the past and the future attain enlightenment there. Please go seat yourself there." As the Bodhisattva arose, the *nāga* inside the stone cavern said: "This cavern is pure and excellent. It is a good place to attain enlightenment. In your compassion, please do not leave." The Bodhisattva, though, knew that this was not the place for attaining enlightenment and departed, leaving his shadow behind to answer the *nāga*'s plea. (In olden times all, both foolish and wise, were able to see the shadow, and nowadays there are still some who can see it.) Led by heavenly beings [the Bodhisattva] went to the *bodhi* tree. When King Aśoka came to the throne, he commemorated each place the Bodhisattva had passed going up and down the mountain by marking it and building a stupa. Though the stupas differ in size, they do not differ in miraculous virtue. Sometimes flowers fall on them from the sky like rain, and sometimes their radiance illuminates gloomy valleys. Every year, at the end of the rainy-season retreat, priests and lay people from various places climb this mountain together and make offerings. After spending two nights paying homage there, they return.[125]

That the legend does not appear in the scriptures does not mean it did not exist earlier, only that it made no deep impact on those who compiled the biographies of the Buddha.

On the right bank of the Nerañjarā River stands Mount Duṅgeśvarī, about five kilometers northeast of Bodhgaya. Local people say that this is the Prāgbodhi of the Buddhist texts.[126] A Tibetan temple now stands on it. Mount Prāgbodhi is not the same as Mount Gayā, which, according to Hsüan-tsang, was five or six *li* southwest of the city of Gayā. It was southeast of Mount Gayā that the Kassapa (Skt., Kāśyapa) brothers conducted a fire sacrifice; Mount Prāgbodhi, he says, was east of there across a great river—the Nerañjarā?[127]

According to the *Jātaka*, after descending Mount Prāgbodhi, Gotama went to Uruvelā: "'What a delightful place this is. How suitable for a son of good family desirous of making the struggle to make the struggle here.' Such a thought arose [in the Bodhisatta], and there he took up his abode."[128]

Taking up the seat of enlightenment

When Gotama was walking toward the *bodhi* tree, a grass cutter offered him eight bundles of grass to make him more comfortable in his meditation. The *Nidānakathā* relates the event:

> The Bodhisatta took his noon rest in a grove of *sāla* trees in full bloom on the riverbank. In the evening, at the time when the flowers droop from the stalks, [the Bodhisatta] rose and proceeded like a lion toward the *bodhi* tree along a road eight *usabhas* wide, which the gods had adorned. *Nāgas, yakkhas,* fabulous birds, and other beings made offerings of celestial perfumes, flowers, and so on, celestial choirs arose, and the ten-thousandfold world was filled with one perfume, one garland, and one cheer.
>
> At that time a grass cutter named Sotthiya came from the opposite way, carrying grass. Recognizing the attributes of a Great Man, he gave him eight bundles of grass.[129]

Various Buddhist texts mention that a grass cutter offered *kusa* (Skt., *kuśa*) grass to Gotama.[130] The *Nidānakathā* relates that after that event Gotama chose his "throne of enlightenment" and entered resolutely into meditation.

> The Bodhisatta took the grass, ascended the throne of enlightenment, and stood on the south side facing north. At that instant the southern

> *cakkavāḷa* [the entire world encircled by a range of lofty mountains] sank as if to the Avīci hell and the northern *cakkavāḷa* rose as if to the highest realm of existence. The Bodhisatta [thought]: "This cannot be, I think, the place to attain supreme enlightenment," and he walked rightward to the west side and stood facing east. Thereupon the western *cakkavāḷa* sank as if to the Avīci hell and the eastern *cakkavāḷa* rose as if to the highest realm of existence. Wherever he stood, the broad earth rose and fell, as if the rim of a great wheel lying on its hub were being trodden on. The Bodhisatta thought: "This also cannot be, I think, the place to attain supreme enlightenment," and he walked rightward to the north side and stood facing south. Thereupon the northern *cakkavāḷa* sank as if to the Avīci hell and the southern *cakkavāḷa* rose as if to the highest realm of existence. The Bodhisatta thought: "This also cannot be, I think, the place to attain supreme enlightenment," and he walked rightward to the east side and stood facing west. Now, on the east side is the place where all buddhas have sat cross-legged, and that [place] neither trembles nor shakes. The Great Man, knowing, "This is the unmoving place unforsaken by all buddhas and the place to destroy the cage of defilement," took hold of the tips of blades of grass and scattered them. Immediately they were transformed into a seat fourteen *hatthas* long. Even highly skilled painters and sculptors cannot delineate the same form as the form configured by the grass.
>
> The Bodhisatta faced east with his back to the trunk of the *bodhi* tree and made the firm resolution: "Let my skin, sinews, and bones become dry and the flesh and blood of my body dry up, but I will not break the cross-legged [position] until I attain perfect and supreme enlightenment." He sat cross-legged in the invincible position, and even a hundred thunderbolts falling at once could not break it.[131]

The *bodhi* tree is the *assattha* (Skt., *aśvattha*), also called the *pipphala* (Skt., *pippala*).[132]

Next Gotama was assailed by a band of demons, who tried to agitate his mind with various temptations and threats, an episode recounted in detail in biographies of the Buddha.[133] The *Nidānakathā* relates:

> Then Devaputta Māra, [saying,] "Prince Siddhattha wants to pass beyond my dominion. I will not permit him to pass beyond," went to Māra's army, announced the matter, issued the sound called Māra's sound, and led forth Māra's army. Māra's army extended twelve

yojanas in front of Māra, twelve *yojanas* to right and left, and as far as the limit of the *cakkavāḷa* behind, and it was nine *yojanas* high. When [the army] shouted, the sound, like that of the earth splitting open, was heard over a thousand *yojanas*. Then Devaputta Māra mounted the elephant Girimekhala, which was one hundred fifty *yojanas* tall, and caused to appear a thousand arms grasping a variety of weapons. Also in the assembly of Māra no two individuals carried identical weapons. Of varied colors and varied features, [they] came forth to attack the Great Being.

Now the gods of the ten thousand *cakkavāḷas* were uttering words in praise of the Great Being. Sakka, the king of the gods, was blowing the conch Vijayuttara. It is said that conch was one hundred and twenty *hatthas* long and that once it was filled with wind and blown it would sound for four months. The *nāga* king, Mahākāla,[134] uttered another one hundred verses in praise [of the Bodhisatta], and Mahābrahmā stood holding aloft a white canopy.

Gradually Māra's army drew near the throne of enlightenment, and no one was able to stand his ground, but fled when confronted. The *nāga* king, Kāla, dived into the earth and, coming to the *nāga* palace, Mañjerika, five hundred *yojanas* in extent, covered his face with both hands and lay down. Sakka put his conch, Vijayuttara, on his back and stood at the edge of the world. Mahābrahmā placed the white canopy at the edge of the *cakkavāḷa* and went to the Brahmā world. Not one god could stand his ground. The Great Man was sitting alone. Māra then said to his followers: "All of you, there is no man equal to Siddhattha, son of Suddhodana. We cannot fight him from the front, so we will attack from behind." The Great Man looked around on three sides and saw that all the gods had fled. Then he noticed Māra's army attacking from the north [and said]: "So many beings are exerting great energy and effort against me alone. In this place there are no mother and father, no brothers, and no other relatives. Yet these ten perfections are like my attendants, nurtured for a long time. Therefore I will make the [ten] perfections my shield, strike with the sword of the [ten] perfections, and destroy this army." Thus he sat and reflected on the ten perfections.

Thereupon Devaputta Māra caused a whirlwind, [thinking,] "With this I will drive away Siddhattha." Immediately winds rose from the east and other directions, and they could have destroyed summits of

mountains half a *yojana* or two or three *yojanas* high, or have uprooted the shrubs and trees of the forest, or have crushed villages and towns everywhere. Such was the power of the Great Man's merit, however, that when they reached the Bodhisatta, they lost their power and could not even cause the hem of his robe to move. Then [Māra] caused a great rain, [thinking,] "I will overrun him with water and kill him." Through [his] majesty black clouds of hundreds of layers and thousands of layers rose higher and higher, rain fell, the force of the rain caused the earth to crack, and a great flood rose above the tops of the trees in the forest. It was not able, however, to moisten the robes of the Great Being even as much as a drop of dew.

Then he caused a rain of rocks, and great mountain peaks came through the air smoking and flaming. But when they reached the Bodhisatta, they became celestial bouquets of flowers.

Then he caused a rain of blades, and single-edged and double-edged swords, daggers, razors, and so on, came through the air smoking and flaming. But when they reached the Bodhisatta, they became celestial flowers.

Then he caused a rain of live coals, and live coals of the [red] color of *kiṃsuka* flowers came through the air. But at the Bodhisatta's feet they became celestial flowers and scattered.

Then he caused a rain of hot ashes, and hot ashes the color of glowing fire came through the air. But at the Bodhisatta's feet they became sandalwood powder and fell.

Then he caused a rain of sand, and very fine sand came through the air smoking and flaming. But at the Bodhisatta's feet it became celestial flowers and fell.

Then he caused a rain of mud, and mud came through the air smoking and flaming. But at the Bodhisatta's feet it became celestial ointment and fell.

Then he caused darkness, [thinking,] "With this I will frighten Siddhattha and drive him away." There came a great darkness endowed with four conditions, but when it reached the Bodhisatta, the darkness disappeared as if destroyed by the light of the sun.

Māra, being thus unable to drive away the Bodhisatta with the nine rains of wind, rain, rocks, blades, live coals, hot ashes, sand, mud, and darkness, commanded the assembly: "Why are you standing still? Seize, kill, drive away the prince!" And riding on the back of the elephant

> Girimekhala and [armed] with a discus, he came up to the Bodhisatta and said: "Siddhattha, rise from that seat! It is not yours, but mine."
>
> When the Great Being heard that, he said: "Māra, you have not fulfilled the ten perfections, the secondary perfections, or the ultimate perfections. You have not made the five great donations, nor have you performed actions to benefit your relatives, actions to benefit the world, or actions to attain enlightened wisdom. This seat is not yours, but mine indeed!" Māra, angered, could not control his rage and hurled the discus toward the Great Man. But it came to a stop above him, whose mind was concentrated on the ten perfections, and became a canopy of garlands. Yet it is said that the razor-edged discus when thrown at other times would cut through solid stone pillars as if they were bamboo shoots. Now, though, it became a canopy of garlands and came to a stop. Then the remaining assembly of Māra hurled great heaps of rocks one after another, [thinking,] "Now he will arise from his seat and flee!" But they also became bouquets of flowers before the Great Man, whose mind was concentrated on the ten perfections, and fell to the ground.

Here the ability of the Bodhisatta to overcome the attack of Māra is ascribed to the merits accrued in his practice of the ten perfections (*dasa pāramiyo*) from his earlier lives to the present. This is a view peculiar to the Theravāda school. The *Nidānakathā* continues:

> The gods were standing on the edge of the *cakkavāḷa*, stretching out their necks and holding up their heads, looking on, [saying,] "Ah, is the supremely beautiful form of Prince Siddhattha destroyed? What will he do?"
>
> At that time the Great Man said: "The seat that the bodhisattas who have fulfilled the perfections have used on the day they attained enlightenment is mine." . . . The assembly of Māra fled in every direction, no one taking the same path, leaving their head ornaments and the robes they had worn, and they all fled, each in his own direction.

Next the text describes how the gods lauded Gotama's enlightenment. The day of the enlightenment (*abhisaṃbujjhana-divasa*) had arrived. Assuming that Gotama had renounced the world at the age of twenty-nine and had then spent six years practicing austerities, he was thirty-five at that time. The legend of Māra's attack is long and detailed, as is to be expected in a relatively late work like the *Nidānakathā*. It is very difficult to judge the

extent to which it is based on historical fact. This does not mean, though, that the ideas of Buddhism's earliest period have been lost. In this section of the account of Gotama's search for enlightenment the *Nidānakathā* refers to him as a Great Being (*mahāsatta*) or a Great Man (*mahāpurisa*). Gotama was considered to be a human being both before and after his enlightenment. Nowhere is it written that he became some kind of special being called a buddha. (Jainism also lauds the Jina as a Great Being.)

Gotama attained enlightenment at a place called Buddhagayā (Bodhgaya), corresponding to the nearby Hindu holy site of Gayā. The place where the Buddha sat is called the "diamond throne."[135]

THE FACTUAL BASIS OF LEGENDS

Māra's temptations of Gotama before the enlightenment

The years from Gotama's renunciation of secular life to his attainment of enlightenment are designated the period of religious practice. Many legends relate Māra's temptation of Gotama during this time. The oldest legend, in which the Buddha recalls the encounter, is found in a series of verses in the section of the *Suttanipāta* called "Striving."[136] *Striving* (*padhāna*) refers to spiritual exertion. What is described here, unlike the other legends, may be Gotama's fight with Māra prior to enlightenment.

> When I was meditating with great effort to attain tranquillity and ease,
> and wholly intent upon striving there on the banks of the Nerañjarā,
> [The demon] Namuci approached speaking compassionate words:
> "You are thin and look pale, and death is near you."[137]

The demon refers to Gotama using the second person singular pronoun "thou" (*tvam*), indicating that he looks down on Gotama.[138]

> Your prospects of not dying and continuing to live are a thousand to one. Live, sir, life is better, for as long as you have life you are able to perform meritorious deeds.[139]
> Much merit can be accumulated by living the pure life [of a student of the *Vedas*] and making offerings to the sacred fire. What do you want with striving [through ascetic practices]?

These statements refer to the first two periods of a man's life, the first spent as an unmarried youth studying the *Vedas* under a master, the second as a married householder who performs the essential rituals. The demon cautions Gotama not to break the regulations laid down in the

Brahmanic codes. "Making offerings" refers to worshiping the god of fire by pouring milk, oil, and rice gruel onto a sacred fire.

The *Suttanipāta* goes on:

> "The road of striving is hard to travel, hard to practice, hard to attain." Reciting this verse, Māra stood beside the Enlightened One.
> When Māra spoke thus, the Venerable Master said: "Kinsman of the lazy, evil one, though you come here seeking [worldly] merit,[140]
> I have not the slightest need to seek such merit. The demon should speak to those who are seeking the merits [of meritorious actions].
> There are [in me] faith[141] and effort, and wisdom is found in me. Why do you ask me, wholly intent as I am, to preserve my life?[142]
> The wind [of my effort] would dry up the flow of the rivers. Why does my blood, wholly intent as I am, not dry up?

Wind refers to the strong breathing of ascetic practice. *Wholly intent* (*pahitatta*) indicates complete concentration on the self.

> Should my blood dry up, so should my bile and phlegm.[143] As my flesh wastes away, my mind becomes clearer [*cittaṃ pasīdati*]. My mindfulness [*sati*], wisdom, and concentration [*samādhi*] stand all the firmer.

Buddhism generally defines increasing clarity of mind as a characteristic of faith. This is an extension of the idea of faith, mentioned in verse 432.

> When I dwell thus, having undergone supreme suffering, my mind is no longer attracted by the various sensuous desires. Look at [my] purity [of mind and body].[144]

The Brahmanic expressions are noteworthy. The following verses in the *Suttanipāta* describe the ten types of demons that persist in their attacks.

> Sensuous desire is your first army; dislike is called the second; hunger and thirst are your third [army]; and craving[145] is called the fourth.
> Sloth and torpor are your fifth [army]; the sixth is fear. Your seventh [army] is doubt; and your eighth is pretence and obstinacy.[146]
> Falsely achieved gain, renown, honor, and fame [are your ninth army]; and praising the self and disparaging others [are the tenth].[147]
> Namuci, these are your forces, the striking forces of the Black Demon [Kaṇha].[148] Unless one is brave, he cannot vanquish [them]. [The brave one], having vanquished [them], attains joy.
> Shall this same I remove *muñja* grass?[149] [Shall I surrender to the

> enemy?] At this juncture, life matters not.[150] Rather than continue to live after defeat, it is better to die in battle.
> Some ascetics and Brahmins are entombed within [your army], and they cannot be seen.[151] They do not know the way of the virtuous.
> Surrounded by the army on all sides and having seen Māra come riding, I shall go forward to engage them in battle. Do not move me from this place.
> Neither the gods nor the people of the world can overcome your army. I will overcome your army with the strength of wisdom, as if smashing an unfired pot with a stone.[152]

Gotama then declares what he is resolved to do after he defeats Māra.

> Having controlled my thoughts and established my mindfulness [attention], I shall go from country to country, extensively training disciples. They will put into practice the teachings that I, who have no desires, [teach,] being vigilant and intent. They will head toward the state of nongrief."

These two verses reveal Gotama's sense of obligation to teach others.

> [Māra said:] "For seven years I have followed the Venerable Master step by step. I have not, however, been able to find any unguarded moment in the mindful Fully Enlightened One to [enable me to] penetrate [his guard].[153]
> It is like a crow that flies about over a stone the color of fat, saying, 'Will I find something soft here? Something tasty?'
> But finding nothing tasty, the crow flies away. Like the crow that approached the rock, we lose interest and take our leave of Gotama."
> From the armpit of Māra, fallen into despondency, fell a loquat. Then that *yakkha* in depression disappeared from that place.[154]

Namuci is a demon who appears often in the Vedas and the epics, in which he is overcome in battle against Indra.[155] Here he is called Māra,[156] though later Buddhist texts call him the Evil One (Pāpimant).[157] He was believed to be a *yakkha*. The *Ṛg Veda,* India's oldest religious text, calls Namuci the Evil One.[158] This phrase is quoted in a *Brāhmaṇa* that tells how Indra vanquished Namuci.[159] In early Buddhist texts, though, Namuci is considered one and the same as Māra, the god of death. This deity is also sometimes called Antaka, "he who brings destruction," and in the *Upaniṣads* he is called Mṛtyu, "death." These words are all synonyms.[160] The story of

how the god of death (Yama, Mṛtyu) tried to tempt the Brahmin youth Nachiketa away from his quest for knowledge appears in the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad.* The passage in the *Suttanipāta* just quoted, influenced either directly or indirectly by these ideas, uses designations for the god of death that predated Buddhism. It also employs a new epithet, however, Māra ("murderer"), the form that became dominant in later Buddhist texts. In later Buddhism Māra was subdivided into many forms; here we see Māra before that differentiation.[161]

Māra tempted Gotama in two ways, first by urging him to fulfill his life by preserving his health and second by recommending to him the meritorious way of the follower of Brahmanism, who while still unmarried follows the pure practices as a student of the *Vedas* and who after marriage makes the appropriate sacrifices to the sacred fire as a householder. This follows the life course set out in the Brahmanic codes, which stipulate that the first period of a man's life should be spent studying the Vedas as an unmarried student under a master and that the second period should encompass his return home, marriage, responsibilities as the head of a household, performance of the rituals, and rearing of children. Here what was expected of Gotama is expressed through Māra's words. Gotama, however, had rejected the Brahmanic way of life. He was practicing what is called "the road of striving,"[162] making efforts to concentrate intently in order to control mind and body. To control mind and body and overcome the temptations of Māra necessitated an enormous effort, and this Gotama tried to achieve through mental cultivation and endeavor.

The Buddhist goal of faith was a clear mind, alluded to in verse 434. How that was to be cultivated had already been partially discussed in the *Upaniṣads:* "When food is pure, body and mind are pure [*sattvaśuddhi*]. When body and mind are pure, mindfulness [*smṛti*] is firm. When [one] attains [firm] mindfulness, [one] is released from all shackles."[163] A similar expression appears in the words of Gotama quoted previously.[164] Thus his elucidation of the spiritual path followed the revolutionary stance of the *Upaniṣads,* which represented a shift away from the Brahmanic way of life. The spiritual path was elaborated in the *Bhagavad Gītā,* which uses similar expressions.[165] As far as the confrontation with Māra is concerned, whereas the way of Brahmanism was secular and obedient to custom, Gotama's was supramundane and transcended the secular, denying the significance of "good actions," such as the rituals that were important to Brahmanism. Rejecting all that was customary regarding ritual enabled the mind to turn to that which was spiritual. As a result, Bud-

dhism was eventually able to establish a foundation of practical secular ethics from a much freer stance than that of Brahmanism. Because Buddhism emphasized the spiritual characteristics of "good," secular behavior based upon it could be called "good actions" from a Buddhist point of view. This is the basis for the five precepts and other moral teachings of Buddhism.

The emergence of this new ethical outlook was closely related to social changes in the middle Ganges region. Intermarriage between Aryans and indigenous inhabitants led to the formation of a people who lacked interest in continuing the traditional ritual practices of their forebears and took an extremely free-thinking attitude toward them. They lived in a fertile, highly productive area and enjoyed a rich, easy material existence. The abundance of resources also led in time to thriving commerce and industry, and many small cities grew up.

At first there were a considerable number of small states centered on these cities, some kingdoms and others republics, but they were gradually consolidated into large states ruled by absolute monarchs. Statements in early Buddhist literature to the effect that the king is the greatest of all human beings are in deliberate contrast to the Brahmins' assertion that they themselves were superior to all other people. Contemporary Buddhist sources cite the social order as comprising rulers, Brahmins, commoners, slaves, *caṇḍāla* (butchers), and *pukkusa* (sweepers, handlers of excrement, and so on).

With the great expansion of commerce and industry in the new cities, the monetary economy developed dramatically. Archaeological finds from that period onward include large numbers of coins. As the cities accumulated vast wealth, merchants and craftsmen formed guilds and commanded economic power. The economically powerful were the rulers. The early Buddhist writings reflect these social conditions: "If even a slave were to have abundant treasure or grain or silver and gold, he could have a noble or a Brahmin or a commoner rise before him, go to bed later than him, be willing to work for him, seek his favor, and speak words pleasant to him."[166] Buddhist literature also cites instances of bad kings being expelled by the people or being killed.

The earlier social system, in particular the caste system, was beginning to crumble, and large numbers of people no longer respected the Brahmins or observed the *Vedas*. At the center of this movement was the state of Magadha, where Gotama undertook his religious practice. Thus the literature attached to the *Vedas*, which appears to have been created in a later

period, speaks with antipathy of "the false Brahmins of Maghada."[167] The oldest legend of Māra's temptation of Gotama seems to reflect the conflict between traditional ideology based on the old social order and ideas growing out of the new. As Gotama was deified in later times, however, the legend changed.

Judging from the final verses of the passage quoted previously, Māra shadowed Gotama Buddha for seven years without achieving his objective. Most of the later biographies place Māra's temptation of and subjugation by Gotama immediately before the enlightenment, a device that heightens the dramatic effect of the enlightenment, though this probably had no basis in fact. The earliest Buddhists, unlike the later biographers, must have considered Gotama's ceaseless effort and his seven-year battle against Māra's temptation to be an integral part of his religious practice. Another point to note about these verses is that Gotama is referred to as Saṃbuddha (Perfectly Enlightened One) even when he is still engaged in the practice preceding his enlightenment. Later biographies hold that Gotama became a buddha after overcoming Māra's temptation and attaining enlightenment. Nevertheless, even after becoming a buddha he remained a human being and therefore still had to battle against temptation. It was because he was clearly aware of this that he established a severe code regulating behavior, the *Vinaya*.

Becoming a buddha entails overcoming temptation. Constant striving is in itself buddha action. In other words, attaining enlightenment does not mean becoming a different kind of being. If I may be permitted to quote a writer from a later period, "the aspiration to enlightenment is in itself the ultimate stage," and "there is no distinction between practice and enlightenment." Thus there is nothing strange about use of the title Buddha or Saṃbuddha to refer to Gotama before his enlightenment. The importance of practice and striving, emphasized in Mahāyāna and Zen, can be found here in embryonic form. It was customary in later periods to differentiate Gotama before and after his enlightenment by using the title Bodhisatta to denote the former period; all the same, in a relatively late section of the *Suttanipāta* the newborn Gotama is called by this epithet.[168]

Another early legend of Māra's temptation of Gotama, in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya,* speaks of Māra appearing in the form of a great elephant:

> Thus have I heard. The Venerable Master was once staying in Uruvelā, on the banks of the Nerañjarā River, beneath the *nigrodha* tree named

Ajapāla. He had just attained enlightenment. At that time the Venerable Master was seated outside in the open in the darkness of the night, and rain was falling uninterruptedly.[169]

Now Māra, the Evil One, wanting to make the Venerable Master's hair stand on end in fear, appeared in the form of a great elephant king and drew near.

His head was like a lump of dark rock, his tusks were like pure silver, and his trunk was like a huge plowshare.[170]

Then the Venerable Master, knowing that this was Māra, the Evil One, spoke to him in verse:

"Long have you been wandering on the wheel of birth
and death, showing now a comely form, now one unpleasant.
That is enough of you, Evil One!
You have lost, you who bring destruction!"

Thereupon Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.[171]

Māra also appeared in other fearsome forms, as related in the section titled "Comely" (Subha) in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*.

[The Venerable Master] was once staying in Uruvelā. At that time the Venerable Master was seated outside in the open in the darkness of the night, and rain was falling uninterruptedly.

Now Māra, the Evil One, wanting to make the Venerable Master's hair stand on end in fear, drew near.

Having drawn near, in a place not far from the Venerable Master, he took on various forms, both comely and ugly.[172]

Then the Venerable Master, knowing that this was Māra, the Evil One, spoke to him in verse:

"Long have you been wandering on the wheel of birth and death,
Showing now a comely form, now one unpleasant.
That is enough of you, Evil One!
You have lost, you who bring destruction!
They who are well controlled in body, word, and mind
Are not within Māra's dominion,
Are not Māra's followers."[173]

Thereupon Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master

knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.[174]

The section titled "Seven Years" (Sattavassāni) describes Gotama's ascetic practice in detail. It was generally accepted in later times that he practiced austerities for six years, but here, as in the *Suttanipāta*, the period is given as seven. This discrepancy may be due to different methods of counting.

Thus have I heard. The Venerable Master was once staying in Uruvelā, on the banks of the Nerañjarā River, beneath the *nigrodha* tree named Ajapāla.

At that time Māra, the Evil One, had been following the Venerable Master for seven years, seeking an unguarded moment but unable to find one.

Then Māra, the Evil One, drew near the Venerable Master and, having approached, spoke to him in verse:

"Are you so sunk in grief that you meditate in a wood?
Or are you seeking to regain the wealth you have lost?
Or have you committed some crime in the village?
Why do you not associate with people?
Are you friends with no one at all?"

[The Venerable Master said:]

"To completely uproot all grief,
Committing no sins I meditate, with no grieving.
All desire for existence I have cut away,[175]
And I meditate, without stain.
You companion of idlers!"

[Māra said:]

"Things about which people say, 'This is mine!'
People who tell you, 'This is mine!'
If your mind is here,
You cannot escape me,
Man of the Way!"

[The Venerable Master said:]

"Things about which people say, 'This is not mine!'
People who tell you, 'This is not mine!'
Learn that, Evil One.
You will not see the Way I go."

[Māra said:]

"If you have awakened to a Way that is tranquil and deathless,
Depart! Go alone!
Why do you teach and instruct others?"

[The Venerable Master said:]

"Those who seek to reach the other shore
Ask for the state of deathlessness.[176]
When they ask me, I declare to them
A state where there is no predisposition to birth,
Where all has ceased."[177]

Here Māra says that it is useless for Gotama to try to teach others the content of his enlightenment. The Buddha answers in no uncertain terms that he will instruct anyone who asks. Here we discern a distinctive characteristic of Buddhism.

[Māra said:] "It is as if there were not far from a village or town a pond with a crab in it, and many boys and girls were to set out from that village or town and draw near the pond, and approaching and lifting that crab out of the pond were to place it on dry land. And whenever the crab put out a claw, those boys and girls would hack it, and break it, and smash it with sticks or stones. With its claws hacked and broken and smashed, the crab would not be able to return to the pond. Similarly, all that is bent and warped and distorted has been hacked and broken and smashed by the Venerable Master, and I am unable to draw near the Venerable Master to seek an unguarded moment."[178]

Thereupon Māra, the Evil One, before the Venerable Master spoke the following verse indicating his discouragement:

"A crow circles a stone the color of fat, thinking, 'Will I find something soft here? Something tasty?'
But finding nothing tasty, the crow flies away. Like that crow that approached the rock, we lose interest and take our leave of Gotama."[179]

Then Māra, the Evil One, having spoken before the Venerable Master those verses indicating his discouragement, departed from that place and seated himself cross-legged on the ground not far from the Venerable Master, silent, discouraged, with drooping shoulders, downcast, brooding, and unable to reply, scratching the earth with a stick.[180]

This exchange with Māra closely resembles the one related in the *Suttanipāta*. The Chinese translations of these sutras state that Sakyamuni's temptation by Māra occurred "shortly after he attained enlightenment." Later biographies frequently describe tempters in the guise of women. An early version is found in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* under the title "The Daughters" (Dhītaro).[181] Each of Māra's three daughters assumed the form first of a hundred girls, then of a hundred young women who had not yet given birth, then of a hundred women who had given birth once, then of a hundred women who had given birth twice, then of a hundred middle-aged women, then of a hundred women of advanced age. Each time they approached the Buddha, however, he ignored them.

So then Craving and Discomfort and Pleasure,[182] the daughters of Māra, drew near Māra, the Evil One, and spoke to him in verse:

"Why, Father, are you so grieved?[183]
What kind of person is it that you are grieving about?[184]
We will catch him in the net of passion and bring him to you,
As we would a forest elephant,
And he shall be within your dominion."

[Māra said:]

"It will not be easy to entrap the World-honored One,
the Blessed One, by lust,
For he has escaped my realm.
Therefore do I grieve greatly."[185]

Then Māra's daughters, Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure, approached the Venerable Master. Having approached, they said to him: "Samaṇa, we would serve you."[186] The Venerable Master paid them no heed,[187] however, for[188] he was liberated [*vimutto*], having destroyed to the uttermost all factors of birth and existence.

Then Māra's daughters, Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure, withdrew to one side and deliberated thus:[189] "Various and different are the likes of men.[190] Let us therefore each assume the form of one hundred girls."

And Māra's daughters, Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure, each assumed the form of one hundred girls and approached the Venerable Master. Having approached, they said to him: "Samaṇa, we would serve you." The Venerable Master paid them no heed, however, for he was liberated, having destroyed to the uttermost all factors of birth and existence.

Then Māra's daughters, Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure, withdrew to one side and deliberated thus: "Various and different are the likes of men. Let us therefore each assume the form of one hundred young women who have not yet given birth."[191]

And Māra's daughters . . . each assumed the form of one hundred young women who had not yet given birth. . . . The Venerable Master paid them no heed, however, for he was liberated, having destroyed to the uttermost all factors of birth and existence.

Then Māra's daughters . . . each assumed the form of one hundred women who had given birth once . . . the form of one hundred women who had given birth twice . . . the form of one hundred middle-aged women . . . the form of one hundred women of advanced age. . . . The Venerable Master paid them no heed. . . .

Then Māra's daughters, Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure, withdrew to one side and said: "True it is what our father said to us:

> 'It will not be easy to entrap the World-honored One,
> the Blessed One, by lust,
> For he has escaped my realm.
> Therefore do I grieve greatly.'

If we had attacked with such an onslaught a Brahmin or a *samaṇa* who had yet to rid himself of passion, his heart would have torn, hot blood would have gushed from his mouth, he would have become crazed and his mind would have become unbalanced, and as a green reed that has been cut dries up, withers, and dies, he would dry up, wither, and die."

Then Māra's daughters, Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure, approached the Venerable Master. Having approached, they stood to one side.

So standing, Māra's daughter Craving spoke to the Venerable Master in verse:

> "Are you so sunk in grief that you meditate in a wood?[192]
> Or are you seeking to regain the wealth you have lost?[193]
> Or have you committed some crime in the village?
> Why do you not associate with people?
> Are you friends with no one at all?"

[The Venerable Master said:]

> "Having repulsed the lovely and pleasant forms,
> I am meditating alone on the attainment of my purpose,
> On peace of mind, and on my blissful enlightenment.[194]
> Therefore I do not associate with people

And have no one as a friend."

Then Māra's daughter Discomfort spoke to the Venerable Master in verse:

"How should a *samaṇa* conduct himself in this world,
Who has crossed the five raging streams
And would cross the sixth?[195]
How should thoughts of desire from the outer world
Not entrap him,
Who is in deep meditation?"

[The Venerable Master said:]

"With the body calm and the mind liberated,
Creating nothing of deluded birth and existence,
His mind tranquil, attached to nothing,
He knows the truth and meditates without distraction.
He does not let anger arise or recollections [of evil],
And grows not weary.[196]
A *samaṇa* who conducts himself thus
Will have crossed the sixth raging stream of the world,
Having crossed the five.
Thus do thoughts of desire from the outer world
Not entrap him,
Who is in deep meditation."[197]

The three daughters of Māra, having failed in their efforts to tempt the Buddha, made an end to their attempts.

Next Māra's daughter Pleasure spoke these tranquil verses [*santi-gāthā*] in the presence of the Venerable Master:

"Having severed all craving,[198]
He walks with a band of companions.
Surely many will walk [with him].
This man with no attachments
Will cut away [the bonds of the monarch of death] from
the many
And lead them across to the other shore.
The great and vigorous men, all the *tathāgatas*,
Lead by means of the correct Law.
Why should there be jealousy of
The wise, led by the Law?"[199]

Then Māra's daughters, Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure, went to the place of Māra, the Evil One.

Māra, the Evil One, saw from afar that [his] daughters, Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure, were coming. Seeing them, he spoke in verse:

"Fools! You have tried to smash a mountain with a lotus stalk,
Dig out a crag with fingernails.
You have tried to bite iron with your teeth,[200]
To bang your heads against a cliff,
To seek footing in a bottomless abyss.
You have thrust a stake in your breasts,
Hating Gotama."[201]

Craving, Discomfort, and Pleasure came, radiantly shining.[202] The Venerable Master, though, swept them away, as if they were soft strands of hair or fallen leaves blown away by the wind god.[203]

Though certain ancient texts, such as the *Suttanipāta* and the "Māra-saṃyutta" in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, say that Gotama was assailed by the temptations of Māra after his enlightenment,[204] a later biography speaks of the temptations and threats as occurring before,[205] perhaps because an outstanding feature of Gotama's life was his self-awareness, his ability to withstand temptation and attack through his ceaseless practice. These qualities were equally important after enlightenment, but later Buddhists, having deified Gotama, placed the subjugation of Māra before the enlightenment to give his biography more drama, and described the temptations in ever greater detail to impress readers with a strong sense of drama.

Although the story of Māra's temptations appears in the biographies, it is not included in the section of the *Ssu-fen-lü* that describes Gotama's religious practice. Instead, the *Ssu-fen-lü* realistically describes Gotama's temptation by women: "At that time there were in Uruvelā four women, named Bālā, Uppalā, Sundarā, and Kumbhakārā [?]. They were all strongly bound to the Bodhisatta. [They thought:] 'If the Bodhisatta takes up the religious life, we will become his followers. If he does not take up the religious life and follows secular life as a householder, we will become [his] wives.'"[206] Gotama's reaction is not recorded. The text says only: "Then the Bodhisatta stayed at that place and practiced austerities for six years." It is probable that Gotama was tempted by women. How he resisted, though, is not recorded by the authors of the *Ssu-fen-lü* or the

Wu-fen-lü. While the *Vinaya* writers had no interest in the legends of the temptations of Māra, the compilers of the sutras employed the legends to impress lay people.

Jainism also transmitted stories about the enlightenment of its founder but made no mention of any temptations by Māra.[207] The narrative pattern regarding the enlightenment had been received from other religious traditions, but the legends of Māra's temptations developed in Buddhism in particular, especially in the later biographies. Jainism does, however, contain the idea that to escape Māra is to avoid death,[208] an indication that the Māra legends in biographies of Gotama developed in a Jaina context.

Māra's temptations of Gotama after the enlightenment

Māra's temptations of Gotama continued even after the enlightenment, a point that later biographies overlooked, or rather omitted deliberately. The Buddha never flinched from Māra's threats.[209] The *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* relates:

> The Venerable Master was once staying on a mountain called Vulture Peak near Rājagaha. On that occasion the Venerable Master was seated outdoors in the open in the darkness of the night. Rain was falling uninterruptedly.[210] Now, Māra, the Evil One, wanting to make the Venerable Master's hair stand on end in fear, drew near. Having drawn near, in a place not far from the Venerable Master, he hurled large rocks one after another [by rolling them from the mountain's summit].[211] Then the Venerable Master, realizing that this was Māra, the Evil One, faced Māra, the Evil One, and spoke to him in verse:
>
> "Though you shake the whole of Vulture Peak,
> Buddhas who are completely liberated
> Cannot be shaken."
>
> Then Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.

The verse mentions "buddhas" (*buddhā*) in the plural although the subject of the section is clearly a single person, the Venerable Master. "Buddhas" refers to the ideal of the religious practitioner, common to Jainas, Ājīvikas, and other religious groups. Here the Venerable Master is not representing a particular teaching called Buddhism. (The *Tsa a-han-ching*

translates *buddhas* in the verse section as *Tathāgata,* with no indication of singular or plural.) Since Gotama is identified as a buddha, the event took place after his enlightenment, which means that people of the time regarded Māra's temptations as continuing even after the enlightenment. I consider this to be of great importance. The human being named Gotama did not, upon enlightenment, become a completely different kind of being, a perfect being impervious to harm. Even after becoming a buddha he possessed weaknesses and could be pursued and tempted by Māra. This is why even the most accomplished priests are required to be firm in observing the precepts and regulations.

Another incident involving Māra believed to have occurred after the enlightenment happened when the Buddha was addressing *bhikkhus* in Sāvatthī. The verses in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* describe Māra's nature very well.

> [Māra said:]
> "Things about which people say, 'This is mine!'
> People who tell you, 'This is mine!'
> If your mind stays here,
> You, *Bhikkhu,* will not be able to escape me."
> [The Venerable Master said:]
> "Things about which people say, ['This is mine, and I cling to it!']
> These are not for me.
> There are people who speak [of clinging].
> I am not one of them.
> Know this, Evil One. You will not see the Way I go."
> Thereupon Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.[212]

As already mentioned, Māra appeared in a variety of forms. In essence he represents whatever people are attached to and think is theirs. He takes on various forms because of the variety of attachments to self. If there were no attachment to self, he would vanish.[213]

The legends of Māra's temptations expanded as time passed. A painting of Māra's temptation in the great rock temple at Dambulla in central Sri Lanka is essentially the same as others of its type except that Māra is depicted as pointing a gun at Sakyamuni, a motif no doubt incorporated after guns were introduced to the island by the Portuguese.

GOTAMA'S AUSTERITIES

In the *Suttanipāta* verses quoted above,[214] we have seen how Gotama devoted himself to austerities,[215] overcame Māra's temptations, and finally perfected his practice. Let us now examine the idea of austerities a little more closely.

According to most later biographies, Sakyamuni embarked on the religious life at the age of twenty-nine and practiced austerities in the forest for six years.[216] After he had regained his vigor and strength, he went to Bodhgayā and there, seated in meditation under a *bodhi* tree, attained enlightenment, thus becoming a buddha, an Awakened One. This legend doubtless emerged as Buddhism developed and there was an increasing tendency to emphasize how different it was in methods of training from other religions and sects.

Ancient verses relate that Gotama practiced austerities for seven years or that he "practiced the state of compassion for seven years."[217] According to a prose passage in a section of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* titled "Seven Years" (Sattavassāni), "Māra, the Evil One, followed the Venerable Master for seven years."[218] One tradition says that Gotama trained for twelve years, but this is the only instance where such a figure appears.[219] There is no way of telling whether the Buddha actually trained for six or seven years. In ancient India periods of time were expressed both in terms of full years (how much time had actually elapsed) and calendar years. The difference in the number of years mentioned may arise from different methods of counting.

The verse stating that Gotama "practiced the state of compassion for seven years," though brief, merits attention. Buddhism is generally considered a religion of compassion, and documentary evidence from a very early period attests that Gotama was thought to have embodied compassion. The practice of the state of compassion not only has great spiritual and personal significance but also is considered to be a wonderful spiritual power.[220] Some scholars feel that the spirit of compassion was emphasized by followers of the Mahāyāna teachings, and in early Buddhism it was only a kind of self-righteousness, but the above verse indicates that the spirit of compassion occupied a central position in Gotama's practice.

The earliest Buddhists extolled austerities and stated explicitly that they were to be practiced,[221] though in actuality they probably did not go to the extremes of other religions and sects. From the first they drew a line at the ascetic practices of the Jainas. The earliest Buddhist texts refer

to the followers of Nigaṇṭha in the following way: "He who detests, scrupulous and wise, / Well restrained by the four restrictions, / Speaks [openly] of what he has seen and heard: / What sins exist in him?"[222] The commentary says that "he who detests" is one who despises evil and separates himself from it through ascetic practices. The "four restrictions" are never using cold water, rejecting all evil, separating oneself from evil by rejecting it, and being able to renounce all evil. The Chinese translation specifies those undertaking austerities: "I say: Nātaputta of the heretical Nigaṇṭha left home and practices the way of learning and has long practiced austerities. The great leader's followers abhor lying words. I say: Such a one is not far from an *arahant*."[223]

According to the *Dīgha-Nikāya*,

> Nigaṇṭha of the Nāta clan said to me: "A *nigaṇṭha* [one who is free from bonds], O great king, is restrained with a restraint of four restrictions. O great king, how is a *nigaṇṭha* restrained with a restraint of four restrictions? A *nigaṇṭha* is forbidden to use all [cold] water; he is free from all water, he removes all water [from himself], and he lives suffused with water. In this way a *nigaṇṭha* is restrained with a restraint of four restrictions. Since a *nigaṇṭha* is in this way restrained with a restraint of four restrictions, such a one is called a *nigaṇṭha*, and he is called one who has reached [the summit], one whose heart is subdued, one who dwells in peace." Thus did Nigaṇṭha of the Nāta clan expound the restraint of four restrictions when asked about the fruits of the life of a *samaṇa*.[224]

Severe regulations concerning water appear in the Jaina sutras. Since small insects might be living in cold water, Jaina ascetics had to take care that they did not commit the sin of taking life by inadvertently swallowing them. Even today they, like Buddhist *bhikkhus*, are not allowed to eat after midday; they are not allowed to drink, either.

Ascetic practice was a feature of Jainism and other religions and sects that flourished at the same time as Buddhism, and it was also part of Brahmanism. The *Mahā-nārāyana-upaniṣad* (8), for example, speaks in praise of austerities (*tapas*): "Regulation is *tapas*; truth is *tapas*; study is *tapas*; peace [*śānta*] is *tapas*; self-control [*dama*] is *tapas*; quiescence [*śama*] is *tapas*; giving is *tapas*; religious service is *tapas*. *Bhūr* [the earth], *bhuvas* [the air], *svar* [the heavens]! Meditation upon Brahma is *tapas*." This passage

bespeaks the high regard in which ascetic practices (mental cultivation) were held and indicates the assumption that such an ideal had become widespread. *Tapas* originally meant "heat"; heat was thought to amass in the body through ascetic practices or mental cultivation and to generate power.

The earliest Buddhist literature esteemed austerities in this sense, but to regard them as the practice of the state of compassion was a Buddhist development; this is not found in Brahmanism. Thus while Buddhism inherited the concept of ascetic practices from Brahmanism, that concept provided a new point of departure for Buddhism as a religion of compassion. Buddhists did not adopt asceticism in its severest form, though the earliest texts did not consciously oppose the ascetic practices of other religions and sects. Jainas and Ājīvikas, however, accused the Buddhists of being negligent regarding ascetic practices, and the Buddhists then had to justify their own position. This led to the conscious espousal of the Middle Way, a development of the legend that Gotama abandoned ascetic practices in the course of his religious training. It was relatively late, however, that Gotama's enlightenment was unequivocally linked to the Middle Way, a concept of a great importance in later times.

In the relatively late *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* Gotama describes his ascetic practices to the *bhikkhus*.[225]

> I, Sāriputta, admit that I was one who performed the practice of purity endowed with four constituent parts. I was an ascetic [*tapassī*], the foremost ascetic. I was one who practiced great poverty, the foremost of those who practiced great poverty. I was one who practiced abhorrence, the foremost of those who practiced abhorrence. I was one who practiced alone, the foremost of those who practiced alone.
>
> Sāriputta, my asceticism consisted of the following: I wore no clothes [*acelaka*], I was immoderate in conduct [*muttācāra*], and I licked my hands. I did not come when asked, nor did I stand still when asked. I did not accept that which was brought or that which was specially prepared. I did not accept invitations, and I did not accept [food] straight from a pot or pan. I did not accept [anything] from within the threshold, or [anything] among the fagots, or [anything] among the pounders. When two people were eating, I did not accept [anything from only one of them]. I did not accept [food] from a pregnant woman, or from a woman breastfeeding her child, or from a woman in a man's embrace. I did not accept [offerings] from [food] stored [for time of

famine]. I did not accept [anything] at a place where there was a dog nearby or [anything] swarming with flies.

He did not accept such things out of consideration for others.

I did not eat fish or meat,[226] and I did not drink liquor made from grain, liquor made from fruit, or rice gruel. I received food from only one house and ate only one piece. I received food from only two houses and ate only two pieces. . . . I was one who ate from seven houses, eating only seven pieces. I lived on a single offering, I lived on two offerings, . . . I lived on seven offerings. I took one meal a day, I took one meal every two days, . . . I took one meal every seven days. Thus I practiced taking food only at specified times, until I took only one meal every two weeks. I ate only vegetables, or only millet, or only wild rice, or only *daddula* rice, or only *haṭa* water plant, or only rice bran, or only the chaff of rice, or only sesame flour, or only grass, or only cow dung. I lived on the roots and fruits of trees in the forest or on fruit that had naturally fallen. I wore hemp, I wore a mixture of hemp and other fibers, I wore the shrouds of the dead, I wore rags taken from the dust heap, I wore the bark of the *tirīṭa* tree, I wore antelope skin, I wore clothes of strips of antelope skin sewn together, I wore clothes of *kusa* grass, I wore clothes of bark, I wore clothes of wood shavings, I wore clothes woven from human hair, I wore clothes woven from horsehair, I wore clothes of owls' feathers.

As an ascetic who plucked out the hair of his head and beard, I trained by plucking out the hair of my head and beard. As an ascetic who continuously stood upright, I refused to sit. As an ascetic who remained squatting continuously, I trained by squatting. As an ascetic who lay on thorns, I made my bed on thorns, and as an ascetic who bathed three times a day [morning, noon, and evening], I trained by bathing. Thus in various ways I undertook difficult and painful practices [*ātāpana-paritāpana*]. That, Sāriputta, is what my asceticism consisted of.

Jainas still follow such practices as plucking out hair. They do not use razors for fear of killing any lice or other creatures that may be living in the hair or beard.

My practice of great poverty, Sāriputta, consisted of the following: The dust and dirt of many years accumulated on my body, a natural moss on my skin. Just as the stump of the *tindukā* tree accumulates [the dust and dirt] of many years and moss grows naturally on bark, Sāriputta,

> the dust and dirt of many years accumulated on my body, a natural moss on my skin. At that time, Sāriputta, I did not think: "I will wipe off the dust and dirt with my hands," nor did I think: "I will have other people wipe off the dust and dirt with their hands." That, Sāriputta, is what my practice of great poverty consisted of.
>
> My practice of abhorrence, Sāriputta, consisted of the following: I was aware, whether I was going out or returning, of a feeling of compassion [*dayā*] for even a drop of water, and I thought: "May I never bring death to tiny creatures in their wretched places." That, Sāriputta, is what my practice of abhorrence consisted of.

This practice has been preserved carefully by Jainas from the distant past to the present day.

> Sāriputta, my practice of being alone consisted of the following: I lived secretly in some part of the forest. Whenever I saw a cowherd, or a stock farmer, or a grass cutter, or someone gathering firewood, or a woodcutter, I fled from grove to grove, from thicket to thicket, from low ground to low ground, from high ground to high ground. Why was this? I thought: "Let them not see me! Let me not see them!" Just as a deer that lives in the forest, Sāriputta, when it sees a human being, flees from grove to grove, from thicket to thicket, from low ground to low ground, from high ground to high ground, I also fled. . . . That is what my practice of being alone consisted of.

The earliest Buddhists followed this type of practice. The *Suttanipāta* continually exhorts: "Walk alone, like the horn of a rhinoceros." The *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* says,

> When the mother cows had been driven out and the cowherd had departed, Sāriputta, in the cow pen I would crawl on all fours and eat the droppings of the suckling calves. As long as my own feces and urine lasted, I ate my own feces and urine. Such, Sāriputta, was the great practice of eating filth.
>
> Sāriputta, I secreted myself in a fearful forest. Concerning the fearfulness of that fearful forest, it was said: "If anyone not free of greed enters that forest, his hair will stand on end." Sāriputta, I lived in that forest, outside at night, in the forest during the day, on cold winter nights from the eighth day of the first half of the month to the eighth day of the second half of the month,[227] during the period of snowfall. Again, in the last month of summer I dwelt outside by day and in the

forest by night. Then this verse, Sāriputta, never heard before, never admired, occurred to me:

> Hot days and cold nights,
> Alone in the fearful forest,
> Sitting naked and without a fire,
> The sage pursues his quest.

Then, Sāriputta, I lay down to sleep in a cemetery, lying on a skeleton. Boy cowherds then came up and spat and urinated on me and showered me with dust and stuck twigs in my ears. Sāriputta, I know well that I did not arouse any ill feeling toward them. That, Sāriputta, is what my practice of dwelling in equanimity [*upekhā*] consisted of.[228]

Going to a cemetery and lying on the bones of the dead is a practice that survives to the present. Even today, ascetics meditate among the bones scattered about funeral sites in forests to attain spiritual concentration. Practicing alone in the forest takes great courage. The *Bhayabherava-sutta* (*MN*, no. 4) describes how, late in life, Sakyamuni recalled an incident of his younger days. When he was staying in the Jeta Grove in Sāvatthi, a Brahmin named Jāṇussoṇi came up to him and said: "Good Gotama, retreating into the forest and remaining alone in lonely places is a hard thing to bear. Staying far away and apart is difficult to do. There is no pleasure in being alone. I think the forest distracts the mind of a *bhikkhu* who has not yet attained spiritual concentration." The Buddha replied: "Brahmin, before I attained true enlightenment, when I was still a bodhisatta who had not attained enlightenment, I thought the same." Gotama, too, had been afraid when living alone in the forest.

> Brahmin, the following occurred to me: "When *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are still not completely purified in the actions of body, word, and mind, and in life, retreat into the forest and dwell alone in lonely places, because they are still contaminated, not completely purified in the actions of body, word, and mind, and in life, those [*samaṇas* and Brahmins] invoke fear and dread. I do not retreat into the forest and dwell alone in lonely places without being wholly purified in the actions of body, word, and mind, and in life. I am wholly purified in the actions of body, word, and mind, and in life. But I am one of those sages who, purified in the actions of body, word, and mind, and in life, retreat into the forest and dwell alone in lonely places." Brahmin, because I perceived in myself that I was wholly purified in the actions

of body, word, and mind, and in life, I gained greater confidence about living in the forest.

The text continues in similar vein. What follows is a condensed version.

The following occurred to me: "When *samaṇas* and Brahmins burning with greed and strongly absorbed in sensuous desires; given to anger; wicked in purpose; addicted to depression and torpor; their minds unsettled and in turmoil; deluded and doubting; praising themselves and disparaging others; trembling with fear and terror; striving after profit, esteem, and fame; idle and lacking in effort; forgetful and unaware; their minds unconcentrated and distracted; stupid and dull; retreat into the forest and dwell alone in lonely places, those [*samaṇas* and Brahmins], because they are contaminated, burning with greed and absorbed in sensuous desires, given to anger, . . . [etc.] stupid and dull, those [*samaṇas* and Brahmins] invoke fear and dread. I do not retreat into the forest and dwell alone in lonely places burning with greed and absorbed in sensuous desires, given to anger, [etc.]. . . . I have no greed, I have a compassionate mind [*mettacitta*], I am not addicted to depression and torpor, my mind is quiet, I have transcended delusion and doubt, I do not praise myself or disparage others, I am not afraid, I am not covetous, I strive, I am absorbed, my mind is concentrated, and I am endowed with wisdom. I am one of those sages who, having no greed, having a compassionate mind, not addicted to depression and torpor, being of quiet mind, having transcended delusion and doubt, not praising themselves or disparaging others, not being afraid, not being covetous, striving, being absorbed, being concentrated in mind, and being endowed with wisdom, retreat into the forest and dwell alone in lonely places." Brahmin, because I perceived in myself that I had no greed, I had a compassionate mind, [etc.]. . . . I gained greater confidence about living in the forest.

This long and repetitive passage emphasizes that Gotama had no fear of living alone in the forest, for he was secure in spirit.

Brahmin, the following occurred to me: "Suppose that on designated nights—the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth of the half-months—I make my platform and seat and stay in such fearful and terrifying places as sacred places in parks, sacred places in forests, and sacred places under trees.[229] I should see that fear and terror for myself."

> An animal approached me, and a peacock dropped a twig [from a tree], and the wind blew among the fallen leaves. It occurred to me: "This fear and terror are coming." And then it occurred to me: "Why am I waiting for fear? Rather, when fear and terror actually come upon me, should I not drive that fear and terror away?" Then, while I was walking around, . . . standing, . . . sitting, . . . lying down, that fear and terror came upon me. Then, while I was walking around, . . . standing, . . . sitting, . . . lying down, . . . I drove that fear and terror from me.[230]

The more people try to escape fear and terror, the more obsessed they are by these emotions. When they realize that there is no way to escape but to confront them, they are able to dwell at peace. That is the only way to overcome fear and terror. The road that we follow as ordinary people is the very same road that Gotama walked.

The preceding descriptions of ascetic practices appear in the sutras as recollections of the Buddha but give no indication of where they occurred. The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta,* however, states that they took place at Uruvelā and describes the site:

> Then I, seeking that which is good, seeking the supreme state of matchless tranquillity, walking through the country of Magadha, entered the village of Senā in Uruvelā.[231] There I saw a delightful land with a beautiful grove, a flowing river [the Nerañjarā], a well-constructed and attractive embankment, and a village in a rich [environment].[232] Then it occurred to me: "Indeed this land is delightful, the grove is beautiful, the river is flowing, and the embankment is well constructed and attractive. Indeed this is a suitable place for a son of good family who is set on striving to train." And I sat there, thinking: "This is suitable for training."[233]

This passage describes the natural environment of Uruvelā even today. The ten-kilometer road between Gayā and Bodhgayā is marked by pastoral serenity and crosses the Phalgu River. Near Bodhgayā flows the Līlājan River, the ancient Nerañjarā ("the pure").[234] The sand of its banks gleams in the sunlight. Since *Uruvelā* means "wide shore,"[235] the river must have once been much larger, with abundant water flowing swiftly, and the banks must have been wider. Uruvelā corresponds to present-day Bodhgayā, south of Gayā, in Bihar State. The surroundings are flat, and in the dry season, especially in winter and spring, the rivers and

marshes dry up and give a desertlike impression. There are *cīruka* trees. Heading toward Bodhgayā from around the Son River, the earth is ocher in color, and the river is devoid of water except in the rainy season. There are many jujube trees and the stumps of date palms. It is a desolate area.

The Pāli scriptures speak of the village of Senā in Uruvelā, described in Chinese translation as a community made up of Brahmins alone. If this is true, we can assume that Gotama developed his own practice in close association with various Brahmanic training methods.

The *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* describes Gotama's ascetic practices at Uruvelā.[236] First he practiced concentration of the mind, a yoga practice.

> At that time it occurred to me, Aggivessana: ". . . Suppose I clench my teeth, press my tongue against my palate, and, by my mind, control, subdue, and dominate my mind." Then, Aggivessana, I clenched my teeth, pressed my tongue against my palate, and, by my mind, controlled, subdued, and dominated my mind. Aggivessana, when I clenched my teeth, pressed my tongue against my palate, and, by my mind, controlled, subdued, and dominated my mind, sweat poured from my armpits. Aggivessana, as a strong man takes a weaker man by the head or shoulders and attempts to control, subdue, and dominate him, Aggivessana, I clenched my teeth. . . . Aggivessana, vigorous energy welled up within me and I did not flinch. My mindfulness was established and was not confused. Yet my body was agitated and not calmed, for I was frustrated by the painful effort and work. Aggivessana, that painful feeling arose within me but did not capture my mind.
>
> Aggivessana, at that time it occurred to me: "Suppose I meditate by stopping my breath." Then, Aggivessana, I stopped breathing from my nose and mouth. Aggivessana, when I stopped breathing from my nose and mouth, there was an exceedingly great noise of wind escaping from my ears. As there is an exceedingly great noise of wind blowing from the smith's bellows, Aggivessana, when I stopped breathing from my nose and mouth, there was an exceedingly great noise of wind escaping from my ears. Aggivessana, vigorous energy welled up within me and I did not flinch. My mindfulness was established and was not confused. Yet my body was agitated and not calmed, for I was frustrated by the painful effort and work. Aggivessana, that painful feeling arose within me but did not capture my mind.
>
> Aggivessana, at that time it occurred to me: "Suppose I meditate further by stopping my breath." . . . Aggivessana, when I stopped

breathing from my nose, mouth, and ears, an exceedingly great wind tore around in my head. Aggivessana, as a strong man cleaves the head with a sword, when I stopped breathing from my nose, mouth, and ears, an exceedingly great wind tore around in my head. Aggivessana, vigorous energy welled up within me and I did not flinch. My mindfulness was established and was not confused. Yet my body was agitated and not calmed. . . .

Aggivessana, at that time it occurred to me: "Suppose I meditate further by stopping my breath." . . . Aggivessana, when I stopped breathing from my nose, mouth, and ears, I had a great pain in the head. Aggivessana, as a strong man winds a turban around the head with a leather strap, when I stopped breathing from my nose, mouth, and ears, I had a great pain in the head. . . . Yet my body was agitated and not calmed. . . .

Aggivessana, at that time it occurred to me: "Suppose I meditate further by stopping my breath." . . . Aggivessana, when I stopped breathing from my nose, mouth, and ears, an exceedingly great wind tore through my stomach. Aggivessana, as a skilled cattle butcher or his apprentice tears open the stomach with a sharp butcher's knife, an exceedingly great wind tore through my stomach. . . . Yet my body was agitated and not calmed. . . .

Aggivessana, at that time it occurred to me: "Suppose I meditate further by stopping my breath." . . . Aggivessana, when I stopped breathing from my nose, mouth, and ears, an exceedingly great burning heat arose in my body. Aggivessana, as two strong men might take hold of a weaker man by the arms and roast him in the smoke of a charcoal fire, when I stopped breathing from my nose, mouth, and ears, an exceedingly great burning heat arose in my body. . . . Yet my body was agitated and not calmed. . . .

Aggivessana, [some of] the deities, seeing me, said: "The *samaṇa* Gotama has died." Others said: "The *samaṇa* Gotama has not died, but he is dying." Still others said: "The *samaṇa* Gotama has not died. He is not going to die. The *samaṇa* Gotama is a perfected one [*arahant*]. The state of mind of a perfected one is as such."

Aggivessana, at that time it occurred to me: "Suppose I train by desisting from all food." Then, Aggivessana, the deities approached me and said: "Sir, do not train yourself by desisting from all food. If you train yourself by desisting from all food, we will infuse a heavenly essence through your pores and you will be able to go on living."

> Aggivessana, it occurred to me: "If I train myself by desisting from all food and the deities infuse a heavenly essence through my pores and I am able to go on living, that would be an imposture." And so, Aggivessana, I rejected the words of the deities and said: "That is enough."
>
> Aggivessana, at that time it occurred to me: "Suppose I take food in small amounts, such as bean soup, or vetch soup, or chickpea soup, or pea soup." . . . Aggivessana, when I took food in small amounts, such as bean soup, or vetch soup, or chickpea soup, or pea soup, my body became exceedingly emaciated.

The descriptions of foods are no doubt authentic. For predominantly vegetarian Indians, the main source of protein is lentils. Small amounts of lentils would be enough to sustain life.

The *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* continues to describe Gotama's ascetic practices in almost exactly the same words as the *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta*. The latter relates:

> Sāriputta, there are some *samaṇas* and Brahmins who have the following opinion: "Purity is through food." They say: "We live on jujube fruit," and they eat jujube fruit, and eat crushed jujube fruit, and drink the juice of jujube fruit, and eat a variety of things made from jujube fruit. Sāriputta, I admit that I lived on a single jujube fruit. Sāriputta, you may think: "But the jujube fruit may have been large." You should not think thus. Even the largest jujube fruit was as you see now. Sāriputta, when I was living on only a single jujube fruit, my body became exceedingly emaciated.[237]

The following passage is common to both scriptures:

> Because I ate so little, the joints of my limbs became like the joints of the *āsītika*[238] or the *kālā* creeper. Because I ate so little, my buttocks became like a camel's hoof. [Because I ate so little,] my backbone protruded like a line of spindles. [Because I ate so little,] my ribs corroded and collapsed like the rafters of an old and rotten shed. Because I ate so little, the gleam of the pupils in my eye sockets appeared deeply sunken, as the gleam of water in a deep well appears deeply sunken. Because I ate so little, my scalp became wrinkled and shrunken, like a bitter gourd picked before it is ripe becomes wrinkled and shrunken in the wind and heat.

Then, Sāriputta, when I tried to touch the skin of my belly, I took hold of my backbone, and when I tried to touch my backbone, I took hold of the skin of my belly. Because I ate so little, the skin of my belly stuck to my backbone. And because I ate so little, when I thought, "I will evacuate my bowels" or "I will urinate," I would fall down on my face then and there. Sāriputta, when I stroked my limbs with the palm of my hand to soothe my body, the hairs, rotted at the roots, came away from my body as I stroked my limbs with the palm of my hand, because I ate so little.

The *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* continues:

Some people, seeing me, said: "The *samaṇa* Gotama is black." Others said: "The *samaṇa* Gotama is not black. He is brown." Others said: "The *samaṇa* Gotama is neither black nor brown. He is golden." Aggivessana, my clear pure skin had been spoiled because I ate so little.

The *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* continues:

Sāriputta, there are some *samaṇas* and Brahmins who have the following opinion: "Purity is through food." They say, "We live on beans, . . . we live on sesame, . . . we live on rice grains," and they eat rice grains, and they eat crushed rice grains, and they drink rice-grain water, and they eat rice grains in a variety of ways. Sāriputta, I admit that I lived on only a single grain of rice. Sāriputta, you may think: "But the rice grain may have been large." You should not think thus. Even the largest rice grain was as you see now. Sāriputta, when I was living on only a single rice grain, my body became exceedingly emaciated.

[The two paragraphs common to both texts, quoted above, are repeated.]

Sāriputta, even by this action, even by this course, even by this asceticism, I did not attain special and wonderful knowledge and insight transcending the affairs of human beings. Why? I had not yet attained that excellent wisdom. If I had attained that wisdom, it would have been the supreme guide, the guide leading the practitioner to extinction of suffering.

Whether Gotama actually undertook the ascetic practices described here is open to question. Yet these practices are still carried out in India

today, more than two thousand years later, and it is very likely that they existed during the Buddha's time. It is improbable that such practices suddenly came into being during the time the sutras were being compiled. It is not clear, either, whether Gotama undertook all the practices that have been described. There must have been a certain amount of later accretion.

Neither of the passages just compared regards asceticism as the road to the highest state. Very early texts describe the abandonment of ascetic practices and the attainment of enlightenment with the same import. The following passage from the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* rejects asceticism and emphasizes the importance of spiritual concentration and wisdom.[239]

> Thus have I heard. The Venerable Master was once staying in Uruvelā, on the banks of the Nerañjarā River, beneath the *nigrodha* [banyan] tree named Ajapāla.[240] He had just attained enlightenment. At that time the Venerable Master was meditating alone and quietly, and there arose in his mind the thought: "I am now freed from ascetic practices [*dukkarakārikā*]. How good it is that I am freed from those useless ascetic practices. How good it is that I dwell in tranquillity, my mind is at peace, and I have attained enlightenment [*bodhi*].
>
> Now Māra, the Evil One, knowing what the Venerable Master was thinking, approached the place where the Venerable Master was. Having approached, he said to him in verse:
>
> "Though men become purified through ascetic practices
> [*tapokamma*],
> The impure one has abandoned those practices,[241]
> Has deviated from the path of purity,
> Considering himself pure."
>
> Then the Venerable Master, knowing that this was Māra, the Evil One, spoke to him in verse:
>
> "I know that austerities aimed at attaining deathlessness
> Are all useless for that purpose.[242]
> Like a rudder or oar of a ship [stranded] on dry land,
> They are of no good.[243]
> Practicing the way to enlightenment—
> Precepts, concentration, and wisdom —
> I have attained supreme purity.
> You have lost, you who bring destruction!"
>
> Thereupon Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master

knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.[244]

This passage clearly rejects ascetic practices as being of no purpose and no profit (*anatthasaṃhita*).

The next point to be considered is whether this passage contradicts other passages in the sutras that attach importance to ascetic practices.[245] The earliest Buddhists seem to have held ascetic practices in esteem. Their opponents gained ground later, and the teaching of the Middle Way, which rejects the extremes of asceticism and hedonism, was central to the Buddha's first discourse.

Following the description of grueling austerities in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*,[246] Gotama makes the following strong statement:

> Aggivessana, then it occurred to me: "Some *samaṇas* and Brahmins of the past have experienced painful feelings that were acute and fierce. What I have experienced is paramount, and nothing surpasses it. And some *samaṇas* and Brahmins of the future will experience painful feelings that are acute and fierce. What I have experienced will be paramount, and nothing will surpass it. And some *samaṇas* and Brahmins of the present are experiencing painful feelings that are acute and fierce. What I have experienced is paramount, and nothing surpasses it. But though I have undergone severe ascetic practices [*dukkarakārikā*], I cannot reach the special and wonderful knowledge and insight transcending the affairs of human beings. Could there be another way to attain enlightenment?"

Then Gotama recalls entering into meditation as a young man in the shade of a rose apple tree growing by the side of a road. After describing this, he continues:

> Aggivessana, then there was born in me knowledge following on my mindfulness: "This itself is the way leading to enlightenment."And then, Aggivessana, it occurred to me: "Do I need to be afraid of that happiness which is apart from sensuous desires and evil?" And again, Aggivessana, it occurred to me: "I do not need to be afraid of that happiness which is apart from sensuous desires and evil."

Gotama thus makes the bold declaration that there is no need to be afraid of happiness. Since this appears in a sutra addressed to the Jaina

Saccaka, the difference in the attitudes of Buddhists and followers of Jainism to ascetic practice is probably given special emphasis. Many people no doubt shunned a state free of sensuous desires and evil as being unrelated to the feelings and aspirations of ordinary people. Ordinary people were disinclined to have anything to do with ascetics. Perhaps this passage is also addressed to such people.

4. Realizing the Truth

The Enlightenment

It was when Gotama was undergoing religious training at Uruvelā, later called Bodhgaya, that he attained enlightenment as a buddha (*abhisambuddha*) at the foot of an *assattha,* or pipal, tree (Skt., *aśvattha*; *Ficus religiosa*).[1] His enlightenment is called full and perfect (*abhisambodhi*).[2] Philosophically, it was the most important event of his life. Following his enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree (*bodhivṛkṣa, bodhidruma*), Gotama gave his first discourse at Deer Park at Isipatana near Vārāṇasī (Benares). His early teaching activities centered on Rājagaha. Various *Vinaya* texts describe this period in his life. The major texts are the following:

1) Pāli *Vinaya* (*Vinaya-piṭaka*), "Mahāvagga," I, 1–24;[3]

2) *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31–33 (*T.* 22:779–99), a life of the Buddha extending back to the ancestors of the Śākya tribe;

3) *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15–16 (*T.* 22:101–10), a life of the Buddha including the history of the tribe; and

4) *Ssu-chung-ching* (*Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*), not included in the *Vinaya* proper. (Please see note at the beginning of the Appendix for an explanation of *T.*)

These works were probably composed not as biographies of the Buddha but as explanations of how the monastic precepts and regulations (*upasampadā*) came into being. The *Ssu-fen-lü,* the *Wu-fen-lü,* and the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* and its Tibetan equivalent deal with pre-Buddhist times as well. The much later *Nidānakathā* deals with Gotama's life in the early period following the enlightenment.[4]

As mentioned in early Buddhist sutras,[5] religious practitioners in India have long practiced meditation under a tree. Meditating under an *assattha* is considered especially significant. Called the *aśvattha* in Hindi and known popularly as the *vaṭ*, the *assattha* is substantially the same as the tree known in Sanskrit as the *pippala* and in Hindi as the *pīpal*.[6] In fact, Indians say that the *pippala*, the *nyagrodha*, and the *vaṭ* are all types of banyan, a tree long venerated in India. Ancient verses in the *Atharva Veda* speak of it as the abode of the devas (*devasadana*) and as a place to observe *amṛta* (deathlessness), the heavenly ambrosia of immortality and the highest spiritual state.[7] In the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and other Indian literary works the tree is considered mysterious and sacred for its spreading leaves and roots.[8] Gotama's selection of this tree is connected with that pre-Buddhist tradition.

After the enlightenment, this tree came to be popularly known as the *bodhi* tree or the *bo* tree.[9] Botanically, the *bodhi* tree has been described as follows:

> The *bodhi* tree mentioned in Buddhist sutras is the *Ficus religiosa* (mulberry). A number of trees have been called by this name. The trees planted in Japanese temple gardens as *bodhi* trees (*bodaiju*) are the Chinese linden, a tree quite different from that under which Śākyamuni attained enlightenment. Perhaps because the Indian *bodhi* tree did not thrive in the temperate zone, or perhaps because there was simply a mistake in identification, this was the tree planted in Chinese temple gardens as the *bodhi* tree and whose seeds were first taken to Japan from China in 1168 by the Japanese Zen priest Eisai of Kennin-ji and planted in temple gardens in Japan. The European linden closely resembles the Chinese linden.
>
> The Indian *bodhi* is a tall semideciduous tree belonging to the genus *Ficus* (fig). Its leaves are heart-shaped, with a long curved point, and are lustrous when young. Its small figlike fruit is a favorite of birds; its tiny seeds, spread through bird droppings, can often be seen sprouting on other trees or on roofs. The young tree extends aerial roots as it grows and eventually is able to wind its roots around a nearby building or tree, causing the building to collapse or the tree to wither. Both Buddhism and Hinduism regard the tree as sacred, and people do not harm it or uproot it.[10]

I think we can take it as historical fact that Gotama attained enlightenment under such a tree.

The Southern Buddhist tradition maintains that the enlightenment occurred "on the day of the full moon in the month of Vesākha [Skt., Vaiśākha]."[11] This is the same day as that recorded for the Buddha's death.[12] In terms of the solar calendar it corresponds to the day of the full moon in May. In South Asian Buddhist countries people celebrate Gotama's birth, enlightenment, and death on this day. In Sri Lanka the festival is called Vesak and is one of the country's most important holidays. Celebrating the three events on the same day works in South Asia, where there is no sharp differentiation of seasons and the heat is continuous, but in East Asia, including China and Japan, which has clearly demarcated seasons, it is the custom to celebrate the three events on different days.

The month of Vesākha was the second month in the Indian calendar, so many Chinese translations of Buddhist sutras mention "the eighth day of the second month."[13] There were repeated changes in the Chinese calendar; according to the Chou dynasty (ca. 1123–256 B.C.E.) calendar, the eleventh lunar month was the first month, making "the eighth day of the second month" the eighth day of the twelfth lunar month. This is why Japan now celebrates Gotama's enlightenment on December 8. Concerning the date of the enlightenment, Hsüan-tsang wrote: "The Tathāgata attained perfect enlightenment on the eighth day of the second half of the Indian month of Vaiśākha. This corresponds to the eighth day of the third month [in the T'ang-dynasty (618–907) calendar]. The Sthaviravādins [Pāli, Theravādins] hold that the enlightenment occurred on the fifteenth day of the second half of the month of Vaiśākha. This corresponds to the fifteenth day of the third month [in the T'ang calendar]. At the time, the Tathāgata was thirty years of age. Some say he was thirty-five."[14]

Early legends say Gotama left home at twenty-nine and then trained for seven years; this would make him thirty-six at the time of the enlightenment. Later legends, which say he trained for six years, lower the age at which he was enlightened by one year. The figure remains approximate, since we have no way of knowing his exact age.

The *Nidānakathā* tells how even the Buddha, an enlightened being, was subject to the attack of Māra. Since this legend does not appear in any other sources, however, it may be regarded as a later addition. The *Nidānakathā* also tells the story of how Māra's three daughters tried to tempt Gotama.

> At that time, the three daughters of Māra, Tanhā [Craving], Aratī [Discomfort], and Ragā [Greed], looked around, saying, "We do not

see our father anywhere. Where can he be?" When they saw him, they noticed that he was discouraged and was drawing a line on the ground. Going to where he was, they asked: "Father, why are you so sorrowful?"

"Daughters, that great *samaṇa* has surpassed me in strength. Though I have observed him for such a long time, I have been unable to find an unguarded moment. That is why I am so sorrowful."

"If that is so, worry no more. We will put him at our mercy and lead him to you."

"Daughters, you cannot put that man at your mercy. His conviction is firm, and he cannot be perturbed."

"Father, we are women. Very soon we will lead him to you, caught in the snare of greed. Do not grieve."

Approaching the Blessed One, they said: "*Samaṇa,* we would serve you." The Blessed One neither heeded their words nor opened his eyes to look at them, but sat enjoying the joy of Nibbāna, being liberated in mind, having completely extinguished all attachments.

Then the daughters of Māra conferred among themselves: "Various are the tastes of men. Some like young girls, some like girls of marriageable age, some like mature women, some like older women. Let us assume various forms to seduce him." They each took the form of a hundred young girls, and of a hundred women who had never given birth, and of a hundred women who had given birth once, and of a hundred women who had given birth twice, and of a hundred mature women, and of a hundred older women, six times changing form and approaching the Blessed One, saying, "*Samaṇa,* we would serve you." The Blessed One, though, did not heed them, for he had completely extinguished all attachments and was liberated in mind.[15]

The three daughters of Māra appear, as we have seen, in other ancient Buddhist texts.[16] But the author of the *Nidānakathā* rejected the magical component of the conquest of Māra that had been current earlier. "However, some masters [*kecid ācariyā*] say: 'When the Blessed One saw them approaching as older women, he cast a spell over them, saying, "May you remain as you are, with your teeth fallen out and your hair gray."' This [interpretation] should not be adopted, for the Buddha did not bring down such curses."

The author of the *Nidānakathā* took the position of traditional and conservative Buddhism, rejecting magical embellishments and firmly main-

taining that the Buddha was able to reject the daughters of Māra because he had already extinguished all defilements: "Then the Blessed One said: 'Vanish! Who are you looking at, to exert yourselves so? Try your ploys on one who has not severed himself from greed. The Tathāgata is without greed, without hatred, without delusion.' . . . The women returned to their father, saying, 'Truly it is as our father said, the wise and blessed one cannot easily be tempted by greed.'" At this point the *Nidānakathā* quotes two verses from the *Dhammapada*, a clear indication that the *Nidānakathā* legend is a later addition.

BODHGAYĀ

BODHGAYĀ IN THE TRAVEL RECORDS OF CHINESE MONKS

The best sources we have for the history of Bodhgayā are the travel records of Chinese monks. Fa-hsien (340? 420?) describes it as follows:

> From here [a mountain cave north of the old city of Rājagṛha], going west four *yojanas*, we came to the city of Gayā. Here again everything inside the city was desolate. Continuing south for twenty *li* [one *li* = about 400 meters], we arrived at the place where the Bodhisattva practiced austerities for six years. Here was a forest. Going three *li* west, we came to the place where the Buddha had bathed and left the pool by grasping a tree branch bent down by a *deva*. Two *li* to the north was the place where the Grāmika girls gave the Buddha rice gruel made with milk. A further two *li* north was the place where the Buddha, seated on a rock under a great tree facing east, ate the gruel. The tree and the rock are still there today. The rock is a little under about 2 meters in breadth and length and about 0.6 meter high. In central India there are no extremes of heat and cold, and thus it is said that some trees live for several thousand to ten thousand years.
>
> Going half a *yojana* northeast, we reached a rock cave, into which the Bodhisattva had entered and sat in the lotus position facing west, saying to himself that if he should attain enlightenment let there be some supernatural sign of it. [Then] on the rock wall [in the cave] there appeared without any doubt the shadow of a buddha, about 0.9 meter in length, and it is still clear today.

At that time heaven and earth moved greatly and the heavenly deities said: "This is not the place of enlightenment of past and future buddhas. Under the *aśvattha* tree only about half a *yojana* southwest of here is the place of enlightenment of the buddhas of the past and future." When they had finished speaking, they led the way, singing. Accordingly the Bodhisattva arose and followed. Thirty paces from the tree a *deva* gave him some *kuśa* grass. He received it. Fifteen paces farther on, five hundred blue birds flew up, circled him three times, and flew off. The Bodhisattva proceeded to the *aśvattha* tree and spread out the *kuśa* grass and sat down facing east. Then King Māra sent three beautiful women, who came from the north, to tempt him. King Māra himself came from the south to tempt him. The Bodhisattva touched the earth with his toes, and the demon army retreated and dispersed. The three beautiful women were transformed into crones. At the place mentioned above where [the Bodhisattva] practiced austerities for six years and at all the other places, people later erected stupas and set up images. These still exist.

Stupas were [also] built at the place where the Buddha, having attained enlightenment, sat for seven days looking at the tree and experiencing the joy of liberation; the place where the Buddha paced for seven days east and west of the *aśvattha* tree; the place where the deities made a hall of the seven treasures and worshiped the Buddha for seven days; the place where the blind dragon Mucilinda encircled the Buddha for seven days; the place where the Buddha sat facing east on a square rock under a *nyagrodha* tree and Brahmā came and made a request of him; the place where the four heavenly kings offered him their bowls; the place where the five hundred merchants offered [him] flour and honey; and the place where [the Buddha] converted the Kāśyapa brothers and their thousand disciples.

At the place where the Buddha attained enlightenment there are three *saṃghārāmas*, in all of which live monks. Both the monks and the laity have abundant supplies, and nothing is lacking. The precepts and regulations are strictly observed. The laws governing their manners, their rising, and their entering are the same as those practiced by the holy monks of the Buddha's time and down to the present. Ever since the Buddha's nirvana, the sites of the four great stupas have been handed down and remain unchanged. The four great stupas are at the place where the Buddha was born, the place where he attained en-

lightenment, the place where he spoke his first discourse, and the place where he entered perfect nirvana.[17]

Fa-hsien records that when "the Bodhisattva proceeded to the *aśvattha* tree and spread out the *kuśa* grass and sat down facing east," Māra sent three beautiful women to tempt him, but the Bodhisattva defeated them. Though he does not mention the diamond seat (*vajrāsana*), there could well have been something marking the place where the Buddha attained enlightenment.[18] In the eighth fascicle of the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, Hsüan-tsang writes:

> Fourteen or fifteen *li* southwest of Mount Prāgbodhi, we came to the *bodhi* tree. The surrounding wall was made of brick, and it was high, steep, and strong. It was long from east to west and narrow from south to north. It was more than five hundred paces in circumference. Rare trees and gorgeous flowers cast their shade, and on the fine sand rare grasses that we could not see elsewhere grew luxuriantly, covering the ground. The main gate opened to the east and faced the Nairañjanā River. The south gate adjoined a pond with great flowers, and the west was blocked by a steep rise. The north gate led to the great *saṃghārāma*. The precincts within the walls contained sacred places in great number. There were also stupas and a *vihāra* [monastery], all built as memorials by the rulers, ministers, and gentry of all the countries of Jambudvīpa for the veneration of the Buddha's teachings.[19]

What Hsüan-tsang describes can be seen even today. In the same section Hsüan-tsang mentions the diamond seat, which was extant when he visited, though it may have been restored.

> In the middle of the enclosure [surrounding] the *bodhi* tree is the diamond seat. It was made long ago, at the beginning of the Auspicious Kalpa, and appeared with the earth. It is in the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world; it extends down to the golden earth layer [Skt., *kāñcana-maṇḍala*], and upward it appears on the earth's surface. It is made of diamond and is more than a hundred paces in circumference. It is called the diamond seat because the thousand buddhas of the Auspicious Kalpa all sat there and entered the diamond *samādhi*. It is also called the *bodhimaṇḍa* [place of enlightenment] because it is here that enlightenment was attained.

Even when the earth moves and shakes, this place alone neither moves nor shakes. When the Tathāgata was about to attain enlightenment, he went in succession to the four sides, and the earth moved and shook, but when he then came to this spot, all was quiet and still. As the last age approaches and the True Law gradually disintegrates, sand and earth will cover [this spot] and it will hardly be visible. After the nirvana of the Buddha, kings of all the lands, hearing the size of the diamond seat spoken of, placed two statues of Avalokiteśvara facing east to mark its northern and southern boundaries. When I asked an old person about that story, he said: "When the images sink into the ground and can be seen no more, the Buddha's teachings will disappear." The bodhisattva figure on the southern side is now buried to a little above the breast.

The *bodhi* tree above the diamond seat is a pipal tree. Long ago, when the Buddha was alive, it was several hundred centimeters in height. Though it has since been damaged and cut, it is still about forty-five centimeters high. The Buddha sat beneath it and attained perfect and complete enlightenment, and so it is called the *bodhi* [enlightenment] tree. Its trunk is yellowish white, and its branches and leaves are dark green. The leaves do not wither in summer or winter and remain glossy [all year] without change.[20]

East of the *bodhi* tree is a *vihāra* [popularly known as the Great Tower]. It is about 48 or 51 meters in height, and its lower foundation wall is about twenty paces in circumference. It is built of blue tiles [bricks] and is covered with lime. In each niche in the different tiers is a golden figure. The four walls are carved in a wonderful way; there are figures like pearls strung together and statues of divine hermits. On top [of the *vihāra*] is a gilt *āmalaka* [also called a "jeweled pitcher" or a "jeweled pot"]. Adjoining the eastern side of the *vihāra* is a multistory pavilion. The eaves extend from the third story, and the rafters, pillars, ridgepole, beams, doors and windows, and band windows are decorated with gold and silver carvings and inlaid with pearls and jewels. The rooms are spacious, and there are threefold doors. To the left and right of the outer gate there are niches; in the left is a statue of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and in the right is a statue of the bodhisattva Maitreya. They are made of silver and are more than three meters high.

This building was a large tower, not a stupa containing a reliquary

(*śarīrāṇi*). From the outside it seemed to be a nine-tier tower, but in fact it had only two stories.

> North of the *bodhi* tree is the place where the Buddha walked to and fro. Even after the Tathāgata attained enlightenment, he did not rise from the seat but remained immersed in meditation for seven days, free from delusory thoughts. When he rose, he proceeded north of the *bodhi* tree and walked east and west for seven days. When he had walked ten paces or so, eighteen wonderful flowers sprang up where he had stepped. People later piled up tiles here and made a platform about 0.9 meter high. According to our predecessors, this platform [covering the holy footprints] indicates the length of a person's life. First the person delivers a heartfelt prayer, then measures [the platform]; the [platform] will be large or small depending on whether the person's life will be long or short.

Hsüan-tsang's biography, *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan,* composed by Hui-li and supplemented by Yen-ts'ung, summarizes Hsüan-tsang's description of Bodhgayā and adds more information:

> In the middle is the diamond seat. . . . It is called diamond because the seat is strong and indestructible and is able to destroy all things. If he had not trusted in this place, [the Buddha] would not have been able to remain on the earth. If the seat had not been made of diamond, the earth would not have been able to withstand the adamantine *samādhi.* Thus when all the buddhas wished to overcome Māra and attain enlightenment, they were sure to be here; if they had been elsewhere, the earth would have shaken and shattered. And so the thousand buddhas since heaven and earth began have all sat on the diamond seat. It is also called the *bodhimaṇḍa.* Even when the world moves and shakes, this place alone never moves, it is said.
>
> For the last one or two hundred years, the fortunes of living beings have been declining, and even if they stand under the *bodhi* tree, the diamond seat cannot be seen. . . .
>
> The leaves [of the *bodhi* tree] do not fall in summer or winter; on the anniversary of the Buddha's nirvana, however, the leaves suddenly fall, and then in the course of the day grow back again green and glossy. On that day the kings of the different countries gather under the tree with their followers, wash the tree with milk, offer candles, strew flowers, gather the fallen leaves, and return home.

The Dharma master [Hsüan-tsang] made reverence to the *bodhi* tree and a statue of the Buddha's enlightenment made by the bodhisattva Maitreya. He prostrated himself on the ground and cried in sorrow and anguish, bitter tears streaming down his face: "Where I was and what type of rebirth I had when the Buddha attained enlightenment I have no idea. Now in the age of the Counterfeit Law I have finally arrived here at this place. Why is my evil karma so profound?" That very day was the final day of the summer rainy-season retreat, and several thousand monks from far and wide had gathered there, but everyone wept as they saw the Dharma master [weeping]. Within a *yojana* of that place were a great many sacred ruins. Hsüan-tsang spent eight or nine days there, venerating all the places.[21]

THE HISTORY OF BODHGAYĀ

Between the time of Aśoka and the Śuṅga dynasty founded by Puṣyamitra around 185 B.C.E., all there was at Bodhgayā was the *bodhi* tree, the diamond seat, and a lotus pond. This can be confirmed by reference to a second-century B.C.E. relief at Bhārhut of the dragon king (*nāgarāja*) Elāpattra venerating the Buddha.[22] Elāpattra also appears in the *Mahābhārata*; in Buddhist writings he takes refuge in the teachings of the Buddha. The rectangular composition shows the *bodhi* tree at the left with a platform beneath it. On the platform can be seen the remains of scattered flowers, which indicates that scattering flowers was already a custom. (In modern India, too, people throw flowers as a blessing.) Beneath is a man with his hands pressed together in veneration, a depiction of a five-headed dragon on his head (a motif also seen in Hindu art). This is Elāpattra in human form. At the lower right is a lotus pond and the upper halves of three figures, the dragon king and two attendants. At the upper right the dragon king appears as a five-headed dragon in the lotus pond, because Śākyamuni has ordered him to come in his true form. Above is the protective figure of Vajradhara, accompanied on the left by Brahmā.

We learn two things from this relief. First, statues of the Buddha did not yet exist. Second, the indigenous people worshiped a snake deity; this entered Hinduism as worship of a dragon deity and was also adopted by Buddhism.

An edict of Aśoka indicates that he made a pilgrimage to the *bodhi* tree ten years after his coronation.[23] This pilgrimage is said to be the origin of what Aśoka called his "dharma tours" (*dharmayātrā*). Buddhist sources agree,

saying that after the king visited Kapilavastu, the old capital of the Śākyas, he went to the *bodhi* tree at Bodhgayā and extolled Śākyamuni's enlightenment there. He "made an offering of 100,000 pieces of gold to the *bodhi* tree, erected a stupa there, and went on."[24] Later Buddhists placed great importance on Aśoka's pilgrimage to the *bodhi* tree. He did two things that earlier kings, such as Bimbisāra, had not done: he venerated the tree by sprinkling it with scented water, and he convened an assembly every five years (*pañcavārṣika*).

Legends say that Aśoka's queen, Tiṣyarakṣitā, attempted to make the *bodhi* tree die, but the king revived it with water.[25] According to the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, Tiṣyarakṣitā followed "heretical beliefs" and secretly had someone cut down the tree in the middle of the night. Aśoka was distraught and prayed with all his might that the tree would be revived and sprinkled it with scented milk. Soon the tree revived, and the king "then surrounded it with a wall of piled stone more than three meters in height; this can still be seen." Centuries later, however, Śaśāṅka, a king of Bengal who ascended the throne some time before 606, cut down the tree because he wanted to destroy Buddhism. It is said that King Pūrṇavarman, Aśoka's last descendent, was grief-stricken and "bathed the roots of the tree with the milk of a thousand cows, and in the course of a night it revived."

According to the *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan*, Aśoka's queen cut down the *aśvattha* tree, and it revived because the king bathed it with milk.[26] Hsüan-tsang records three versions of the person who tried to destroy the tree: Aśoka himself, Tiṣyarakṣitā, and Śaśāṅka; in each case, the roots survived and the tree grew again. The attempted destruction of the tree is certainly factual, but it is unclear how many generations separate the present tree from that under which Śākyamuni sat.

After Aśoka's son Mahinda's journey to Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) to teach Buddhism there, female members of the Ceylonese royal family expressed the wish to enter the religious life and asked that *bhikkhunīs* be sent to ordain them. Aśoka's daughter Saṃghamittā led the delegation of eleven *bhikkhunīs*, carrying with her a branch from the south side of the *bodhi* tree that the king of Ceylon had requested. Aśoka himself miraculously removed the branch and placed it aboard ship. The Ceylonese king met the delegation at the port of Jambukola and planted the branch there. Eight saplings eventually grew from it, and these were planted at a number of sites.[27]

A century or so after Aśoka's reign a sandstone balustrade was erected

around the *bodhi* tree at Bodhgayā and a small building built. The balustrade's style follows the customary form. It has square or octagonal stone pillars carved back and front with reliefs of human beings and other figures, various tales (such as *Jātaka* stories), and lotus medallions. Mortises protrude on either side of the pillars, into which stone crossbars have been inserted, joining the pillars. These crossbars are also carved with lotus and other medallions. Coping stones surmounting the pillars are carved on the outside with a series of lotus flowers and on the inside with figures of beasts. On the pillars are a variety of reliefs, including the usual lotus flowers and beasts. There are also a number of carvings showing scenes from the Buddha's life, but according to the custom of the day they do not depict the Buddha in human form. There are also scenes from the *Jātakas* and representations of the zodiac. A picture of the sun god driving his chariot drawn by four horses is the earliest known depiction of that deity. The carvings on the outside of the balustrade are simple, but the winged lions, horses, and elephants suggest a Persian influence. There are also a number of short inscriptions, one of which indicates that the balustrade was donated by Indrāgnimitra, a king who ruled in the first century B.C.E.

The platform (*bodhimaṇḍa*) under the *bodhi* tree is called the diamond seat and is an object of special veneration by Buddhists. When Hsüan-tsang visited the area, the belief was current that not only Gotama but also many earlier buddhas had attained enlightenment there. In Sri Lanka today the high terraces at the base of the *bodhi* trees in temple grounds are called *bodhimaṇḍa*, after the enlightenment platform at Bodhgayā.[28]

The balustrade surrounding the diamond seat has been restored many times. Restoration may have been necessary because part of the platform had been lost or because extensions were necessary.[29]

The temple eventually fell into ruin and was buried by sand. When the king of Burma sent three court officials to excavate the buried foundations in 1876, the British government of India could no longer disregard the site. In 1863 a trench had been dug around the temple by a Major Meade under the supervision of General Alexander Cunningham. In 1878 Rajendralala Mitra published an academic report on Bodhgayā, and the following year Cunningham inspected the site. In 1880 Sir Ashley Eden, the deputy governor of Bengal, ordered J. D. Beglar to undertake excavations there. By the following year Beglar had not only unearthed the diamond seat but had also recovered relics of the Buddha buried beneath it. The details of the excavation are recorded in Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*

or the Great Temple. The last general repairs were undertaken by the British government of India in 1880–81.

The Great Tower of Bodhgayā that we see today appears to have been called in Mauryan times (317–ca. 180 B.C.E.) "the king's shrine" (*rājā-pāsādācetika = rājaprāsādacaityaka*).[30] Until recently large numbers of vagrants, who acted as guides to pilgrims, congregated around the building and made it very dirty. It is now being cared for and preserved by a management committee. According to legendary literature and Hsüan-tsang's record,[31] Aśoka built a stone wall (*vāra*) around the *bodhi* tree, but this has now disappeared.[32] Nearby is a stone balustrade, and since the script of its inscription is virtually identical with that of Aśoka's time,[33] it is believed that the extant wall has its origins in one that was built around the time of Aśoka.[34] The small white towers adjacent to the Great Tower are of modern construction, reproducing the key features of the main temple. Since neither Hsüan-tsang nor Fa-hsien commented on the Buddha-footprint stone near the *bodhi* tree and behind (that is, west of) the Great Tower, it is difficult to estimate its date.

When Buddhism declined, Bodhgayā became a holy place for Hindus, in the possession of Hindu high priests called *mahantas.* Since 1953 the site has been managed by a government committee. Gayā, fifteen kilometers away, has long been an important Hindu religious site, but for the majority of Indians Bodhgayā is just a tourist site. Pilgrims visit Gayā to conduct a fifteen-day ritual (*pitṛbhakṣa*) to venerate their ancestors. Normally Gayā has a population of about 300,000, but at the time of the ritual it is said to swell to 900,000. Various deities are worshiped, with Vishnu being the most popular. Pilgrims throng to the great Vishnupada Temple in the center of the town and make offerings. Gayā has a number of tanks for ritual bathing. Some are square, with steps on three sides. None have steps on all four sides. Early Buddhists criticized ritual bathing at Gayā as being without merit.[35]

THE NATURE OF THE BUDDHA'S ENLIGHTENMENT

THE TRADITION CONCERNING THE TWELVE-LINKED CHAIN OF DEPENDENT ORIGINATION

What was it that Gotama Buddha realized at Bodhgayā? What was the nature of his enlightenment?[36] It is usually said that he became enlight-

ened after contemplating the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination as described in the *Vinaya*.[37] A similar description appears in the *Udāna* (1–3). I compare the two sources below, on the assumption that both derive from a common source; where the texts are identical, there is probably an older stratum. The same section also appears in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (p. 102f.); the parts identical to the *Vinaya* and *Udāna* are underlined. (The text in the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* and the Tibetan *Vinaya* is also much the same.) Italics mark the portions of the text that also appear in the fifteenth fascicle of the *Wu-fen-lü*. The portions both underlined and italicized can be considered the oldest, while the portions in boldface, common to both the *Vinaya* and the *Udāna*, probably indicate the original text, which is completely coherent in its own right.

UDĀNA

(1-1) At one time **the Blessed One**

VINAYA

At that time the Buddha, **the Blessed One**

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

was staying* at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā River *at the foot of the bodhi tree, having just attained enlightenment. At that time, the Blessed One

VINAYA

at the foot of the *bodhi* tree,

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

***was seated cross-legged uninterruptedly for seven days*, delighting in his liberation. Then the Blessed One,**

UDĀNA

emerging from his meditation after those seven days had passed, **during the first division of the night gave close attention to [the principle of] dependent origination in direct order.**[38] *This being, that becomes*; when this arises, that arises.

VINAYA

during the first division of the night gave close attention to [the principle of] dependent origination in direct and reverse order.

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

That is, *from ignorance arise the mental constituents, from the mental constituents arises consciousness, from consciousness arise name and form, from name and form arise the six sense organs, from the six sense organs arises contact, from contact arises feeling, from feeling arises craving, from craving arises grasping, from grasping arises being, from being arises birth, from birth arise old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair. Thus arises the whole mass of suffering.*

VINAYA

If, however, ignorance is destroyed completely, through the elimination of greed, the mental constituents are destroyed. If the mental constituents are destroyed, consciousness is destroyed. If consciousness is destroyed, name and form are destroyed. If name and form are destroyed, the six sense organs are destroyed. If the six sense organs are destroyed, contact is destroyed. If contact is destroyed, feeling is destroyed. If feeling is destroyed, craving is destroyed. If craving is destroyed, grasping is destroyed. If grasping is destroyed, being is destroyed. If being is destroyed, birth is destroyed. If birth is destroyed, old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair are destroyed. Such is the destruction of the whole mass of suffering.

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

Thereupon the Blessed One,* knowing its significance, *pronounced* this *verse* of uplift: *"When the Law of all things grows plain to the ardent, meditating Brahmin, all his doubts vanish, because he clearly understands the principle of [dependent origination clearly showing the connection between] origins [and causes]."

UDĀNA

(1–2) At one time the Blessed One was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā River at the foot of the *bodhi* tree, having just attained enlightenment. At that time the Blessed One was seated cross-legged uninterruptedly for seven days, delighting in his liberation. Then **the Blessed One,** emerging from his meditation after those seven days had passed, **during the middle division of the night gave close attention to [the principle of] dependent origination in reverse order.** That is, when this is not, that is not; when this ceases, that ceases. **When ignorance is destroyed**

VINAYA

Then **the Blessed One,** in the middle division of the night, gave close attention to [the principle of] dependent origination in direct and reverse order. That is, from ignorance arise the mental constituents, from the mental constituents arises consciousness, from consciousness arise name and form, from name and form arise the six sense organs, from the six sense organs arises contact, from contact arises feeling, from feeling arises craving, from craving arises grasping, from grasping arises being, from being arises birth, from birth arise old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair. Thus arises the whole mass of suffering. If, however, ignorance is destroyed completely, through the elimination of greed,

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

the mental constituents are destroyed. If the mental constituents are destroyed, consciousness is destroyed. If consciousness is destroyed, name and form are destroyed. If name and form are destroyed, the six sense organs are destroyed. If the six sense organs are destroyed, contact is destroyed. If contact is destroyed, feeling is destroyed. If feeling is destroyed, craving is destroyed. If craving is destroyed, grasping is destroyed. If grasping is destroyed, being is destroyed. If being is destroyed, birth is destroyed. If birth is destroyed, old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair are destroyed. Such is the destruction of the whole mass of suffering. Thereupon the Blessed One, knowing its significance, pronounced this verse of uplift: "When the Law of all things grows plain to the ardent, meditating Brahmin, all his doubts vanish, because *he clearly understands the destruction of all conditions.*"

UDĀNA

(1 3) At one time the Blessed One was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā River at the foot of the *bodhi* tree, having just attained enlightenment. At that time, the Blessed One was seated cross-legged uninterruptedly for seven days, delighting in his liberation. Then the World-honored One, emerging from his meditation after those seven days had passed,

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

during the last division of the night gave close attention to [the principle of] dependent origination in direct and reverse order.

UDĀNA

This being, that becomes; when this arises, that arises.

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

That is, from ignorance arise the mental constituents, from the mental constituents arises consciousness, from consciousness arise name and form, from name and form arise the six sense organs, from the six sense organs arises contact, from contact arises feeling, from feeling arises craving, from craving arises grasping, from grasping arises being, from being arises birth, from birth arise old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair. Thus arises the whole mass of suffering. If, however, ignorance is destroyed completely, through the elimination of greed, the mental constituents are destroyed. If the mental constituents are destroyed, consciousness is destroyed. If consciousness is destroyed, name and form are destroyed. If name and form are destroyed, the six sense organs are destroyed. If the six sense organs are destroyed, contact is destroyed. If contact is destroyed, feeling is destroyed. If feeling is destroyed, craving is destroyed. If craving is destroyed, grasping is destroyed. If grasping is destroyed, being is destroyed. If being is destroyed, birth is destroyed. If birth is destroyed, old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair are destroyed. Such is the destruction of the whole mass of suffering. Thereupon the Blessed One, knowing its significance, pronounced this verse of uplift: "*When the Law of all things grows plain to the ardent, meditating Brahmin, he smashes the hosts of Māra, as the sun illuminates the sky.*"

Even within the oldest stratum, the verse section was composed earlier than the prose section, as evidenced by the use of the word *brāhmaṇa* ("Brahmin") to refer to Gotama in the verse and *bhagavat* ("blessed one")

to refer to him in the prose. The Tibetan *Vinaya* and the Chinese translation of the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, do not link the enlightenment directly with the doctrine of dependent origination, saying that Gotama contemplated the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination some time after his enlightenment.[39]

The prose version of the doctrine of dependent origination just quoted is described as the outcome of the Buddha's meditation, not the process of the meditation itself. The following passage from the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* relates the process more fully.[40]

> Before I was enlightened, *bhikkhus*, when I was unenlightened and a bodhisatta, I thought to myself, "How this world has fallen into distress [*kiccha*]. [People] are born, grow old, weaken, die, and are born again. [They] know no liberation from their suffering. [They] know no liberation from old age and death. When will liberation from suffering, liberation from old age and death, be clearly known?"
>
> Then I thought: "Because what is present do old age and death arise? From what conditions do old age and death come about?" Then insight [*abhisamaya*] arose within me, from right attention and wisdom. "Old age and death come about because of birth. Old age and death are conditioned by birth."
>
> Then I thought: "Because what is present do birth . . . being . . . grasping . . . craving . . . feeling . . . contact . . . the six sense organs . . . name and form . . . consciousness . . . the mental constituents arise? From what conditions do the mental constituents come about?" Then insight arose within me, from right attention and wisdom. "Because ignorance is present the mental constituents arise. The mental constituents are conditioned by ignorance."
>
> Because the mental constituents are conditioned by ignorance, because consciousness is conditioned by the mental constituents, . . . there comes into being this whole mass of suffering.
>
> "This arises. This arises." At the thought of this law, never before heard, there arose in me vision, there arose in me knowledge, there arose in me wisdom, there arose in me insight, there arose in me light.
>
> Then, *bhikkhus*, I thought: "Because what is absent do old age and death not come about, from the cessation of what occurs the cessation of old age and death?" Then insight arose within me, from right attention and wisdom. "Because birth is absent, old age and death do not

come about. From the cessation of birth occurs the cessation of old age and death."

Then I thought: "Because what is absent do birth . . . being . . . grasping . . . craving . . . feeling . . . contact . . . the six sense organs . . . name and form . . . consciousness . . . the mental constituents not come about, from the cessation of what occurs the cessation of the mental constituents?" Then insight arose within me, from right attention and wisdom. "Because ignorance is absent, the mental constituents do not come about. From the cessation of ignorance occurs the cessation of the mental constituents."

Thus from the cessation of ignorance occurs the cessation of the mental constituents, from the cessation of the mental constituents occurs the cessation of consciousness, . . . and thus there ceases this whole mass of suffering.

"This ceases. This ceases." At the thought of this law, never before heard, there arose in me vision, there arose in me knowledge, there arose in me wisdom, there arose in me insight, there arose in me light.

Another passage in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* relates Gotama's later recollection at Sāvatthī of his attainment of enlightenment through wisdom (*paññāya abhisamayo*).[41] Here we find the progression from old age and death to birth to becoming until the phrase "name and form are conditioned by consciousness" (*viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpaṃ*), which is followed by "consciousness is conditioned by name and form" (*nāmarūpapaccayā viññāṇaṃ*). The series then reverses in order, finishing by establishing the mutual base of consciousness and name and form. This clearly represents a stage prior to the formulation of the doctrine of the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination.

A far simpler doctrine of dependent origination is presented in an older stratum of the early sutras. The fully articulated twelve-linked chain of dependent origination that appears in the *Vinaya* and other works dates from a comparatively late stage in the development of the early sutras and must have been inserted into the description of the Buddha's enlightenment. Such speculation was further organized until it became the type of expression we find in the previously quoted *Vinaya* literature.[42]

It is obvious that the doctrine of the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination in the prose sections of the sutras was not stated by Gotama at the time of his enlightenment. Since early Buddhist literature exhibits a

number of simpler forms of the doctrine, on the basis of which more complex forms were later expounded, leading to the final form that became the established Buddhist doctrine, we cannot consider the above descriptions of the enlightenment as historical fact.[43]

A similar situation exists with the Pāli *Nidānakathā*. Here there is no attempt to describe the content of the Buddha's enlightenment at all: "Before the sun had set, the Great Being vanquished the armies of Māra. Then, while the *bo* tree in homage rained red corallike sprigs on his robes, in the first division of the night he gained the wisdom to know his past existences; in the second division of the night he purified his *deva* eye; and in the last division of the night he gained the wisdom concerning dependent origination."[44] What comes next is merely an account of the various wonders that attended the enlightenment. With a little effort we could believe that the expression "wisdom of one who knows everything" (*sabbaññūtañāṇa*) in this section of the *Nidānakathā* comes closest to describing the nature of that enlightenment.[45] Other than that, the *Nidānakathā* offers only the brief description of what Gotama attained in the three divisions of the night. In this tradition Gotama did not attain enlightenment after Māra had been vanquished; rather, the two were integral aspects of the same event.

OTHER TRADITIONS

Some sutras describe Gotama's enlightenment more simply as becoming weary of human life (replete with birth, old age, sickness, death, grief, and contamination), and attaining nirvana.

> Thus, *bhikkhus*, being liable to birth myself, knowing the afflictions in what is liable to birth, seeking the supreme tranquillity and peace [*nibbāna*] of the unborn, I attained the supreme tranquillity and peace of the unborn. Being liable to aging, sickness, death, grief, and contamination myself, knowing the afflictions in what is liable to aging, sickness, death, grief, and contamination, seeking the supreme tranquillity and peace in what does not age, does not become sick, does not die, does not grieve, and is not contaminated, I attained the supreme tranquillity and peace of what does not age, does not become sick, does not die, does not grieve, and is not contaminated. Thus knowledge and insight arose within me: "My liberation is unshakable. This is my final existence. Never again will there be rebirth for me."[46]

Some sutras contain the tradition that Gotama reflected, before his enlightenment, on the following:

"BY ENLIGHTENMENT" (1)[47]

At Sāvatthī

"BY ENLIGHTENMENT" (2)[48]

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

Before I was enlightened, *bhikkhus,* when I was unenlightened and a bodhisatta, I thought to myself:

(1)

"What is the attraction, what is the addiction of the eye? What is the affliction? What is the way of liberation from the eye? . . . the ear? . . . the nose? . . . the tongue? . . . the body? What is the attraction, what is the addiction, of the mind? What is the affliction? What is the way of liberation from the mind?" I then thought: "That pleasure and delight arise [*uppajjati*] owing to [*paṭicca*] the eye, that is the attraction, that is the addiction, of the eye. The nature of the eye is impermanent, bound to suffering, subject to change and death. That is the affliction of the eye. Control [*vinaya*] of the desires and lust associated with the eye, renunciation [*pahāna*] of the desires and lust, that is the way of liberation from the eye . . . owing to the ear . . . the nose . . . the tongue . . . the body. That pleasure and delight arise owing to the mind, that is the attraction, that is the addiction, of the mind. The nature of the mind is impermanent, bound to suffering, subject to change and death. That is the affliction of the mind. Control of the desires and lust associated with the mind, renunciation of the desires and lust, that is the way of liberation from the mind." Thus regarding the six internal sense fields,

(2)

What is the attraction, what is the addiction, of forms? What is the affliction? What is the way of liberation from forms? . . . sounds? . . . smells? . . . tastes? . . . touch? What is the attraction, what is the addiction, of mentally cognizables? What is the affliction? What is the way of liberation from mentally cognizables? That pleasure and delight arise owing to forms, that is the attraction, that is the addiction, of forms. The nature of the eye is impermanent, bound to suffering, sub-

ject to change and death. That is the affliction of forms. Control of the desires and lust associated with forms, renunciation of the desires and greed, that is the way of liberation from forms . . . owing to sounds . . . smells . . . tastes . . . touch. That pleasure and delight arise owing to mentally cognizables, that is the attraction, that is the addiction, of mentally cognizables. The nature of the mind is impermanent, bound to suffering, subject to change and death. That is the affliction of mentally cognizables. Control of the desires and lust associated with mentally cognizables, renunciation of the desires and greed, that is the way of liberation from mentally cognizables." Thus regarding the six external sense fields,

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

as long as I did not truly understand their attraction and addiction as such, their affliction as such, liberation from them as such, my enlightenment could not be called true enlightenment, unsurpassed in the world with its *devas*, Māras, and Brahmās, among *devas*, human beings, Brahmās, *samaṇas*, and Brahmins. But when I truly understood these six internal sense fields, their attraction and addiction as such, their affliction as such, liberation from them as such, my enlightenment could be called true enlightenment, unsurpassed in the world with its *devas*, Māras, and Brahmās, among *devas*, human beings, Brahmās, *samaṇas*, and Brahmins.

Then knowledge and insight arose within me: "My liberation of mind is unshakable. This is my final existence. Never again will there be rebirth for me."

Thus Gotama attained liberation. The term "six sense fields" is widely used in Buddhism, but aside from this the just-quoted teaching is somewhat unusual. It probably dates from a time before Buddhist doctrine became fixed. Another sutra, "Satisfaction" (1), is identical to "By Enlightenment" (2) above, except that it follows the same formula for each of the five aggregates (*skandha*).[49] This realization is also assigned to the period before the enlightenment. Likewise, "Enlightened" (b), discussing the six sense organs (*indriya*), says: "As long, *bhikkhus*, as I did not truly understand the arising, the extinction, the attraction and addiction, the affliction of the six sense organs and the way to liberation from them, I could not be called enlightened [*abhisaṃbuddha*]. But because I truly understood, I could be called enlightened. Knowledge and insight arose within

me: 'My liberation is unshakable. This is my final existence. Never again will there be rebirth for me.'"[50]

"Nabbhavo" discusses the five potentials leading to liberation—faith, striving, mindfulness, *samādhi*, and wisdom— following the above formula.[51] Another sutra, "Pubbe," says:

> Before I was enlightened, *bhikkhus*, when I was unenlightened and a bodhisatta, I thought to myself: "What is the cause, through what connection, does a person cultivate the bases of wonderworking power [*iddhipāda*]? And then I thought: "A person cultivates the wonderworking power by uniting concentration and effort with desire [will]. 'Doing thus, my desire will not be too weak or too shrunken, nor will it be too controlled, nor will it be internally cramped or externally diffuse.' He is mindful of what is behind and what is in front. As in front, so behind, as behind, so in front; as below, so above, as above, so below; as day, so night, as night, so day. Thus with a mind extended and unbound, he cultivates a mind of brilliance.
>
> "A person cultivates the wonderworking power by uniting concentration and effort with energy. . . .
>
> "A person cultivates the wonderworking power by uniting concentration and effort with thought. . . .
>
> "A person cultivates the wonderworking power, uniting concentration and effort to investigation [*vīmāṃsā*]. . . ."
>
> When a person has thus cultivated and made the most of the four bases of wonderworking power, he receives for himself various types of wonderworking power. From one body he becomes many, from many bodies he becomes one; whether visible or invisible, he can pass through ramparts and mountains unhindered, going through them as if they were air. He disappears into the earth and then shoots out again, as if in water. He walks on water without disturbing the surface, as if on solid ground. He moves like a flying bird around the firmament, sitting cross-legged. He handles and strokes the sun and the moon, with all their great wonderworking power and majesty, and he controls with his body even as far as the Brahmā world.
>
> A person who has thus cultivated and made the most of the four bases of wonderworking power can, with the *deva* power of hearing, purified and transcending that of human beings, hear the sounds of both *devas* and human beings, whether they be near or far.
>
> A person who has thus cultivated and made the most of the four

bases of wonderworking power knows with his mind the minds of other beings and other persons. He knows a greedy mind to be greedy; he knows a mind free from greed to be free from greed; he knows an angry mind to be angry; he knows a mind free from anger to be free from anger; he knows a deluded mind to be deluded; he knows a mind free from delusion to be free from delusion; he knows a cramped mind to be cramped; he knows a distracted mind to be distracted; he knows a great mind to be great; he knows an inferior mind to be inferior; he knows a superior mind to be superior; he knows a nonsuperior mind to be nonsuperior; he knows an uncontrolled mind to be uncontrolled; he knows a controlled mind to be controlled; he knows a fettered mind to be fettered; he knows an unfettered mind to be unfettered.

A person who has thus cultivated and made the most of the four bases of wonderworking power calls to mind his various past births: one birth, two births, three births, four births, five births, ten births, twenty births, thirty births, forty births, fifty births, a hundred births, a thousand births, a hundred thousand births. He also calls to mind the various periods when the universe formed, when it dissolved, when it formed and dissolved. He knows: "Then I was at that place, then I was of that name, then I was of that clan [*gotta*], then I was of that caste [*vaṇṇa*], then I ate that food, then I experienced that pain or pleasure, then I met that death. Having died there, I was thus reborn at that place." In that way, in both form and name, he calls to mind his various past births.[52]

The idea that enlightenment is concomitant with a total recall of past existences is also found in the *Upaniṣads*: "Whoever among the *devas* realized that [I am Brahma], he became that. It is the same in the case of the seers, and the same in the case of human beings. Indeed, observing this, the seer Vāmadeva realized: "I was Manu, and I was the Sun." It is the same today. Those who thus know "I am Brahman" become this entire universe."[53] In Jainism, too, the awakened Jaina is able to "know and see all conditions of the world, of gods, men, and demons: whence they came, whither they go."[54]

The legends of the attainment of enlightenment seen in the Buddhist tradition reflect these earlier Indian traditions. "Pubbe" continues:

A *bhikkhu* who has thus cultivated and made the most of the four bases of wonderworking power sees with the *deva* eye, purified and tran-

> scending that of human beings, the deaths and births of living beings. He clearly knows whether they were base or noble, beautiful in features or ugly, given to good fortune or bad fortune, according to their actions. "These living beings practiced evil deeds, spoke evil words, and thought evil thoughts. They slandered the sages, they were of perverted views and acted according to those perverted views. After death and the destruction of their bodies they were reborn in evil places, in fallen places, in the hells. Other living beings practiced good deeds, spoke good words, and thought good thoughts. They did not slander the sages, they were of correct views and acted according to those correct views. After death and the destruction of their bodies they were reborn in good places, in the heavenly realm."

This passage speaks of Gotama's state of mind after he attained enlightenment. The sutra concludes:

> A *bhikkhu* who has thus cultivated and made the most of the four bases of wonderworking power, by destroying the pollution of the defilements, attains for himself in this existence the liberation of mind and the liberation through wisdom, free from all pollution, realizes it, and dwells within it.

"Maggo," another sutra, includes only the underlined portion of the passages quoted below. It begins as follows: "Before I attained enlightenment, while I was still unenlightened, when I was a bodhisatta, I thought to myself, "What is the practice, the way, to cultivate the wonderworking powers?" It concludes as follows: "The six wonderworking powers are to be thus broadly explained."[55]

We should also consider another version contained in the *Bhayabherava-sutta*, transmitted as the words spoken by the Buddha to a Brahmin:[56]

> I truly exerted myself and made firm endeavor. In mindfulness I was secure and undistracted. My body was tranquil and not agitated. My mind was concentrated and fixed on one point. Detached from desires and detached from all that is unwholesome, but with initial thought and discursive thought, I attained the first *jhāna*, which is full of the joy born of aloofness. [Next] I became tranquil and concentrated of mind, owing to the cessation of both initial thought and discursive thought, and attained the second *jhāna*, which is full of the joy born of concentration. [Next] because my joy was unstained, I dwelt in equanimity, mindfulness, and correct awareness, felt in my body joy and peace, and

> attained the third *jhāna*, described by the sages as "having equanimity, being mindful, and dwelling in joy and peace." [Next] because I discarded joy and discarded suffering, my former pleasures and sorrows ceased, and I attained the fourth *jhāna*, which has neither suffering nor joy, which is purified by equanimity and mindfulness.

The following passage, from the same sutra, has much in common with the sutras quoted previously. The shared portion is underlined.

> When in this manner my mind became composed, purified, clarified, without blemish, without defilement, grown soft and workable, fixed, and immovable, I called to mind knowledge of diverse past births: one birth, two births, three births, four births, five births, ten births, twenty births, thirty births, forty births, fifty births, a hundred births, a thousand births, a hundred thousand births. I also called to mind the various periods when the universe formed, when it dissolved, when it formed and dissolved. I knew: "Then I was at that place, then I was of that name, then I was of that clan, then I was of that caste, then I ate that food, then I experienced that pain or pleasure, then I met that death. Having died there, I was thus reborn at that place."

Likewise, he knew facts related to those rebirths.

> Thus I called to mind my various past births, their individual characteristics and details. This was the first knowledge gained in the first division of the night. Ignorance was dispelled and knowledge arose. Darkness was dispelled and light arose. This is how it should be for those who are ardent in their endeavor.
>
> When in this manner my mind became composed, purified, clarified, without blemish, without defilement, grown soft and workable, fixed, and immovable, I called to mind knowledge of the births and deaths of all living beings.
>
> I saw with the *deva* eye, purified and transcending that of human beings, the deaths and births of living beings. I clearly knew whether they were base or noble, beautiful in features or ugly, given to good fortune or bad fortune, according to their actions. "These living beings practiced evil deeds, spoke evil words, and thought evil thoughts. They slandered the sages, they were of perverted views and acted according to those perverted views. After death and the destruction of their bodies they were reborn in evil places, in fallen places, in the hells. Other living beings practiced good deeds, spoke good words, and thought

> good thoughts. They did not slander the sages, they were of correct views and acted according to those correct views. After death and the destruction of their bodies they were reborn in good places, in the heavenly realm. . . ."
>
> Brahmin, this was the second knowledge gained in the second division of the night. Ignorance was dispelled and knowledge arose. Darkness was dispelled and light arose. This is how it should be for those who are ardent in their endeavor.
>
> When in this manner my mind became composed, purified, clarified, without blemish, without defilement, grown soft and workable, fixed, and immovable, I called to mind knowledge to eliminate the pollutions. Then I truly knew that [all] is suffering.

This is followed by a description of the Four Noble Truths, which, because it does not appear in Chinese translation, must be a later addition.

> Knowing thus and seeing thus, my mind was liberated from the pollution of desire, my mind was liberated from the pollution of existence, my mind was liberated from the pollution of ignorance. In liberation came the knowledge "I am liberated!" and I comprehended: "Births are exhausted. Practice of purity is perfected. What should have been done has been done. Never again will I arrive at such a state of existence." Brahmin, this was the third knowledge gained in the last division of the night. Ignorance was dispelled and knowledge arose. Darkness was dispelled and light arose. This is how it should be for those who are ardent in their endeavor.

The underlined portions are the essence of the narrative; the other details, such as the three divisions of the night, are later literary flourishes. The lengthy passage says in essence that the Buddha attained the four *jhānas*, or concentrations, and thereby gained the power to discern the destinies of living beings. The idea that the human eye cannot observe the true nature of the divine and that it is necessary to possess a *deva* eye (*divyaṃ cakṣus*) can be found in the *Bhagavad Gītā* (XI, 8), the virtual "gospel" of Hinduism. Buddhism adopted a similar teaching.

The *Dvedhā-vitakka-sutta* says: "Before I was enlightened, *bhikkhus*, when I was unenlightened and a bodhisatta, I thought to myself: "Suppose I should abide within two varieties of thought." Therefore into one variety I put thoughts of desire, thoughts of anger, and thoughts of harm, and into the other I put thoughts of the renunucation of desire, thoughts of

nonanger, and thoughts of nonharm."[57] An explanation of each of these kinds of thoughts follows, after which Gotama describes his attainment of the four *jhānas* in words virtually identical to those of the *Bhayabherava-sutta*. A similar example is found in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*.[58] Since there is no mention of the four *jhānas* in the oldest verses, however, the *Bhayabherava-sutta* no doubt represents thought from the time when Buddhism was fairly developed.

Since these sutras discuss the nature of the enlightenment in a variety of ways, later South Asian Buddhism tended to deal with the subject eclectically. The *Jātaka* relates: "In the first division of the night he gained the wisdom to know his past existences; in the second division of the night he purified his *deva* eye; and in the last division of the night he gained the wisdom concerning dependent origination."[59]

In view of the various explanations given, it is difficult to explain briefly what enlightenment means. The Sanskrit word *bodhi*, translated as "enlightenment," means "awakening [to the Truth]" or "knowledge [of the Truth]," while other words, such as *saṃbodhi*, *saṃbodha*, *abhisaṃbodhi*, and *samyaksaṃbodhi*, mean "perfect and clear knowledge." The Chinese found the concept so hard to translate into their language that they often transliterated it as *p'u-ti* (菩提) and *san-miao san-p'u-ti* (三藐三菩提). Nevertheless, leaving it untranslated tended to hinder understanding. Therefore to translate *bodhi* they adopted *tao* (道), "way," taken from Lao-tzu, a usage that suggests the practicality of the Chinese. The term *tao* expresses that practice is inseparable from enlightenment in Buddhism.

The Significance of the Enlightenment in Intellectual History

According to the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, immediately after his enlightenment Gotama was hesitant to teach what he had come to understand.[60] The paragraph inserted at this point concerning the intervention of Brahmā, urging him to teach the Dhamma, cannot be found in the equivalent Chinese translation[61] and is therefore a later interpolation. The inconsistency of this section in comparison with the rest of the *sutta* is apparent in that it speaks of the difficulties of understanding "the law of dependent origination," whereas earlier the *sutta* discussed the nature of the enlightenment not in these terms but rather as "the supreme tranquillity of the

unaging, the undecaying, the undying, the unsorrowing, and the stainless." This is further proof that the section was added at a later date.

We have seen that the sutras contain widely divergent accounts of the nature of the enlightenment. Which of them is true? Was Gotama's enlightenment so unclear, so vague, that the compilers of the sutras transmitted mistaken versions, or were the Buddhist teachings themselves not yet firmly established? Clearly, the latter is the case. The fact that Gotama's enlightenment, the starting point of Buddhism, was transmitted in a number of different ways illustrates some important characteristics of Buddhism.

First, Buddhism does not have any fixed doctrine. Gotama did not want to teach the content of his enlightenment in any prescribed form, preferring to preach differently according to the occasion and the nature of his audience. This explains why people, comprehending the teachings in their own way, transmitted them differently.

Second, to say that Buddhism does not possess any fixed doctrine is not to say that it has no philosophy. Despite the fact that the content of the enlightenment has been passed down to us in a variety of forms, those forms all lead back eventually to one point. Buddhism attempts to bring people to a state of spiritual serenity by having them see themselves as they actually are, not by forcing them to maintain an established creed and dogma, and by enabling them to experience the Dhamma in terms of practical existence. The four *jhānas* in the passage quoted earlier reach the same conclusion. Such explanations may seem verbose to the modern reader, but they are valuable in a historical sense in that they portray the attempts of early Buddhists to show human beings as they are, free of preconceptions.

Third, the Dhamma is not fixed and unchanging but has evolved through people who have actually lived. Early Buddhism implicitly acknowledged this by permitting the teachings to change and grow. This is the standpoint of a practical philosophy, one that allows unlimited intellectual development. That is why such a diversity of thought developed within Buddhism in later periods. When we consider intellectual history, we see that religions have often hindered progress; this, however, is not an attitude inherent in the Buddhist outlook. It is thanks to the flexibility of early Buddhism that in Buddhist countries there is no conflict between religion and rationalism or between religion and science.

Following his enlightenment, Gotama came to the conclusion that the Dhamma held the highest authority. This is described as a revelation to

him from Brahmā: "Thus have I heard. The Venerable Master was once staying at Uruvelā, on the banks of the Nerañjarā River, beneath the *ajapāla* tree. He had just attained enlightenment."[62]

The equivalent passage in Chinese translation says "under the *bodhi* tree" and makes no mention of the *ajapāla* tree.

> At that time the Venerable Master was meditating alone, and there arose in his mind the thought: "It is bitter to live, neither paying respect nor giving obedience to anyone.[63] What kind of *samaṇa*, what kind of Brahmin, should I live under, paying him respect and giving him obedience?"
>
> Then the Venerable Master thought: "If I had not yet perfected the moral code, I should, in order to perfect it, pay respect, give obedience to, and live under a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin.[64] But I do not see in any of the worlds of *devas*, Māras, or Brahmās any being, whether *samaṇa*, Brahmin, *deva*, or human, to whom I should pay respect and give obedience, and whom I should live under, for there are no *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are more accomplished in the moral code than I am.
>
> "If I had not yet perfected meditation, I should, in order to perfect it, pay respect, give obedience to, and live under a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin. . . .
>
> "If I had not yet perfected insight, I should, in order to perfect it . . .
>
> "If I had not yet perfected liberation, I should, in order to perfect it . . .
>
> "If I had not yet perfected the wisdom and insight to ascertain my liberation, I should, in order to perfect it, pay respect, give obedience to, and live under a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin.[65] But I do not see in any of the worlds of *devas*, Māras, or Brahmās any being, whether *samaṇa*, Brahmin, *deva*, or human, to whom I should pay respect and give obedience, and whom I should live under, for there are no *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are more accomplished in the wisdom and insight to ascertain my liberation than I am.
>
> "I have been enlightened to this Dhamma. What if I were to pay respect, give obedience to, and live under the Dhamma?"[66]
>
> Just then Brahmā, the lord of the world, becoming aware of the thoughts of the Venerable Master, as a strong man stretches out a bent arm or bends an outstretched arm, vanished from the Brahmā world and appeared before the Venerable Master.[67]
>
> Brahmā, the lord of the world, draped his upper robe over his [left] shoulder, bowed toward the Venerable Master, the palms of his hands together, and said: "Even so, Venerable Master. Even so, Blessed One.

> Venerable One, in times past *arahants*, buddhas, and venerable masters have all paid respect, given obedience to, and lived under the Dhamma. Again, in times to come *arahants*, buddhas, and venerable masters will all pay respect, give obedience to, and live under the Dhamma. Now, in the present time, let the Arahant and Buddha, the Venerable Master, pay respect, give obedience to, and live under the Dhamma."[68]
>
> Having spoken thus, Brahmā, the lord of the world, said: "Those who were correctly enlightened in the past, those who will become buddhas in the future, and he who is correctly enlightened now, he who will rid living beings of their sorrows, all have paid respect, pay respect, and will pay respect to the True Dhamma [*saddhamma*]. This is the law [*dhammatā*] of all buddhas.[69] All those who would become as such, who would become great, should pay respect to the True Dhamma, remembering the teachings of the buddhas."[70]

When we remove the mythical components, we see that this passage expresses the importance of veneration of the Dhamma.

5. Teaching the Truth

According to the Pāli *Vinaya,* Gotama spent the first seven days after his enlightenment seated in meditation beneath the *bodhi* tree. He then spent seven days each under other trees experiencing the joys of liberation: under an *ajapāla* tree, known as the Goatherd's Banyan, where he spoke to a haughty Brahmin who happened to pass by; under a *mucalinda* (Skt., *mucilinda*) tree, where the *nāga* king, Mucalinda, took refuge in his teachings; and under a *rājāyatana* tree, where he received alms from two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, who were traveling from the village of Ukkala.[1] Saluting the Buddha respectfully, they stood to one side and spoke to him, saying, "Lord, may the Blessed One accept these barley cakes and honey dumplings for our sakes, that they may long bring merit and tranquillity to us." Watching as Gotama washed his bowl and his hands after eating, the merchants prostrated themselves in reverence and said: "Lord, we take refuge in the Blessed One and his teachings. Receive us, lord, as your lay followers. We take refuge in you from this day on as long as we shall live." As a result of reciting the twofold refuge (in the Buddha and in the Dhamma), they became the Buddha's first lay followers.

This description is based on the account in the *Vinaya,* minus mythical elements and repetitions.[2] Later biographies differ in the details and are considerably more elaborate.[3] The sections in the Pāli version that describe the teachings given in verse to the Brahmin and the *nāga* king do not appear elsewhere and are thought to be later insertions. Though the conversion of the *nāga* king is clearly legendary, the other episodes may be factual.

In contrast to most of the legends, the Chinese translation of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 6) and the Tibetan manuscript speak of the appearance of Brahmā, the meeting with the two merchants and their conversion, the appearance of Māra, and the tale of the *nāga* king, Mucalinda,[4] *before* mentioning the doctrine of dependent origination and the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination. How should we then consider the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra,* where the part describing dependent origination and the chain of dependent origination is missing? (In the edited version, the editor has reconstructed the missing section from the Chinese and Tibetan translations.)[5] The fact that some extant texts display that particular order is of great importance.

As far as the compilers of the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* and the Tibetan *Vinaya* were concerned, the contemplation of the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination was not essential to the formation of Buddhism. Examination of the relevant passages suggests that what *was* thought essential was that before the meeting with the two merchants Gotama had abandoned ascetic practices and then had contemplated the practice of the Middle Way, a life of quiet meditation, and the compassion arising from such meditation.

The Pāli *Nidānakathā* elaborates in great detail the outline given in the "Mahāvagga."

> Having sung the hymn of triumph, the Blessed One remained seated on the seat of triumph, thinking, "For countless eons I have undergone successive rebirths to attain this seat. During that time, for the sake of this seat, I have severed my adorned head and made an offering of it, I have ripped out my kohl-stained eyes and the flesh of my heart and made an offering of them. I have given away as servants for others sons such as Prince Jāli, daughters such as Princess Kaṇhajinā, and wives such as Queen Maddī. This seat of mine is the seat of victory, the highest seat. Sitting here, my contemplation has been perfected. I will not leave this place." He sat there for seven days, immersed in countless hundreds and thousands of meditations. Concerning this it is said: "At that time the Blessed One remained motionless in the enjoyment of his liberation."[6]

Gotama did depart from the *bodhi* tree, however, and to justify this the *Nidānakathā* created an elaborate legend. *Devas* appeared, who made him

see that he had to sever his attachment to the seat of enlightenment. Gotama pointed out to them their misunderstanding.

> Then some of the *devas* began to doubt, saying, "There is something more that Siddhattha [seated there like that] has to do this day. He has still not abandoned his attachment to the [diamond] seat." Knowing their thoughts and wanting to do away with their doubts, the Master rose into the air and performed the miracle of the pairs. Thus through his miracle having done away with the doubts of the *devas*, the Master stood a little to the northeast of his seat and thought: "It is true. On that seat I attained omniscient wisdom." He then spent seven days gazing unblinkingly at that seat, the place where he had gained the result of the [ten] perfections he had accomplished over countless eons. Thus that place came to be called "the shrine of the unblinking gaze."
>
> Next, in the space between the seat and the place where he had stood he made a promenade, and for seven days he walked up and down that jeweled promenade, which stretched from east to west. That place came to be called "the shrine of the jeweled promenade."
>
> In the fourth week the *devas* made a jeweled house for him northwest of the *bodhi* tree. There he sat cross-legged for seven days, thinking out item by item the Books of Commentary with their infinite methods and the origins of all things. That place came to be called "the shrine of the jeweled house."

It is interesting that even an enlightened person was thought to have attachments.

> Having thus spent four weeks near the *bodhi* tree alone, in the fifth week he went away from the *bodhi* tree to the place of the *ajapāla* tree. There he contemplated the truth and remained in the enjoyment of his liberation.

We may doubt that Gotama went from tree to tree after his enlightenment, but such doubts dissolve if we interpret this as his abandoning attachment to particular trees.[7] Indians are very fond of trees, even naming them individually, in much the same way that people elsewhere name pet cats or dogs. This custom is seen in the works of the Indian dramatist and Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa (fourth or fifth century C.E.).

At Uruvelā

BENEATH THE *AJAPĀLA* TREE

Many biographies say that seven days after he attained enlightenment, Gotama left the *bodhi* tree and spent the second week in meditation under the *ajapāla* tree. Let us compare similar passages in the *Udāna* and the *Vinaya*, using the same methodology as in chapter 4.[8]

UDĀNA

On a certain occasion, the Blessed One was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā River, underneath the *ajapāla* tree. He had just attained enlightenment. At that time the Blessed One sat cross-legged for seven days, experiencing the joys of liberation. Then, when seven days had passed, he emerged from his meditation.

VINAYA

Then the Blessed One, after seven days had passed, arose from his meditation and set out from the *bodhi* tree for the *ajapāla* tree. He sat cross-legged beneath the *ajapāla* tree for seven days, experiencing the joys of liberation.

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At that time a certain Brahmin of a haughty disposition came to where the Blessed One was and, exchanging greetings with the Blessed One and uttering courtesies and politenesses, stood to one side. Then the Brahmin said to the Blessed One: "By what, Gotama, does one become a Brahmin? Again, what is the measure of a Brahmin?" Then the Blessed One, understanding the meaning of it, recited the following verse of uplift: "A Brahmin who has removed all evil, who is not proud, who is free from impurity and self-restrained, who has reached the ultimate stage of the *Vedas*, and who has undertaken the practice of purity, that man is a [true] Brahmin, who speaks pure words in accordance with the Dhamma. He has no blemishes anywhere in the world."

The Brahmin had probably asked his question with a certain amount of scorn, seeking to ridicule Gotama, who was not a Brahmin. Gotama replied by expounding the moral character of one who deserves to be called a Brahmin, whether one by birth or not.

The ancient section of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* called "Sattavassāni" (Seven Years), which deals with Sakyamuni's seven years of ascetic practices, says that it was at the *ajapāla* tree that he subdued Māra and determined to preach his teachings to others.[9] The three daughters of Māra (*māradhītaro*), Taṇhā, Arati, and Rāga, were likewise unable to tempt him. Those stories were based on the tale in the *Suttanipāta* (verses 446–48) and were expanded and developed. Therefore the stories of the events beneath the various trees were probably later additions and are not reliable. (The sutra in Chinese translation containing the equivalent of the preceding passages from the *Udāna* and the *Vinaya* has only "On a certain occasion the Buddha was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā River, underneath the *bodhi* tree. He had just attained enlightenment."[10] Others say he was staying "on Vulture Peak near Rājagṛha.")[11] Since the *Vinaya* account is later than the others, it is less reliable.

BENEATH THE *MUCALINDA* TREE

The Pāli *Vinaya* then says that Gotama departed from the *ajapāla* tree after another seven days and spent the third week under the *mucalinda* tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*) deep in meditation.[12] We will again study two versions and their similarities and differences.[13] (Sections identical with the text in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* are underlined.)

UDĀNA

On a certain occasion, the Blessed One was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā River, underneath the *mucalinda* tree. He had just attained enlightenment. Then the Blessed One

VINAYA

Then the Blessed One, after seven days had passed, arose from his meditation and set out from the *ajapāla* tree <u>for the *mucalinda* tree</u>.[14] Beneath the *mucalinda* tree

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

for seven days [he] <u>sat cross-legged</u>, experiencing the joys of liberation. <u>Before long, however, a great storm arose out of season and for seven days it rained without cease and</u> a cold wind <u>blew</u>. <u>At that time Mucilinda, the *nāga* king, emerged from his abode and wrapped himself seven times around the body of the Blessed One, and extended his</u>

great hood over the Blessed One's head, thinking, "May cold not touch the Blessed One. May heat not touch the Blessed One. May horseflies, mosquitoes, wind, heat, and reptiles not touch the Blessed One."

UDĀNA

Then after seven days had passed, the Blessed One emerged from his meditation. Then Mucalinda, the *nāga* king,

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And Mucalinda, the *nāga* king, after seven days had passed,

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seeing that the sky was clear and cloudless, released the Blessed One from his wrapped coils and, hiding his own form, appeared in the form of a youth, venerating the Blessed One with the palms of his hands together and standing before him. Then the Blessed One, understanding the meaning of it, recited the following verse of uplift: "His solitude is happy, he who is content, who has heard the teachings, who has seen the Truth. Happy is freedom from malice toward others and self-restraint toward all living beings. Happy it is to be rid of all greed toward the world and to transcend all desires. The greatest happiness is control of the pride that comes of the thought 'I am!'"

The description in the *Nidānakathā* is simpler: "The Blessed One, when he had spent another seven days there, went to the place of the *mucalinda* tree. There for seven days Mucilinda, the *nāga* king, shielded him from the cold generated by a storm by coiling himself seven times around him. As a result, [Gotama] was as protected as if he had been in his own chamber and remained there seven days enjoying his liberation."[15]

Nāga worship was prevalent in Gotama's time. This episode represents a transformation of the snake cult widespread among the indigenous inhabitants. There is no mention of such a cult in the *Ṛg Veda,* but the idea of the *nāga* is clearly evident in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the sutras. People of the time sometimes represented the semidivine *nāga* as a snake and sometimes as a deity. The abode of the *nāga* was called the *nāgabhavana,* considered a place particularly suited to snakes, such as rivers, the sea, hollows in old trees, wells, and the foothills of the Himalayas.[16] *nāga* Mucilinda, too, is believed to have emerged from such a *nāgabhavana.*

The historical significance of this episode, if any, is not clear. Perhaps large snakes did approach Gotama at times and the legend grew out of such events. The episode is mentioned in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, the Tibetan *Vinaya*, and the Chinese *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* as occurring prior to Gotama's attainment of enlightenment through contemplation of dependent origination.

BENEATH THE *RĀJĀYATANA* TREE

After a further seven days, making it the fourth week, Gotama finally went to the *rājāyatana* tree (*Buchanania latifolia*) and there delighted in his liberation. The *Nidānakathā* relates:

> After that he went to the *rājāyatana* tree and sat there [for seven days] experiencing the joys of liberation. A full seven weeks had passed. During that time he fed on the joy of meditation, on the joy of the Way [to enlightenment], and on the joy of the result, and neither rinsed his mouth, relieved himself, nor took food.
>
> At the end of the seven weeks, on the forty-ninth day, as he sat there, he felt that he wanted to rinse his mouth. Sakka, the ruler of the *devas,* brought [the fruit] of the medicinal *harīṭaka* tree and gave it to him. The Master ate it and evacuated his bowels. Then Sakka gave him a toothpick made of snake creeper and water to rinse his mouth. The Master used the toothpick, rinsed his mouth with water from Anotatta pond, and remained sitting at the foot of the *rājāyatana* tree.[17]

The Pāli *Vinaya* relates that it was here that Gotama received offerings from the two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika. (The former is sometimes called Tapassu.)[18] This is thought to represent the oldest form of the legend. I quote it here; sections identical with the text in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* are underlined.

> Then the Blessed One, at the end of seven days, arose from his meditation and went from the *mucalinda* tree to the *rājāyatana* tree.[19] At the foot of the *rājāyatana* tree he sat cross-legged for seven days, experiencing the joys of liberation.
>
> At that time two merchants named Tapussa and Bhallika were walking along the road from Ukkala [village] to that place. Then a deity, who [in a former life] had been a blood relative of the two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika, announced to those two mechants: "My

> good fellows, here at the foot of the *rājāyatana* tree is the Blessed One, having just attained enlightenment. Go and offer the Blessed One barley cakes and honey dumplings.[20] Long will they bring merit and tranquillity to you." Then the two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika brought barley cakes and honey dumplings and went to where the Blessed One was. Greeting the Blessed One, they stood to one side. The two merchants, standing to one side, said to the Blessed One: "Lord, may the Blessed One accept these barley cakes and honey dumplings for our sakes, that they may long bring merit and tranquillity to us."
>
> Then the Blessed One thought: "Those who have perfected their religious training do not accept [food] with their hands.[21] With what then should I accept the barley cakes and honey dumplings?" Just then the four great heavenly kings, knowing what was in the Blessed One's mind, offered to the Blessed One four stone bowls from the four quarters, saying, "Lord, may the Blessed One accept the barley cakes and honey dumplings in these." The Blessed One accepted the new stone bowls, received the barley cakes and honey dumplings, and ate.

Ascetics of the time, leading an animal-like existence, were probably content to receive food with their hands, but Buddhist *bhikkhus* instituted the use of a bowl. The legend just quoted reflects the origins of that custom.

> Then Tapussa and Bhallika, the two merchants, seeing that the Blessed One had finished his meal and washed his bowls and hands, bowed down at the feet of the Blessed One and said: "Lord, we take refuge in the Blessed One and his teachings.[22] Receive us, lord, as your lay followers [*upāsaka*]. We take refuge in you from this day on as long as we shall live." They were the first in the world to become lay followers of the Buddha, reciting the twofold refuge."

The conversion of the two merchants can probably be considered a historical event. It is recorded in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* as well: "*Bhikkhus!* Chief among my lay followers are the merchants Tapassu and Bhallika, who first took refuge."[23]

Compared to the fairly factual account of the early scriptures, the later *Nidānakathā* includes a large amount of myth and legend:

> At that time the two merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka were on their way from Ukkalā to the central region with five hundred carts when a

deva, a relative of theirs, stopped their carts and urged them to prepare food for the Master. Therefore they took barley cakes and honey dumplings and approached the Master, saying, "Venerable Master, may the Blessed One accept this food." The Blessed One, his bowl having disappeared the day he accepted the milk porridge, thought: "The *tathāgatas* do not take [food] with their hands. How then should I take it? Then the four great heavenly kings, knowing his thought, came from the four quarters and offered him four bowls made of *indanīra* [a green jewel], but the Blessed One refused to accept them. Then they offered him four bowls made of the [green] colored stone of the *mugga* bean, and the Blessed One accepted the four bowls out of compassion for the four deities. Placing them one on top of another, he commanded: "Let them become one!" The four became one [bowl] of medium size, [their original form] visible only as lines around the rim. The Blessed One received the food offered him in this new stone bowl and ate it, expressing his thanks. The two brothers took refuge in the Buddha and his teachings, becoming lay followers, having recited the twofold refuge. Then they begged him: "Lord, please give us something that we might honor." With his right hand, [the Buddha] took from his own head hairs that he gave them in commemoration. In their own city they built a *dāgoba* [shrine] and enshrined the hairs within.[24]

When ascetics sit in meditation beneath trees, ordinary people revere them and offer them food. They do not necessarily exchange speech. Therefore even ascetics who cannot speak the local dialect or, as today, religious practitioners from China or Tibet who cannot communicate at all, can travel the length and breadth of India receiving offerings of food and drink from the people.

That Gotama washed his bowl and hands after eating the food given him by the merchants is factual. This custom still exists among *bhikkhus* in India and Southeast Asia. Since Indians eat with their hands rather than utensils, they are very careful to wash their hands after eating. There is no way of knowing whether the merchants really uttered the twofold refuge, though this form of statement is thought to be very old. Most scholars believe that in those days people took refuge in the Buddha and his teachings alone, since the Saṅgha did not yet exist. All the same, ancient texts, such as the *Suttanipāta*, maintain that even after the Saṅgha was founded, it was not customary to take refuge in it, and the twofold refuge remained the expression of commitment to Buddhism. It was some time later that

the refuge in the Three Treasures came into use.[25] In some cases refuge in the Buddha alone was stressed: "Those who take refuge in the Buddha will not proceed to the evil realms [after death]."[26]

On what then did Gotama rely? He had categorically denied the authority of the *Vedas*. To depend on nothing, to honor and respect nothing, though, is to be isolated. One becomes anxious and feels helpless. Therefore the Buddha, after mature deliberation, realized: "What I must depend upon is the Dhamma." This process is apparent in the section of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* titled "Holding in Reverence," which I discuss later. Of the Three Treasures, the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha, the Dhamma is the fundamental one.

Expressions of faith in an object of veneration appear in writings from the time of the *Ṛg Veda*. There the water deity Sarasvatī is addressed in the following way: "We would approach [your] haven [*upa stheyāma śaraṇam*] as if [entering] the shade of a tree" (VII, 95, 5). With a slight alteration, the verb used is the same as in the Buddhist declaration "I go to the Buddha for refuge" (*Buddhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi*).

The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, the Tibetan *Vinaya*, and the Chinese translation of the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, state that the above event occurred prior to the enlightenment. The *Wu-fen-lü* also records that female followers made an appearance:

> The Buddha . . . arrived in the village of Sena in Uruvelā, intending to enter the village and seek alms. He went from house to house and came to the house of the Brahmin Senānī, where he stood silently outside the gate. His daughter, Sujātā, recognizing the Buddha's great excellence and majesty, went out and took his bowl and piled it high with fine food. This she offered to the Blessed One. When the Buddha had taken the food, he said to her: "You should take refuge in the Buddha and the Dharma." And so [she] took the twofold refuge. Of women, Sujātā was the first to accept the twofold refuge and become a lay follower [*upāsikā*].
>
> When the Buddha had finished eating, he returned to the *bodhi* tree and spent seven days seated cross-legged in *samādhi*, revelling in the delights of liberation. At the end of those seven days he arose from his *samādhi*, put on his robe and took up his bowl, and returned to that house. Senā offered him food and took the twofold refuge . . . in the same way as related above. Later the Buddha returned to that house, where [Senā's] wife saw him and offered him food and took the

twofold refuge . . . in the same way as related above. The Buddha later returned again to that house, where the four sisters saw him, offered him food, and took the twofold refuge . . . in the same way as related above. When the Buddha had finished eating, he returned to the *bodhi* tree and spent seven days seated in *samādhi*. He arose and went in the direction of the *ajapāla* tree. On the way he saw a woman churning whey to make cheese. When he sought alms, the woman took his bowl and filled it full of whey and offered it to him, and she [also] took the twofold refuge . . . in the same way as related above.[27]

This is related as happening after the enlightenment. The *Ssu-fen-lü* records it as occurring after the enlightenment and before the meeting with Mucilinda.[28]

It is extremely significant that lay followers appeared to Gotama before he accepted ordained disciples. Even without a single disciple, a religious practitioner could lead a religious life. But without lay followers he could not survive, for he had separated himself from all means of support. Such links of dependence on society are shown clearly in the legends of the lay followers' refuge in the Buddha.

Until then Gotama had spent his time delighting in the joys of his enlightenment. Later scholars called this state the "*samādhi* of self-enjoyment in the delights of enlightenment."

HESITATION TO TEACH AND BRAHMĀ'S ENCOURAGEMENT

According to the *Vinaya*, after seven days Gotama left the *rājāyatana* tree and returned to the *ajapāla* tree, where he entered into meditation. Further, according to the *Vinaya* and the sutras, soon after his enlightenment Gotama hesitated to teach his realization to others and decided to do so at Brahmā's urging.[29] The prose description of this event in the *Vinaya* is clearly a later addition, but the verse section is considerably older. The underlined portions of the passages quoted below appear in both the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* and the Tibetan *Vinaya*.[30] The equivalent section in the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* is virtually identical.[31]

Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Āyācanaṃ[32]

At that time the Venerable Master was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā River at the foot of the *ajapāla* tree, having just attained enlightenment.[33]

VINAYA, "MAHĀVAGGA," I, 5, 1–13

Then after seven days the Blessed One arose from his meditation and went from the foot of the *rājāyatana* tree to the *ajapāla* tree. He was at the foot of the *ajapāla* tree.

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At that time the Venerable Master was meditating alone, and there arose in his mind the thought, "I have penetrated this Truth, which is profound, difficult to perceive, difficult to understand, peaceful, sublime, beyond reasoning, subtle, intelligible only to the wise.[34] The people of the world, however, are given to attachment, are sunk in their attachment, delight in attachment.[35] To such people who are given to attachment, who are sunk in their attachment, and who delight in attachment, that that exists because of this, that is, the doctrine of dependent origination, is difficult to perceive.[36] Also difficult for them to perceive is the doctrine of the quietening of the activities of form, the renunciation of all attachments, the destruction of craving and the renunciation of greed, extinction, and *nibbāna*.[37] Even were I to teach the Dhamma, others might not understand, and this would be a weariness and an unhappiness to me."

Then there arose in the mind of the Venerable Master wonderful verses never heard before.[38]

"That enlightenment which I have attained through many
hardships
Should I now teach to others?[39]
Those who hold fast to greed and hatred
Cannot easily understand this Truth.[40]
Against the common stream,
Subtle, profound, fine, and difficult to perceive,
It cannot be seen[41] by those
Who are lost in desire, cloaked in darkness."[42]

While the Venerable Master was thus pondering, his heart was inclined to do nothing and he had no thought of teaching the Dhamma.[43]

A reluctance to teach others is the attitude of most hermits and ascetics. Gotama, though, was impelled to lay aside that habit. The compulsion to teach has been explained in terms of the encouragement of Brahmā, regarded by people then as the greatest of the deities. That this deity was

brought into the legend may also display a wish to assert Buddhism's authority.

> Just then Brahmā, the lord of the world, becoming aware of the thoughts of the Venerable Master, thought: "Alas, the world will perish. Alas, the world will be destroyed, for in the heart of him who has perfected his practice, of the one worthy of veneration, of the truly enlightened one there is an inclination to do nothing and there is no thought of teaching the Dhamma." Then Brahmā, the lord of the world, as a strong man stretches out a bent arm or bends an outstretched arm, vanished from the Brahmā world and appeared before the Blessed One.
>
> Brahmā, the lord of the world, draped his upper robe over his [left] shoulder and, bending his right knee to the ground, bowed toward the Venerable Master, the palms of his hands together, and said: "Venerable One, let the Venerable Master teach the Dhamma, let the Blessed One teach the Dhamma. There are in this world those who from birth have few defilements. If they do not hear the Dhamma, they will fall into adverse realms. [If they hear it] they will attain realization of the Truth."
>
> Having thus spoken, Brahmā, the lord of the world, said:
>
> "In the past an impure teaching appeared in Magadha, taught by defiled people.[44]
> Throw open the gateway to deathlessness, I implore you,[45]
> And let them hear the Dhamma realized by him who is free from impurity.[46]
> As a man standing on a crag at a mountaintop can look down on the people all around,
> Climb, you whose eyes see in every direction, the high towers of Truth,
> And bend your gaze, you who have freed yourself from suffering,
> On those oppressed by birth and old age and lost in suffering."[47]

The Buddha thus experienced a turning point in his ideas, away from spiritual peace on a personal level toward the action of liberating other living beings.

Vinaya

"Arise, hero, conqueror, head of the caravan, you who are free from

debt, and go and walk the world.[48] Teach the Dhamma, Blessed One. There will be people who will attain [the Truth]."[49]

When Brahmā, the lord of the world, had thus spoken, the Blessed One addressed him: "The following thought, Brahmā, has occurred to me: 'I have penetrated this Truth, which is profound, difficult to perceive, difficult to understand, peaceful, sublime, beyond reasoning, subtle, intelligible only to the wise . . . a weariness and an unhappiness to me.' And, Brahmā, there arose in my mind wonderful verses never heard before: '. . . It cannot be seen by those who are lost in desire, cloaked in darkness.' When, Brahmā, I pondered in this way, my heart was inclined to do nothing and I had no thought of teaching the Dhamma."

A second time Brahmā, the lord of the world, said: "Venerable One, let the Venerable Master teach the Dhamma. . . . They will attain realization of the Truth." A second time the Blessed One said to Brahmā, the lord of the world: "The following thought, Brahmā, has occurred to me: 'I have penetrated this Truth, which is profound, . . . my heart was inclined to do nothing and I had no thought of teaching the Dhamma." A third time Brahmā, the lord of the world, said: "Venerable One, let the Venerable Master teach the Dhamma. . . . They will attain realization of the Truth."

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Then <u>the Venerable Master</u>, understanding Brahmā's entreaty, <u>looked out with the eye of an enlightened one over all the world</u>, full of compassion for all living beings.[50] Having bent his gaze on the world with the eye of an enlightened one, the Venerable Master saw <u>in the world those who were scarcely defiled</u> and those who were greatly defiled; <u>those who were of sharp spiritual disposition and those who were of blunt spiritual disposition</u>; those beautiful in form and those ugly in form; and <u>those easy to teach and those difficult to teach</u>; some of whom lived knowing fear of future existences and sin.[51] As in a pond of blue lotuses, red lotuses, or white lotuses some blue lotuses, red lotuses, or white lotuses sprout in the water, grow in the water, and do not emerge from the water's surface but thrive under the water; some blue lotuses, red lotuses, or white lotuses sprout in the water, grow in the water, and reach the water's surface; and some blue lotuses, red lotuses, or white lotuses sprout in the water, grow in the water, and emerge from the

water's surface and are not soiled by the water; in the same way the Venerable Master, having bent his gaze on the world with the eye of an enlightened one, saw in the world those who were scarcely defiled and those who were greatly defiled; those who were of sharp spiritual disposition and those who were of blunt spiritual disposition; those beautiful in form and those ugly in form; and those easy to teach and those difficult to teach; some of whom lived knowing fear of future existences and sin. When he had thus seen them, he addressed Brahmā, the lord of the world, in verse:

"The gateway of ambrosia [deathlessness] is thrown open for
those who have ears to hear.[52]
Let [them] abandon their [other] faiths.[53]
Foreseeing hurt, Brahmā, I have not taught people
The exquisite and excellent Truth."[54]

Then Brahmā, the lord of the world, thinking, "I have created the opportunity for the teachings to be taught by the Blessed One," bowed to the Venerable Master and passing round him by the right, vanished from that place.[55]

In this legend the main point is not the Buddha's hesitation. If it were, anybody, not specifically Brahmā, would suffice to encourage him to teach. That it was Brahmā, the highest deity in the Indian pantheon, who encouraged the Buddha gave authority to his decision to preach. Unlike in many other other world religions, the Buddha was not ordered by a supreme deity. Nothing existed that could issue commands to the Buddha, a perfected human being. The decision had to be his own. The dialogue suggests that Gotama hesitated over whether he should teach but realized that his enlightenment would not be perfected unless he taught it. In other words, an enlightenment isolated from people, abstract and floating in limbo, is meaningless.

It is clear, though, from the dialogue with Brahmā that early Buddhists had no awareness that Buddhism should be considered a world religion. Brahmā lamented the present situation, saying, "In the past an impure teaching appeared in Magadha, taught by defiled people." This "impure teaching" (*dhammo asuddho*) was probably ancient Brahmanic ritual and the ascetic practices popular at the time. The words "Throw open the gateway to deathlessness, I implore you, and let them hear the Dhamma realized by him who is free from impurity" were directly aimed at a spirit-

ual revolution in Magadha. Buddhism did not support differentiation and discrimination among countries or peoples, however, and so eventually became a world religion.

This legend is predicated on the conviction that though the truth the Buddha realized is profound, it must be taught. True religious training is not manifested in a person removed from human society but in contacts with others and in social relationships. This is expressed in archaic, mythic terms, but it stands up to rigorous logical analysis. Later Buddhists looked on Gotama's enlightenment as intended to benefit others: "Surely it was for the benefit of those *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs* who saw that it is destined [to attain the supreme stage] that the sage [*muni;* the Buddha] attained enlightenment."[56] The Buddha also taught the Four Noble Truths out of compassion for living beings.[57]

In what is probably an older text than those previously quoted, the leading role is reversed; Māra tries to prevent the Buddha from thinking about teaching, and it is the Buddha who declares himself ready to teach.[58] In another tradition Māra attempts to stop him from teaching and recommends he enter nirvana.[59] This is transmitted as a recollection by the Buddha in his later years to Ānanda:

> On a certain occasion, I was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā River, underneath the *ajapāla* tree. At that time Māra, the Evil One, approached me, and having approached stood to one side and said: "Venerable One, may the Venerable Master now attain final *nibbāna.* May the Blessed One now attain final *nibbāna.* Now is the time for the Venerable Master's final *nibbāna.*" When he had thus spoken, I said to Māra, the Evil One: "Evil One, I will not enter final *nibbāna* until the *bhikkhus* who are my disciples are set on their course, trained, experienced, learned, protectors of the teachings, practitioners of the teachings, and will pass on what they have heard from their teacher, expound it, teach it, establish it, elucidate it, explain it, analyze it, make it clear, and until they are able in accordance with the Dhamma to refute what should be refuted, however much they are reproached by others, and explain the teachings by means of wondrous powers. [The same is then repeated for *bhikkhunīs,* male lay followers, and female lay followers.] Evil One, I will not enter final *nibbāna* until this pure practice of mine is flourishing, is grown, is widespread, and is known by many, widely practiced, and proclaimed to many people."

In this pronouncement from his later years, Gotama has achieved his purpose and is ready to follow Māra's urging and enter nirvana. If we look for the historical basis for this episode, we can perhaps say that Gotama felt a conflict between his preference for the secluded life of a solitary religious practitioner and his inclination to teach for the sake of others. Eventually the inclination to teach won out. This legend tells us two things. First, even an enlightened person can suffer delusions. Even after enlightenment a person is constantly faced with the need to make decisions. Second, some kind of incident necessitating a decision occurred before the Buddha started to teach.

According to other traditions Gotama was already thinking about social and ethical questions. An example in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* titled "Holding in Reverence" relates such an episode:[60]

> Thus have I heard. The Venerable Master was once staying at Uruvelā, on the banks of the Nerañjara River, beneath the *ajapāla* tree. He had just attained enlightenment.[61] At that time the Venerable Master was meditating alone, and there arose in his mind the thought: "It is bitter to live, neither paying respect nor giving obedience to anyone. What kind of *samaṇa*, what kind of Brahmin, should I live under, paying him respect and giving him obedience?"

The enlightened Gotama was uneasy, lonely, and confused. This is an important point: even an enlightened person can be confused. In other words, enlightenment can exist within confusion (delusion).

> Then the Venerable Master thought: "If I had not yet perfected the moral code, I should, in order to perfect it, pay respect, give obedience to, and live under a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin. But I do not see in any of the worlds of *devas*, Māras, or Brahmās any being, whether *samaṇa*, Brahmin, *deva*, or human, to whom I should pay respect and give obedience, and whom I should live under, for there are no *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are more accomplished in the moral code than I am.
>
> "If I had not yet perfected meditation, I should, in order to perfect it, pay respect, give obedience to, and live under a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin. . . .
>
> "If I had not yet perfected insight, I should, in order to perfect it . . .
>
> "If I had not yet perfected liberation, I should, in order to perfect it . . .
>
> "If I had not yet perfected the wisdom and insight to ascertain my

liberation, I should, in order to perfect it, pay respect, give obedience to, and live under a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin. But I do not see in any of the worlds of *devas,* Māras, or Brahmās any being, whether *samaṇa,* Brahmin, *deva,* or human, to whom I should pay respect and give obedience, and whom I should live under, for there are no *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are more accomplished in the wisdom and insight to ascertain my liberation than I am.

"I have been enlightened to this Dhamma. What if I were to pay respect, give obedience to, and live under the Dhamma?"

Just then Brahmā, the lord of the world, becoming aware of the thoughts of the Venerable Master, as a strong man stretches out a bent arm or bends an outstretched arm, vanished from the Brahmā world and appeared before the Venerable Master.

Brahmā, the lord of the world, draped his upper robe over his [left] shoulder, bowed toward the Venerable Master, the palms of his hands together, and said: "Even so, Venerable Master. Even so, Blessed One. Venerable One, in times past *arahants,* buddhas, and venerable masters have all paid respect, given obedience to, and lived under the Dhamma. Again, in times to come *arahants,* buddhas, and venerable masters will all pay respect, give obedience to, and live under the Dhamma. Now, in the present time, let the Arahant and Buddha, the Venerable Master, pay respect, give obedience to, and live under the Dhamma."

Having spoken thus, Brahmā, the lord of the world, said: "Those who were correctly enlightened in the past, those who will become buddhas in the future, and he who is correctly enlightened now, he who will rid living beings of their sorrows, all have paid respect, pay respect, or will pay respect to the True Dhamma. This is the law of all buddhas. All those who would become as such, who would become great, pay respect to the True Dhamma, remembering the teachings of the buddhas."[62]

Thus from the time Gotama attained enlightenment and dwelt in the joy of his meditation, he was never a hermit.

The *Nidānakathā* relates the same episode briefly:

Then the Perfectly Enlightened One rose up from there and returned to the *ajapāla* tree and sat down at its foot. As soon as he had sat down, reflecting on the profundity of the Truth he had attained, there arose in his mind, as had arisen in the minds of all the buddhas before when they had realized they had attained the Truth, [the thought] that he

> did not wish to teach for the sake of others. Then Brahmā, the lord of the world, thought: "Alas, the world is lost, the world is lost," and went to where the Master was, taking with him Sakka, Suyāma, Santusita, Sunimmita, [Paranimmita-]vasavattī, and Mahābrahmā in ten thousand great world systems. He urged [the Buddha] in such ways as these to preach: "Venerable Master, let the Blessed One teach! Venerable Master, let the Blessed One teach!"
>
> The Master granted his request.[63]

Brahmā's lament for the future of the world may reflect Gotama's own acute feelings. Even today, we are inclined to look at the condition of society and feel that the end of the world must be near. Gotama, his body weakened from his ascetic practices, was susceptible to hallucinations, and perhaps he personified his concern as Brahmā's voice. In India at that time it was rare for religious teachers to instruct the people at large. Philosophers in the *Upaniṣads* are depicted as teaching only a limited group of students: their own children or perhaps people with high qualifications.[64] It was Gotama who broke down such customary restrictions on teaching; to do so, however, required resolution and courage, which he may have gained by means of such psychological phenomena as quelling Māra and hearing Brahmā's encouragement.

It is said that these incidents, recounted in the *Vinaya,* occurred within the first five weeks of the enlightenment. It is an open question whether Gotama actually moved physically from place to place during that time and whether the events occurred at all. I have used the *Vinaya* account because it is easy to understand.

The Meeting with Upaka of the Ājīvika Sect

Gotama did not set out immediately to teach all people. First he had to approach the close companions he could trust and win their approval. The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* detailed his actions at that time as recollections he shared with the *bhikkhus*.[65] The underlining indicates wording virtually identical to that in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra.*

> <u>At that time it occurred</u> to me: "<u>To whom should I first teach the Dhamma?</u> Who will speedily understand this teaching?" <u>Then it occurred</u> to me, *bhikkhus:* "In truth this Āḷāra Kālāma is intelligent, experienced, and wise, and he has long been free from the defilements. <u>I will</u>

> teach the Dhamma first to Āḷāra Kālāma. He will speedily understand this teaching."

Gotama first thought of people with whom he had had contacts in the past to be the initial recipients of his enlightenment. Āḷāra Kālāma and the next person to be mentioned, Uddaka Rāmaputta, had been Gotama's teachers.[66]

> Then a certain deity approached me and said: "Sage, seven days have passed since Āḷāra Kālāma died." And so knowledge and insight arose within me that seven days had passed since Āḷāra Kālāma died. And then it occurred to me: "Truly Āḷāra Kālāma was a person of innate greatness. If he had heard this Dhamma, he would speedily have understood it."
>
> At that time it again occurred to me, *bhikkhus:* "To whom should I first teach the Dhamma? Who will speedily understand this teaching?" Then it occurred to me, *bhikkhus:* "In truth this Uddaka Rāmaputta is intelligent, experienced, and wise, and he has long been free from the defilements. I will teach the Dhamma first to Uddaka Rāmaputta. He will speedily understand this teaching."
>
> Then, *bhikkhus,* a certain deity approached me and said: "Sage, Uddaka Rāmaputta died last night." And so knowledge and insight arose within me that Uddaka Rāmaputta had died the previous night.[67] And then it occurred to me, *bhikkhus:* "Truly Uddaka Rāmaputta was a person of innate greatness. If he had heard this Dhamma, he would speedily have understood it."

No doubt the two had indeed died during Gotama's seven years of ascetic practice, but the sutra says "seven days ago" and "last night" to give the impression that little time had passed.

> Then it again occurred to me, *bhikkhus:* "To whom should I first teach the Dhamma? Who will speedily understand this teaching?" Then it occurred to me, *bhikkhus:* "When I was undergoing religious training, the group of five *bhikkhus* that attended me was of great benefit. I will teach the Dhamma first to the group of five *bhikkhus.*" Then it occurred to me, *bhikkhus:* "But where is the group of five *bhikkhus* now?" Then, *bhikkhus,* with *deva* sight, pure and surpassing that of human beings, I saw that the group of five *bhikkhus* was staying at Deer Park, the place

> where *rishis* dwell, at Bārāṇasī [Vārāṇasī].[68] Then, having stayed at Uruvelā the time I had wanted to stay, I set out to travel to Bārāṇasī."[69]

Śākyamuni began walking toward Vārāṇasī.[70] On the way he met an Ājīvika named Upaka.[71] The teachings of the Ājīvikas were as popular as those of Buddhism and Jainism down to the time of Aśoka. A follower of Gosāla, their leader at the time of the Buddha, describes their teachings as follows: "Through asceticism and renouncing all evil he controls himself well, he has abandoned disputes with people, he has renounced sin, he is equitable, and he speaks the truth. He commits no such evil."[72] The Ājīvikas seem to have followed ascetic practices assiduously. They were also exponents of an extreme form of determinism:

> Makkhali Gosāla said: "Concerning the defilement of living beings, there is no cause, proximate or secondary. Living beings become defiled without cause, proximite or secondary. Concerning the purification of living beings, there is no cause, proximate or secondary. Living beings become purified without cause, proximite or secondary. The attainment of any given condition depends neither on their own acts, nor on the acts of others, nor on the acts of human beings. Power does not exist, volition does not exist, human power does not exist, human effort does not exist. All who exist, all living things, all beings [produced from eggs or in the womb], all who have life, are without dominating force, without power, and without volition. They are dominated by fate and position and nature; they experience pain or ease according to which of the six classes they belong to. There are 1,400,000 kinds of birth, six thousand other [kinds of birth], and six hundred other [kinds of birth]; there are five hundred kinds of karma, five kinds of karma, three kinds of karma, one kind of karma, and half a karma; there are sixty-two ways, sixty-two intermediate *kalpas,* six classes [of human beings], eight stages as a human being, forty-nine hundred ways of life, forty-nine hundred kinds of wandering mendicants, forty-nine hundred regions where *nāgas* dwell, two thousand faculties, three thousand hells, thirty-six places where dust gathers, seven kinds of conscious gestation, seven kinds of unconscious gestation, seven kinds of gestation without joints, seven sorts of gods, and of human beings, and of devils, and of great lakes, and seven mountains, seven hundred mountains, seven precipices, seven hundred precipices, seven dreams, and seven hundred dreams. There are 8,400,000 great *kalpas,*[73] within

which the wise and the foolish pass in transmigration, perhaps at last making an end of suffering. During this time there is no [realization of the hope that] 'by these precepts, by these vows, by this ascetic training, by this pure practice, I will make the immature fruit mature or I will gradually get rid of the karma already matured.' The suffering and pleasure measured out with a measure do not reach an end in the course of transmigration. There is no enlargement and no abatement, no increase and no decrease. Just as when a ball of string when unwound will unwind to the end and no more, so the wise and foolish both travel through transmigration until they come to an end of their suffering."

In this way did Makkhali Gosāla, when asked about the fruits and rewards experienced now in the life of a religious practitioner, explain his [theory of] purification through transmigration.[74]

It is strange to read of determinists undertaking ascetic practice, but perhaps they wanted to purify themselves to facilitate the end of birth and death.

In the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* the Buddha relates how he met the Ājīvika Upaka.

Bhikkhus, the Ājīvika Upaka saw me as I was walking along the highway between Gayā and the *bodhi* tree.[75] Having seen me, he said: "Venerable One, your various faculties are pure and your complexion is clear and immaculate. Venerable One, what do you seek in leaving the world? Who is your teacher? Whose teachings do you profess?" At this I replied to the Ājīvika Upaka in verse:

"Victor am I over all, and omniscient.
In all things I am free from defilement.
I have abandoned everything and have become liberated, free from craving.
Since I myself have gained knowledge, whom should I seek [as a teacher]?

"For me there is no teacher;
There is none like me.
In this world, including all its deities,
There is none who can rival me.

"It is I who in this world am worthy of veneration,
I am the supreme teacher;

I alone am the perfectly enlightened,
I am purified and have attained tranquillity.

"In order to turn the wheel of the Dhamma
I am going to Kāsī [Vārāṇasī].
In the blinded world
I will beat the drum of deathlessness."[76]

[Upaka said:] "Then, Venerable One, according to what you claim, should you be an unlimited victor?"
[I replied:]

"Those who have destroyed the defilements
Are like me victors.
I have conquered that which is evil,
And so, Upaka, I am the victor."

When this had been said, *bhikkhus*, the Ājīvika Upaka said, shaking his head: "It may be so, Venerable One," and went off, taking a side road.[77]

Gotama, in saying that he himself has gained knowledge, turns away from religious tradition and custom as typified by the Ājīvikas and expresses his determination to take the Truth to all people. That is why he says he has no teacher. His determination reminds us of the sayings of later Ch'an (Zen) priests in China. Another aspect of this episode is that Gotama failed to convince a follower of another sect. Upaka's final words to Gotama appear to be faintly ironic, and he certainly fled from the Buddha. The description of Upaka shaking his head reflects a custom still prevalent in India, where the head is shaken slightly to indicate lukewarm approval or ambivalence. People from other cultures tend to misinterpret this head shaking as negative, but strong disagreement is shown by a vigorous shake of the head.

It is extremely interesting to note that Gotama initially met with failure. The teachings of the Ājīvikas and of Gotama were quite incompatible. Later Buddhists considered this to be an important episode in the Buddha's life, and there is a legend that Aśoka commemorated the place where Gotama encountered Upaka.[78]

The events surrounding the Buddha's departure to teach in Vārāṇasī are also described in the *Nidānakathā:*

> Considering, "To whom should I first explain my teachings?" he initially thought: "Āḷāra is a wise one who will quickly comprehend them." On further reflection, though, he perceived that he had died seven days earlier, so he fixed his thoughts on Uddaka. However, he perceived that he had died the previous night. Then he thought of his five companions: "There are five companions, the *bhikkhus* who served me so well." Considering, "Where are they dwelling?" he perceived: "They are at Deer Park in Bārāṇasī." Then he thought, "There I will go and turn the wheel of the Dhamma." For several days he sought alms in the area around the *bodhi* tree, intending to leave for Bārāṇasī on the day of the full moon in the month of Āsāḷa. Early in the morning of the fourteenth day, just as dawn was breaking, he took up his robe and his bowl and set out on his journey of eighteen *yojanas*. On the way he met an Ājīvika called Upaka and announced to him that he had become a Buddha. On the evening of the same day he arrived at Isipatana [outside Bārāṇasī].

The episode concerning Upaka is mentioned only briefly.[79] A later commentary says that Upaka later went to the country of Vaṅga, married, and had a child. Unable to stand the violence of his wife, Cāpā, he went in search of the Buddha to be liberated by the "unlimited victor" (*anantajina*). Eventually he became the Buddha's disciple and attained enlightenment.[80]

CROSSING THE GANGES

Gotama passed through several villages on the way to Vārāṇasī. Wherever he went "elders and householders came offering food and drink."[81] This was the way in which lay people treated religious practitioners at the time. Eventually he came to the banks of the Ganges, then at the height of its flow. Crossing large rivers like the Ganges was one of the major difficulties that travelers faced.[82] "Gotama, wanting to cross the river, said to the ferryman: 'I want to cross the river.' The ferryman replied: 'I will take you across if you give me money.' Gotama replied: 'I have no money,' and the ferryman responded: 'If you have no money I will not take you across.' Then it is said that Śākyamuni leapt into the sky and so reached the other side."

This episode comes from a later biography of the Buddha.[83] So graphic is the description that it strongly suggests historical fact. What is the

meaning, though, of the Buddha's employing supernatural power to fly across the river? Undoubtedly a lay person paid the Buddha's ferry fee, or he boarded anyway and was ultimately allowed to cross free. I am inclined to think the latter, for if someone had paid, the biographies of the Buddha would have emphasized it. Boarding without paying may seem reprehensible today, but Buddhist monks in South Asia would think little of it. In the countries of South Asia Buddhist monks are allowed to travel free, as are distinguished monks in Myanmar. Monks in these countries are therefore apt to be somewhat brazen and earn the dislike of people from other countries. The *Laws of Manu* states: "Women in the second month of pregnancy or later, pilgrims, forest hermits, and Brahmins who are students of the *Vedas* should not be made to pay tolls at landing stages."[84] A similar way of thinking is apparent in some industrialized countries; in the United States, for example, members of the clergy receive discounts on transportation. There are no such privileges in Japan or in Communist countries.

The ferryman in the preceding account opposed privileges being given to people of religion even though the prevailing attitude, as the Buddha and those around him well knew, was that religious practitioners should not handle money and therefore it was wrong to demand payment from them.[85] This minor episode thus reveals an important issue in intellectual history.

THE FIRST DISCOURSE

WHAT THE BUDDHA TAUGHT

The second most important event in Gotama's life was his first discourse, "Turning the Wheel of the Dhamma,"[86] delivered in Deer Park (Migadāya),[87] which was situated in Sārnāth, on the outskirts of Vārāṇasī.[88] It is some 200 kilometers from Gayā to Vārāṇasī as the crow flies, and by road the distance would have been closer to 300 kilometers. Even today on the improved road, it is about 250 kilometers. The express train takes close to four hours. It would take at least ten days to walk, not including rest time. What persuaded Gotama to undertake such a long journey?

It is no coincidence that Gotama gave his first discourse on the outskirts of Vārāṇasī, the cultural center of Brahmanism. It has been a sacred religious site since ancient times despite the fact that its name hardly

appears in the *Vedas*, which is not surprising in view of the fact that they were composed mainly in the upper Ganges area. Buddhist scriptures prove that even in the earliest period of Buddhism Vārāṇasī had considerable religious significance. Many legends relate that Gotama undertook the long journey to that city to meet his five former companions, who were staying at Deer Park.

For the Buddha to go to Vārāṇasī to expound his ideas was something like a modern scholar presenting a new theory at a national conference. Deer Park was called "the gathering place of hermits"; in other words, it was a meeting place for religious practitioners. That Gotama began his teaching by speaking not to people in his immediate vicinity but to his former companions, themselves ascetics, indicates that Buddhism was not originally an open religion that appealed suddenly and directly to ordinary people but a teaching that developed gradually among specific ascetics. Here is a passage in the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* presented as a recollection of the Buddha (underlining indicates wording virtually identical to that in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*):[89]

> Then, <u>walking from place to place</u> in turn, I <u>arrived at the place where the group of five *bhikkhus* was, at Deer Park, the gathering place of hermits,</u>[90] <u>Bārāṇasī. *Bhikkhus*, the group of five *bhikkhus* saw</u> me <u>coming in the distance. Seeing</u> me, <u>they agreed among themselves, saying, "Sir, the *samaṇa* Gotama</u> is coming. He has become <u>extravagant, abandoned the struggle, and reverted to abundance. We should not greet him, nor should we rise to meet him</u>. We should not receive <u>his robe or his bowl. However, we should put forward a seat so that he may sit if he wants to</u>." <u>However, as I approached, the group of five *bhikkhus*</u> was not able to maintain the agreement. Having approached me, some[91] <u>received my robe and bowl, some made a seat for me, and some prepared water to wash my feet</u>.[92]

The *Nidānakathā* has a similar description:

> The five elders, seeing the Tathāgata coming from afar, said to one another: "Friends, here comes the *samaṇa* Gotama. He has returned to a life of extravagance; he has flesh on his body, his faculties are excellent, and he is of golden [complexion]. Let us not greet him, but because he is of good family we should offer him a seat. Let us therefore simply prepare a seat for him." The Blessed One, through the wisdom of being able to discern the workings of the minds of all in the

world, including the *devas,* wondered: "What are they thinking?" and he knew their thoughts. Then, pouring out his compassion, which encompassed all *devas* and human beings, he directed it especially to them. They felt the Blessed One's compassion, and as the Tathāgata came gradually nearer, they were unable to maintain their resolve and rose to greet him, doing all that was proper [when receiving another].[93]

The *Nidānakathā* does not discuss the credibility of Gotama as a perfected human being. Later, when the Buddha was generally believed to be superhuman, such discussion went to tedious lengths to cause doubts about the Buddha's powers, and it must have been considered a hindrance to Buddhist faith. While the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* merely says: "We should put forward a seat [for Gotama Buddha]," the *Nidānakathā* says: "Let us not greet him, but because he is of good family we should offer him a seat. Let us therefore simply prepare a seat for him."[94] Though they believed that Gotama had abandoned his vows of asceticism, they had to prepare a seat for him because of his social background. Despite the fact that they had all renounced the world, they were bound by worldly considerations. Here we see the concessions and compromises made by religious practitioners in the face of secular power. This was a concern from the very beginning of Buddhism. Another point of interest is that the *Nidānakathā* stresses the Buddha's compassion, itself a step in the process of idealization.

The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* continues:

> Furthermore they called me by name and addressed me as "sir" [*āvuso*]. When this had been said, I spoke thus to the group of five *bhikkhus:* "*Bhikkhus,* do not address a tathāgata by his name or by the epithet *āvuso.* The Tathāgata is one worthy of veneration, the fully enlightened one. Give ear, *bhikkhus.* The deathless has been attained. I will instruct, I will teach the Dhamma. If you follow what you are taught, you will yourselves, before long in this world, know, verify, and abide in the supreme goal of the practice of purity, which is the purpose for which people of good family rightly leave their homes to become homeless religious practitioners.

The *Nidānakathā* deals only briefly with this section:

> However, they did not know that he had become enlightened, and they addressed him merely as "Gotama" or "friend." Then the Blessed One announced to them that he was a buddha, saying, "*Bhikkhus,* do not

> address a tathāgata by name or as 'friend.' *Bhikkhus*, I am a tathāgata, a perfectly enlightened one."[95]

The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* then says:

> When I had announced this, *bhikkhus*, the group of five *bhikkhus* said to me: "Venerable Gotama, you did not attain this superhuman, perfected, noble, and special wisdom and insight through this action, this practice, these austerities. How then have you now been able to attain this superhuman, perfected, *ariyan*, and special wisdom and insight when you have become extravagant, abandoned the struggle, and reverted to abundance?"
>
> When this had been said, *bhikkhus*, I said to the group of five *bhikkhus*: "*Bhikkhus*, a perfected one [a tathāgata] is not extravagant, has not abandoned the struggle, and has not reverted to extravagance. A tathāgata, *bhikkhus*, is a person to be venerated, a perfectly enlightened one. Give ear. The deathless has been attained. I will instruct, I will teach the Dhamma. If you follow what you are taught, you will yourselves, before long in this world, know, verify, and abide in the supreme goal of the practice of purity, which is the purpose for which people of good family rightly leave their homes to become homeless religious practitioners."

The Pāli text says that the five *bhikkhus* again directed the same accusation at Gotama, and he again made the same answer. They then repeated the accusation a third time.

> When this had been said, *bhikkhus*, I said to the group of five *bhikkhus*: "*Bhikkhus*, do you remember that I have ever spoken in the past in this way?" [The group of five *bhikkhus* said:] "No, Venerable One." [I said:] "*Bhikkhus*, one who has perfected his training is a person worthy of veneration, a fully enlightened one. Give ear. The deathless has been attained. I will instruct, I will teach the Dhamma. If you follow what you are taught, you will yourselves, before long in this world, know, verify, and abide in the supreme goal of the practice of purity, which is the purpose for which people of good family rightly leave their homes to become homeless religious practitioners."[96]

Later additions can easily be discerned in the above passage. Gotama is described as saying, "Do not address a tathāgata by his name or by the epithet *āvuso*." In ancient verses, however, the Buddha's disciples address him as "Gotama" and people seeking Sakyamuni's instruction call him

mārisa ("you").[97] It is difficult to imagine that Gotama himself was so proud as to reject Indian usage in this matter. This section is obviously an addition from a later time when people had begun to deify Gotama.

This description of Gotama's arrival in Vārāṇasī and the manner in which his former companions greeted him is virtually identical in the Pāli scriptures and *Vinaya* and must represent an ancient tradition. After this point, however, there is considerable divergence. Gotama first converted the five *bhikkhus* to his way of thinking and thus formed his first "band." The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* says: "I was able to convince the group of five *bhikkhus*. When I gave instruction to two *bhikkhus*, three went to seek alms. Whatever food the three *bhikkhus* received in alms, the six of us lived on. And then, when I gave instruction to three *bhikkhus*, two went to seek alms. Whatever food the two *bhikkhus* received in alms, the six of us lived on." The early Buddhist *bhikkhus* lived on the food they received as alms. Did Gotama himself go out seeking alms, or did he live on the food the *bhikkhus* offered him from their alms? We know that he sought alms alone in Rājagaha, Magadha, prior to his enlightenment (*Sn.*, 408). What happened after he had gathered a large number of disciples around him? The *Suttanipāta* relates:

> At one time the Blessed One was staying in the Park of Anāthapiṇḍika [feeder of orphans], the Jeta Grove in Sāvatthī. Then in the morning the Blessed One put on his inner robe, took up his alms bowl and his outer robe, and entered Sāvatthī to seek alms [*piṇḍaya pāvisi*].
>
> In the morning, the Blessed One put on his inner robe, took up his alms bowl and outer robe, and went to where the Brahmin Kasibhāradvāja [who ploughs a field] was at work. At that time the Brahmin Kasibhāradvāja was distributing food. Then the Blessed One approached the place where the food was being distributed and stood to one side. The Brahmin Kasibhāradvāja saw the Blessed One, standing there to receive food [*piṇḍāya ṭhitaṃ*].[98]

Such descriptions show that Gotama himself went out to seek alms. Provisions mentioned in the verse sections of the *Suttanipāta* are consistent with this. By contrast, the *Nidānakathā* says that after the discourse in Deer Park the five *bhikkhus* took turns going out to seek alms. The Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* agrees.[99] According to these texts Gotama did not seek alms, though this may have been a one-time occurrence, or the writers may have wanted to differentiate Gotama from the rest of the

bhikkhus. Most Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures have Gotama himself going out to seek alms while he was staying at Deer Park.[100] That Gotama went out seeking alms just like other practitioners indicates that he was a *bhikkhu* like the others. We can perhaps interpret this as an expression of egalitarianism. Gotama was not a superman with extrasensory powers or the recipient of a divine revelation.

The description of Gotama as "the best of the five" (*Sn.*, 355) indicates the form of the early Buddhist community. The Pāli *Vinaya* recounts the episode very briefly: "The Blessed One was able to convince the group of five *bhikkhus*.[101] Then the group of five *bhikkhus* again listened to the Blessed One, gave ear, and aroused their minds to profound knowledge."[102] Spiritually, Gotama's five former companions attained the same stage as he.

The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* says: "Then the group of five *bhikkhus*, being thus exhorted by me, being thus taught, perceiving that they themselves were liable to birth, knowing the afflictions in what is liable to birth, seeking the supreme tranquillity and peace [*nibbāna*] of the unborn, attained the supreme tranquillity and peace of the unborn." Other items are then described in the same manner. The following condenses these descriptions.

> Perceiving that they themselves were liable to aging, sickness, death, grief, and contamination, knowing the afflictions in what is liable to aging, sickness, death, grief, and contamination, seeking the supreme tranquillity and peace in what does not age, does not become sick, does not die, does not grieve, and is not contaminated, they attained the supreme tranquillity and peace of that which does not age, does not become sick, does not die, does not grieve, and is not contaminated. Thus knowledge and insight arose within them: "Our liberation is unshakable. This is our last existence. Therefore we will not exist again."

This text, similar to that in which the Buddha declares his own enlightenment, indicates that the *bhikkhus* had attained exactly the same insight as the Buddha had at Uruvelā. Thus six people in all had attained the great tranquillity and peace of *nibbāna*. There was no difference whatsoever between them. The idea that Gotama was a superhuman being whose achievement his disciples could not possibly emulate was based on later imagination and reasoning that distorted historical fact.

Six *bhikkhus* are depicted on the pedestal of a Gupta-period statue of the Buddha at Sārnāth. Their significance is debatable, though the Pāli *Vinaya* has the following: "Then the Blessed One, getting his food in the following way, taught the other *bhikkhus* by discourses concerning the

Dhamma and brought them to realization. The group of six lived on what the three *bhikkhus* received in alms when they went to seek food."[103] Traditional commentaries say that "the three *bhikkhus*" are Koṇḍañña, Bhaddiya, and Vappa, and do not accept that Gotama himself went out seeking alms. It is strange, however, to think that Gotama and the other two *bhikkhus* did not do anything. We should, rather, understand the above passage to mean that three of the six (including Gotama) took turns seeking alms. The traditional interpretation no doubt reflects the deification of the Buddha over time.

Comparatively close to the Pāli text is the following passage in the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching:* "Within the group, there were three *bhikṣus* who went out seeking alms, while two *bhikṣus* received [Śākyamuni's] instructions. Later, when the three had returned with food, altogether there were six who sat down to eat together."[104] The equivalent passage in the *Chung a-han-ching* says: "In accordance with his wish, he instructed the five *bhikṣus*. When two were receiving instruction, three went out seeking alms. The three brought back enough food to feed six. When three were receiving instruction, two went out seeking alms. The two brought back enough food to feed six."[105] The *Ssu-fen-lü* says:

> Bhaddiya and Vappa, the two, came forward and said to the Buddha: "We would like to go into Bārāṇasī and seek alms." The Buddha said: "Do as you wish." Then the Venerable Bhaddiya and the other immediately rose from their seats and bowed down at the Buddha's feet. Having done so, they put on their robes, took up their bowls, and entered Bārāṇasī to seek alms. Then the Blessed One gave instruction to the three. The two went seeking alms, and the food they received was enough to feed all six. When the Blessed One gave instruction to the two of the five, three went out seeking alms, and the food they received was enough to feed all six.[106]

There were now six *arhats*. The *Tseng-i a-han-ching* says, "At that time there were five *arhats* in the three-thousand-great-thousand world. The Buddha made the sixth."[107] The *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching* refers to the Buddha and the five *bhikkhus* collectively: "Thus in the world were the first six *arhats*."[108] The *Vinaya* does the same: "When he taught the Dharma, the five *bhikṣus* exhausted all the illusions and gained the enlightenment of *arhats*. At that time there were six *arhats* in the world."[109]

The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* seems to be the oldest of these texts, and it is believed to transmit part of the first discourse. The equivalent Chinese

text, known as the *Lo-mo-ching,* however, says that in Vārāṇasī the Buddha taught the five *bhikkhus* the Middle Way and the Noble Eightfold Path.

> You should know that there are two extremes in practice that should not be followed by one seeking the Way. One is the way of pleasures and desires, low and vulgar deeds, and ordinary ignorant people's actions. The other is that of self-torture and self-inflicted pain. They are not the way for the wise to seek the Dharma. They are not proper. Five *bhikṣus,* if you abandon those two extremes and follow the Middle Way, you will attain insight, knowledge, perfection of concentration, and freedom. Attaining knowledge, awakening, and nirvana is the Noble Eightfold Path. There are eight [parts], from right views to right concentration.[110]

Since this passage does not appear in the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta,* it can be considered a later addition. When that sutra was composed, the Middle Way and the Noble Eightfold Path were not yet systematized, or at least were not yet thought important. By the time the Sanskrit original of the *Lo-mo-ching* was composed, however, these two elements had been grafted onto the Deer Park discourse, though the Four Noble Truths remained unknown to the writer. The addition of the Four Noble Truths to the discourse came considerably later. Similarly, none of the ancient verses (*gāthā*) link the Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eightfold Path, or the Middle Way to the discourse.

Another sutra says that the Buddha taught the five *bhikkhus* at Deer Park that each of the five elements that make up our existence is not self, is suffering, and is impermanent.[111] Yet another has Gotama speak first of the Middle Way and then in detail of the Four Noble Truths.[112] Its description of the Middle Way closely resembles that in the *Lo-mo-ching.*

The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* continues:

> *Bhikkhus,* there are five objects of desire [*kāmaguṇa*]. What are those five? Material form distinguishable by the eye, desirable, agreeable, likable, loved, inviting desire, tempting; sounds distinguishable by the ear, desirable, agreeable, likable, . . . smells distinguishable by the nose, . . . tastes distinguishable by the tongue, . . . and touch distinguishable by the body, desirable, agreeable, likable, loved, inviting desire, tempting. These are the five objects of desire. Those *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are bound by those five objects of desire, who are disturbed by them, who are attached to them, who do not see their harm, who accept

[*paribhuñjati*] them without being aware of liberation from them, should know that they have fallen into misfortune, fallen into calamity, and are at the mercy of the Evil One. As a wild deer that falls prey to various snares can be said to have fallen into misfortune, to have fallen into calamity, to be at the mercy of the hunter, and will not be able to escape as it wishes when the hunter comes, so should those *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are bound by those five objects of desire, . . . know that they have fallen into misfortune, have fallen into calamity, and are at the mercy of the Evil One. However, those *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are not bound by those five objects of desire, who are not disturbed by them, who are not attached to them, who do see their harm, who accept them being aware of liberation from them, should know that they have not fallen into misfortune, have not fallen into calamity, and are not at the mercy of the Evil One. As a wild deer that does not fall prey to various snares can be said not to have fallen into misfortune, not to have fallen into calamity, not to be at the mercy of the hunter, and will be able to escape as it wishes when the hunter comes, so too should those *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are not bound by those five objects of desire, . . . know that they have not fallen into misfortune, have not fallen into calamity, and are not at the mercy of the Evil One. It is like a wild deer that, when roaming the forests and the mountain slopes, moves confidently, stands confidently, sits down confidently, and lies down confidently. Why is this? [The deer] is out of the hunter's reach. In the same way a *bhikkhu* aloof from the desires, free from evil, having initial thought and discursive thought, attains the first *jhāna*, which is full of the joy born of aloofness. This *bhikkhu* is called "one who has blinded the Evil One, destroyed the vision of the Evil One, and is unseen by the Evil One."

Again, a *bhikkhu* becomes tranquil and concentrated of mind by allaying both initial thought and discursive thought, and due to the cessation of both initial thought and discursive thought attains the second *jhāna*, which is full of the joy born of concentration. This *bhikkhu* is called "one who has blinded the Evil One, destroyed the vision of the Evil One, and is unseen by the Evil One."

Again, a *bhikkhu*, emerging from rapture, dwells in equanimity, attentive and clearly conscious, and feels in his body joy and peace. He attains the third *jhāna*, described by the sages as "dwelling in equanimity, mindfulness, and joyful life. . . ."

Again, a *bhikkhu*, discarding joy and suffering, his former pleasures

and sorrows having ceased, attains the fourth *jhāna,* which has neither suffering nor joy, which is purified by equanimity and mindfulness. . . .

Again, a *bhikkhu,* by going completely beyond the perception of material forms [*rūpasaññā*], eliminating perception of sensory reactions, and not setting up any perception of diversity, attains the Abode of the Infinity of Space, called "the limitlessness of space. . . ."

Again, a *bhikkhu,* going completely beyond the Abode of the Infinity of Space, attains the Abode of the Infinity of Consciousness, called "the limitlessness of consciousness." . . . Again, a *bhikkhu,* going completely beyond the Abode of the Infinity of Consciousness, attains the Abode of Nothingness, called "nothing exists." . . . Again, a *bhikkhu,* going completely beyond the Abode of Nothingness, attains the Abode of Neither Perception nor Nonperception. . . . Again, a *bhikkhu,* going completely beyond the Abode of Neither Perception nor Nonperception, attains the annihilation of perception and feeling. Then, seeing through intuition and wisdom, his defilements are completely eliminated. This *bhikkhu* is called "one who has blinded the Evil One, destroyed the vision of the Evil One, and is unseen by the Evil One, one who has crossed over the attachments of the world." He walks confidently, stands confidently, sits down confidently, and lies down confidently. Why is this? He is out of the Evil One's reach.

Thus spoke the Blessed One. The *bhikkhus* were delighted and rejoiced in what the Blessed One had taught them.

Buddhism adopted the term *kāmaguṇa* ("objects of desire") from Jainism and other modes of thought. The explanation given in the *Ariyaparisiyesana-sutta* is virtually the same as the brief teaching on the same subject that appears in the *Saṃyutta-Nīkāya,* and is no doubt a developed and expanded version of that one.[113] The concept needs to be examined carefully, however. As long as human beings are bound by the five objects of desire, they fall into misfortune and calamity, while "those *samaṇas* or Brahmins who are not bound by those five objects of desire . . . should know that they have not fallen into misfortune, have not fallen into calamity, and are not at the mercy of the Evil One." Human beings are like wild deer; it is enough that they can gambol freely, having avoided the snare. There is no objection to accepting the objects of desire. What is beneficial is being able to attain freedom from them.

The *Saṃyutta-Nīkāya* also examines the six sense organs in terms of the "objects of worldly desire" (*lokakāmaguṇa*).[114] The intent of the passage is

virtually the same as the passage quoted previously, but the Buddha reports that it was spoken "in the past, before I attained enlightenment, while I was still unenlightened, when I was a bodhisatta." In the *Ariyaparisiyesana-sutta*, of course, the Buddha gave this teaching after he began his teaching activities. All the same, there is no contradiction in the intent of the two passages. The description of the four *dhyānas* in the *Ariyaparisiyesana-sutta* is a later interpolation, however; we have already seen that this concept was not developed in the early period.

The *Tsa a-han-ching* contains many traditions concerning the discourse at Vārāṇasī;[115] the simplest is as follows: "Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying in Deer Park, in the place where hermits dwell, in Vārāṇasī. At that time the World-honored One addressed the *bhikṣus*. 'There are four noble truths. What are the four? They are the noble truth of suffering, the noble truth of the arising of suffering, the noble truth of the extinction of suffering, and the noble truth of the Way to the extinction of suffering.' When the Buddha had finished teaching the sutra, the *bhikṣus*, having heard his teaching, were filled with joy." A short sutra virtually identical to the above passage appears in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* without any indication of where or under what circumstances it was taught.[116] It may represent an early formulation of the teaching of the Four Noble Truths. Perhaps such formulas were gradually expanded until later sutras began to state that the discourse in Deer Park concerned the Four Noble Truths, which in later times became the generally accepted version of the discourse.[117] The famous Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma, which we will examine next, is undoubtedly the final product of this expansionary process. At the time of the original discourse many conversations probably took place, and their main points make up this sutra, the product of a long period of development.

THE SUTRA OF THE TURNING OF THE WHEEL OF THE DHAMMA

As time went by, a number of teachings were added to the first discourse. Eventually they were brought together as the Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma (*Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*), which appears in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* and the Pāli *Vinaya* in virtually identical form.[118] This sutra is very detailed. There are considerable differences in the Sanskrit fragment discovered in Central Asia, though there is overall similarity in content.[119] In the following passages, text that exists only in Pāli and is not similar in content to the Sanskrit is indicated in boldface. The origi-

nal version of the sutra is probably close to the part printed in regular type. Even this version, though, is later than such texts as the "Pārāyana-vagga" in the *Suttanipāta.* Underlining indicates wording virtually identical to that in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra.* The section between single and double asterisks is identical to *Saṃyutta-Nikāya,* LVI, 12.

THE SUTRA OF THE TURNING OF THE WHEEL OF THE DHAMMA

At one time the Blessed One was staying in Deer Park, in the place where hermits dwell, in Bārāṇasī. Then the Blessed One addressed the group of five *bhikkhus.*

VINAYA

Then the Blessed One addressed the group of five *bhikkhus.*

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

Bhikkhus, there are two extremes that should not be practiced by one who has gone forth. What are those two extremes? One is to be devoted to sensual pleasures, given up to the desires; this is base, vulgar, the action of an ordinary foolish person, unworthy, and unprofitable. The other is to mortify the self; this is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable. By avoiding those two extremes, the Tathāgata has gained realization of the Middle Way [*majjhimā paṭipadā*],[120] which **gives rise to insight, which gives rise to awareness, and which leads to peace, to superior knowledge, to enlightenment, and to *nibbāna.***

What, *bhikkhus,* is that Middle Way of which the Tathāgata has gained realization, which gives rise to insight, which gives rise to awareness, and which leads to peace, to superior knowledge, to enlightenment, and to *nibbāna?*

It is in truth the Noble Eightfold Path, that is, right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. **This is in truth that Middle Way of which the Tathāgata has gained realization, which gives rise to insight, which gives rise to awareness, and which leads to peace, to superior knowledge, to enlightenment and to *nibbāna.***

This is **the noble truth of** suffering. Birth is suffering, old age is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering [likewise sorrow, grief, pain, lamentation, and anguish].[121] **To meet with those we hate is**

suffering; to part from those we love is suffering; not to obtain our desires is suffering. In brief, the predisposition to cling to the five [elements of existence] is suffering.

This is **the noble truth of** the cause of suffering. It is the craving that leads to rebirth, connected with pleasure and lust, finding delight here and there: **that is, craving for sensual desires, craving for existence, and craving for the end of existence.**

This is **the noble truth of** the extinction of suffering. It is the extinction that is the complete separation from craving, its **abandonment, release from it, the absence of attachment to it.**

This is **the noble truth of** the way leading to the extinction of suffering. It is in truth the Noble Eightfold Path, that is, right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration.

*At the thought "This is **the noble truth of** suffering," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light.[122] At the thought "This **noble truth of** suffering must be completely understood," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light. At the thought "This **noble truth of** suffering has been completely understood," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light.

At the thought "This is **the noble truth of** the cause of suffering," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light. At the thought "This **noble truth of** the cause of suffering must be abandoned," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light. At the thought "This **noble truth of** the cause of suffering has been abandoned," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light.

At the thought "This is **the noble truth of** the extinction of suffering," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light. At the thought "This **noble truth of** the extinction of suffering must be realized," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light. At the thought "This **noble truth**

of the extinction of suffering has been realized," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light.

At the thought "This is **the noble truth of** the way leading to the extinction of suffering," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light. At the thought "This **noble truth of** the way leading to the extinction of suffering must be cultivated," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light. At the thought, "This **noble truth of** the way leading to the extinction of suffering has been cultivated," there arose within me, concerning dhammas I had never before heard, vision, awareness, wisdom, insight, light.**

Bhikkhus, as long as my knowledge and insight into the reality of these four noble truths in their three stages and twelve forms [the three turns and the twelve processes] were not yet **perfectly purified, I** could not call myself one who had actually attained true and supreme enlightenment **among all living beings, including the *devas*, the Māras, the inhabitants of the Brahmā world, among *samaṇas*, *devas*, and human beings**. However, since in truth my knowledge and insight into the reality of these four noble truths in their three stages and twelve forms were **perfectly purified, I** could **now** call myself one who had actually attained true and supreme enlightenment **among all living beings**. . . . And knowledge and insight arose within me: "**My liberation is unshakable.** This is my last existence. Therefore I will not exist again."[123]

Thus spoke the Blessed One.[124] The five *bhikkhus* were delighted and rejoiced at the Blessed One's words. When the discourse was expounded, there arose in the Venerable Koṇḍañña the pure and unsullied eye to see the truth that whatever has the nature to come into being also has the nature to cease.

When the Blessed One had turned the wheel of the Dhamma, the *devas* of the earth raised the glad cry:[125] "Thus the Blessed One in Deer Park, in the place where hermits dwell, in Bārāṇasī, set into motion the wheel of the supreme Dhamma that cannot be turned back by anyone in this world, whether *samaṇa*, Brahmin, *deva*, Māra, or Brahmā."

Hearing the cry of the *devas* of the earth, the *devas* who follow the four heavenly kings also raised the glad cry: "Thus the Blessed One in

Deer Park, in the place where hermits dwell, in Bārāṇasī, turned the wheel of the supreme Dhamma that cannot be turned back by anyone in this world, whether *samaṇa*, Brahmin, *deva*, Māra, or Brahmā." Hearing the cry of the *devas* who follow the four heavenly kings, the *devas* of the thirty-three heavens also raised the glad cry. . . . Hearing the cry of the *devas* of the thirty-three heavens, the *devas* of the Yāma heaven also raised the glad cry. . . . Hearing the cry of the *devas* of the Yāma heaven, the Tuṣita *devas* also raised the glad cry. . . . Hearing the cry of the Tuṣita *devas*, the *devas* of the heaven of pleasures also raised the glad cry. . . . Hearing the cry of the *devas* of the heaven of pleasures, the *devas* in the highest heaven of the realm of desire also raised the glad cry. . . . Hearing the cry of the *devas* in the highest heaven of the realm of desire, the *devas* attendant on Brahmā also raised the glad cry: "Thus the Blessed One in Deer Park, in the place where hermits dwell, in Bārāṇasī, turned the wheel of the supreme Dhamma that cannot be turned back by anyone in this world, whether *samaṇa*, brahmin, *deva*, Māra, or Brahmā."

In truth, thus it was at that moment, at that instant, at that second, the cry reached the Brahmā world, and then the ten thousand worlds moved, trembled, and shook. An immeasurably vast radiance appeared in this world, surpassing the magical powers of the *devas*.

Then the Blessed One uttered the following verse of uplift: "O, Koṇḍañña has truly understood. O, Koṇḍañña has truly understood."

As a result, the Venerable Koṇḍañña received the name Aññata-Koṇḍañña, "Koṇḍañña who has understood."

Here ends the Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma. The text is contained in full in the Pāli *Vinaya*. The sutra does not specify when the discourse took place, saying only "at one time" (*ekaṃ samayaṃ*). Since the group of five *bhikkhus* is mentioned, however, it seems likely that it took place early in the Buddha's teaching activity. It is reported in a very simple way in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*), and in the Tibetan text, while there is also a Sanskrit summary of the sutra. The shared parts of text seem to indicate that there was another, original version.

The Four Noble Truths are central to the above discourse. Most traditions interpret the Middle Way as significant in terms of religious practice.[126] Nevertheless, the account presents a number of philosophical

problems. Only Koṇḍañña is said to have attained "the pure and unsullied eye to see the truth" (the pure eye of the Dhamma). A Gandhāran sculpture in the Vienna Ethnographical Museum that depicts the first discourse shows Koṇḍañña alone attaining that vision. While the above scriptures say that he gained enlightenment, later commentators held that attaining "the pure eye of the Dhamma" was not necessarily the same as realizing *nibbāna* and judged the passage to contain many implications.

The Pāli *Vinaya* continues:

> Then the Venerable Koṇḍañña, having seen the truth, having attained the truth, having understood the truth, having penetrated the truth, having overcome his doubts, having dispelled all delusion, having become convinced, having reached the stage of being dependent on no one but the Master for the teachings, said to the Blessed One: "Lord, let me receive from the Blessed One the ordination of the one who has left home. Let me receive the full precepts." The Blessed One said: "Come, *bhikkhu*. The truth has been well taught. Undertake the practice of purity in order to extinguish properly all suffering." Thus did that venerable person receive the precepts.
>
> Next the Blessed One taught the other *bhikkhus* by discourses concerning the Dhamma and brought them to realization. Then in the Venerable Vappa and the Venerable Bhaddiya, when they were taught by the Blessed One by discourses concerning the Dhamma and had gained realization, there arose the pure and unsullied eye to see the truth that whatever has the nature to come into being also has the nature to cease.
>
> They, having seen the truth, having attained the truth, having understood the truth, having penetrated the truth, having overcome their doubts, having dispelled all delusion, having become convinced, having reached the stage of being dependent on no one but the Master for the teachings, said to the Blessed One: "Lord, let us receive from the Blessed One the ordination of the one who has left home. Let us receive the full precepts." The Blessed One said: "Come, *bhikkhus*. The truth has been well taught. Undertake the practice of purity in order to extinguish properly all suffering." Thus did those venerable persons receive the precepts.
>
> Then the Blessed One, getting his food in the following way, taught the other *bhikkhus* by discourses concerning the Dhamma and brought

> them to realization. The group of six lived on what the three *bhikkhus* received in alms when they went to seek food.[127]

Here we find a more detailed explanation of what was briefly related in the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*. Koṇḍañña was the first to attain enlightenment; the other four attained it later after hearing Gotama's teaching. The equivalent section in the *Nidānakathā* is very simple: "Then at the time [the full moon] was in the constellation of Uttarāsāḷhā, seated in the place prepared for him and surrounded by myriad *devas* from the Brahmā realm, he called the five elders who had been his companions and gave them the discourse called the Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma. Of the five, the elder Aññata-Koṇḍañña gained in wisdom through the discourse, and when the discourse ended, he, together with the myriad *devas* from the Brahmā realm, entered the first stage [of the *arahat*]."[128]

Since the content of the discourse has already been established in the sutra, it is only referred to here; the whole is embellished with the mention of the "myriad *devas* from the Brahmā realm." By the time the *Nidānakathā* was composed the Buddha had already become deified, and therefore is not described as seeking alms.

The *Nidānakathā* continues:

> The next day the Master entered his rainy-season dwelling at that place and called to the elder Vappa in order to give him instruction and sat in the *vihāra*. The remaining four had gone out to seek alms. The elder Vappa attained the first stage [of the *arahat*] that morning. In the same way, the following day he called Bhaddiya, and the next Mahānāma, and the next Assaji, and caused them all to enter the first stage [of the *arahat*]. On the fifth day of the [dark] half [of the month of Savanna] he called the five to him and taught them the discourse called the Sutra on the Characteristics of Nonself. When this discourse ended, the five elders all entered the highest stage of the *arahat*.[129]

ADDITIONAL TEACHINGS

The Pāli *Vinaya* continues:

> Then the Venerable Mahānāma and the Venerable Assaji, when they were taught by the Blessed One by discourses concerning the Dhamma

and were exhorted, in these two there arose the pure and unsullied eye to see the Truth, that whatever is of the nature to come into being is also of the nature to cease.

They, having seen the Truth, having attained the Truth, having understood the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome doubts, having dispelled all delusion, having become convinced, having reached the stage of being dependent on no one but the Master for the teachings, said to the Blessed One: "Lord, let us receive from the Blessed One the ordination of the one who has left home. Let us receive the full precepts." The Blessed One said: "Come, *bhikkhus*. The Truth has been well taught. Undertake the practice of purity in order to extinguish properly all suffering." Thus did those venerable persons receive the precepts.[130]

The Chinese translation of the *Vinaya*[131] and a small number of sutras[132] offer substantially the same account. It is highly unlikely, though, that such a long sutra existed in earliest times. Twenty-eight short sutras gathered in the fifteenth fascicle of the *Tsa a-han-ching* (379–406) on the Four Noble Truths were supposedly delivered "at Deer Park," although close examination reveals a number of discrepancies between them. The longest of these sutras and an alternative translation (*San-chuan-fa-lun-ching*)[133] contain only the section quoted earlier in this book (pp. 251–55). A discussion of the "Middle Way" is found in An Shih-kao's translation, the *Fo-shuo chuan-fa-lun-ching*,[134] although it does not exist in any other of these sutras. It is therefore probably a later addition.

Consideration of these points suggests that the original form of the above sutra contained 1) the conversion of the five *bhikkhus*; 2) their names; and 3) the teaching of the Four Noble Truths that was given to them. All other elements should be considered later additions.[135]

Following is a comparison of the section of the Pāli *Vinaya* that relates that Gotama taught the doctrine of nonself and a similar text included in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* as a separate sutra.[136] The underlined portions are virtually identical to the Sanskrit text in the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*.

SAṂYUTTA-NIKĀYA

The occasion: Bārāṇasī, Deer Park

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

At that time the Blessed One addressed the group of five *bhikkhus*.

"*Bhikkhus!* Material form [*rūpa*] is not the self [*ātman*]. If material form were the self, material form would not become subject to disease, and we could say of material form, 'Let my material form be so! Let my material form be not so!' Since material form is not the self, however, material form is subject to disease, and we cannot say of material form, 'Let my material form be so! Let my material form be not so!'

"Feeling [*vedanā*] is not the self. If feeling were the self, feeling would not become subject to disease, and we could say of feeling, 'Let my feeling be so! Let my feeling be not so!' Since feeling is not the self, however, feeling is subject to disease, and we cannot say of feeling, 'Let my feeling be so! Let my feeling be not so!'

"Perception [*saññā*] is not the self. . . .

"Mental constituents [*saṃkhāra*] are not the self. . . .

"Consciousness [*viññāna*] is not the self. *Bhikkhus!* If consciousness were the self, consciousness would not become subject to disease, and we could say of consciousness, 'Let my consciousness be so! Let my consciousness be not so!' Since consciousness is not the self, however, consciousness is subject to disease, and we cannot say of consciousness, 'Let my consciousness be so! Let my consciousness be not so!'

"What do you think, *bhikkhus?* Is material form permanent or impermanent?"

"Material form, Lord, is impermanent."

"That which is impermanent, does it cause suffering or ease?"

"Suffering, Lord."

"Then is it good to regard that which is impermanent, causes suffering, and is subject to destruction, in this way: 'This is mine; I am this; this is my self'?"

"Certainly not, Lord."

"Is feeling . . . perception . . . the mental constituents . . . consciousness permanent or impermanent?"

"Consciousness, Lord, is impermanent."

"That which is impermanent, does it cause suffering or ease?"

"Suffering, Lord."

"Then is it good to regard that which is impermanent, causes suffering, and is subject to destruction, in this way: 'This is mine; I am this; this is my self'?"

"Certainly not, Lord."

"Therefore, *bhikkhus,* everything that has material form, be it past, present, or future, inward or outward, gross or subtle, coarse or fine,

far or near, all material form should be regarded thus, as it really is, by correct knowledge: 'This is not mine; I am not this; this is not my self.'

"Everything that has feeling . . . perception . . . the mental constituents . . . consciousness, be it past, present, or future, inward or outward, gross or subtle, coarse or fine, far or near, all consciousness should be regarded thus, as it really is, by correct knowledge: 'This is not mine; I am not this; this is not my self.'

"So seeing, *bhikkhus*, the excellent disciple who has heard the teachings becomes weary of material form, weary of feeling, weary of perception, weary of the mental constituents, weary of consciousness. Feeling weariness, he becomes detached from greed. Being detached from greed, he is liberated. When he is liberated, he becomes aware that he is liberated. He knows without any doubt: 'Rebirth is exhausted. Enacted is the pure practice. Done is what has to be done. No longer is there any return to this world.'"

Thus taught the Blessed One. The five *bhikkhus* were delighted and rejoiced in what the Blessed One had taught them. When this discourse had been uttered, the five *bhikkhus* were all without attachment and were liberated from the various defilements.

VINAYA, "MAHĀVAGGA"

At that time there were six *arahants* in this world.

In the Sanskrit text (the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*) and the Tibetan text the final sentence reads: "At that time there were in truth five *arahants* in this world, and the Blessed One was the sixth."[137] In the earliest period of Buddhism, Gotama too was considered to be an *arahant*, no different in this respect from the five *bhikkhus*. In later times, though, people considered Gotama to be on a different plane from others and so made a point of treating him separately from the other five *arahants*.

As time went by, it became standard in Southern Buddhism to believe that the teachings on the Four Noble Truths and nonself were the major discourses given at Bārāṇasī.[138] Northern Buddhism, on the other hand, said that it was then that the Buddha taught the Middle Way; the Four Noble Truths; the impermanence, suffering, emptiness, and nonself of the five aggregates; and the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination. They maintained that he also taught bodhisattvas such as Maitreya that the true nature of the elements of existence is tranquillity, nonbirth, and

nondestruction.[139] Such teachings as these were gradually added to the basic doctrines over time.

Gotama's teaching was initially called "the turning of the Brahmā wheel."[140] In the *Upaniṣads,* the wheel of the universe was called the Brahmā wheel (*brahmacakra*), and it was the supreme deity alone who turned it.[141] This idea entered Buddhism and was modified to suggest that one who had realized the Truth could turn it. For example, elders who gave instruction about Buddhism were called "those who turn the wheel."[142] Later, however, the Buddha's teaching alone came to be regarded as "the turning of the wheel of the Dhamma," and this phrase became the generally accepted term.[143]

At Deer Park Gotama expressed his teachings and made them comprehensible to all through the medium of language. This marked the beginning of Buddhism as a religion. It is not surprising therefore that later Buddhists revered Deer Park equally with Bodhgayā, where Gotama had attained enlightenment, and included both places in the four sacred sites of Buddhism.

In one sense Buddhism is a "founded religion," and in another sense it is not. Mahāyāna Buddhists rely on the one who teaches the Dharma, whether it be the bodhisattva Maitreya, Buddha Amitābha, or some other figure. They do not rely on Śākyamuni the individual. It was on this philosophical foundation that Mahāyāna Buddhism was able to declare its orthodoxy as the Buddha's teaching.

REJECTING THE TEMPTATIONS OF MĀRA

Gotama's life during his sojourn at Deer Park was by no means leisurely. It was still necessary for him to undergo constant training. Two sutras titled "The Snare" (*Pāsa*) tell how Māra appeared in Deer Park and Gotama subdued him.[144]

> Thus have I heard. The Venerable Master was once staying at Deer Park, where *rishis* gather, in Bārāṇasī. He addressed the *bhikkhus,* saying, "*Bhikkhus.*" "Yes, Venerable One," they replied, facing him.[145] The Venerable Master then said: "Through perfected attention and perfected effort, I have attained supreme liberation and realized supreme liberation.[146] *Bhikkhus!* Do you also through perfected attention and perfected effort attain supreme liberation and realize supreme liberation."

Then Māra, the Evil One, approached the Venerable Master. Having approached, he said to him in verse:

"You are entrapped in the snares of Māra,
Divine snares and human snares.
You are in Māra's bondage, *samaṇa*,
You have not yet won your freedom from me!"[147]

[The Venerable Master said:]

"I am freed from the snares of Māra,
Whether they be divine or human.
I am freed from the bonds of Māra.
You have lost, you who bring destruction!"

Thereupon Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.[148]

Since this sutra is designated as having been spoken at Deer Park, it must have occurred after the enlightenment and the first discourse. It reveals that even an enlightened person remains exposed to the temptations of Māra. Enlightenment therefore exists within the context of the resolute rejection of such temptation. "On one occasion the Venerable Master was dwelling at Deer Park, where hermits gather, in Bārāṇasī.[149] He addressed the *bhikkhus*, saying, '*Bhikkhus!*' 'Revered One,' they answered. The Venerable Master said: 'I am freed from all snares, whether they be divine or human. You also are freed from all snares, whether they be divine or human.'"[150] There was no difference between the Buddha and the *bhikkhus* in that they had already been freed (*mutta*) from the snares. Liberation was not something strange or unusual. The Buddha continued:

"Go forth for the good of the many, the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the people of the world, for the good and happiness of gods and human beings.[151] Let not two of you take the same road.[152] *Bhikkhus!* Teach that teaching which is good at the beginning, good in the middle, good at the end, which is splendid in meaning and words.[153] Reveal the practice of purity, perfect and unsullied.[154] There are people in whose eyes there is inherently scarcely any dust of the defilements. They are left behind because they do not hear the teachings.[155] They will become those who know the teachings [the Truth]. I, too, will set off for the army's village [Senā] in Uruvelā to teach the Dhamma."[156]

Then Māra, the Evil One, approached the Venerable Master.

Having approached, he said to him in verse:

"Whether divine snares and human snares,
You are entrapped in every snare.
You are bound in great bondage, *samaṇa;*
You have not yet won your freedom from me!"

[The Venerable Master said:]

"I am freed from all snares,
Whether they be divine or human.
I am freed from great bondage.
You have lost, you who bring destruction!"[157]

As before, Gotama remained resolute against Māra's temptations. Later biographers of the Buddha completely ignored legends of this type, perhaps because they thought it impossible for an enlightened one to suffer such temptation.

SĀRNĀTH IN THE RECORDS OF CHINESE MONKS

Fa-hsien's record describes Vārāṇasī as follows:

> Fa-hsien returned toward Pāṭaliputra, following the Ganges. Descending to the west ten *yojanas,* he came to a *vihāra* called "Wilderness" [*āṭavika*], where the Buddha had dwelt and where there are still monks now.
>
> [Then] still following the Ganges and going twelve *yojanas* to the west, he arrived at the city of Vārāṇasī in the country of Kāśī. About ten *li* northeast of the city there is a *vihāra,* the Hermit's Deer Park. In this park there originally lived a *pratyekabuddha,* and deer lived here all the time. When the World-honored One [*arhat*] was about to attain enlightenment, the *devas* sang in the sky: "The son of King Śuddhodana has left his home, learned the Way, and in seven days will attain enlightenment." Hearing this, the *pratyekabuddha* immediately entered nirvana. As a result, the place was named the Hermit's Deer Park. After the World-honored One attained enlightenment, people built a *vihāra* here.
>
> The Buddha wished to lead Kauṇḍinya and the others of the five to liberation, but the five spoke together: "The *śramaṇa* Gotama practiced austerities for six years, eating a grain of rice and a single hemp seed a day, and yet he did not attain enlightenment. How could he then, entering among people and giving rein to physical actions, words, and

thoughts, attain enlightenment? Today, when he comes, let us be careful not to speak to him." [However] when the Buddha came, the five arose and saluted him. At a place sixty paces north of that place, the Buddha sat facing east and first turned the wheel of the Dharma and led Kauṇḍinya and the others of the five to liberation.

Twenty paces north is the place where he gave Maitreya his prophecy of buddhahood. Fifty paces south is the place where the dragon Elāpattra asked the Buddha: "When will I be able to be rid of my dragon body?"[158] Stupas were erected at these places, and they are still extant. There are two *saṃghārāmas*, where monks live.[159]

Hsüan-tsang relates:

Northeast of the great city [Vārāṇasī] there is a stupa on the west bank of the River Barṇa. It was built by King Aśoka. It is about thirty meters high. A stone pillar stands before it. It is as brilliant as a mirror and shines like water. On it can always be seen the shadow of the Tathāgata.

About ten *li* northeast of the River Barṇa, we came to the *saṃghārāma* of the Deer Plain. Its precincts are divided into eight sections, and a wall surrounds them. The towers, multistoried and with many-layered eaves, are of exceedingly beautiful design. There are fifteen hundred priests here, all of whom study the Hīnayāna teachings according to the Saṃmatīya school. Within the great wall is a *vihāra* about sixty meters high. Above is a golden sculpture of the *āmra* [mango] fruit. The foundations and stairs are built of stone, but the multistoried niches are built of brick. These niches surround all four sides [of the building] in more than a hundred stages. Each contains a golden statue of the Buddha. In the *vihāra* there is a statue of the Buddha in brass. Its size is that of the Tathāgata's body, and it represents [the Buddha] turning the wheel of the Dharma.

Southwest of the *vihāra* is a stone stupa. It was built by King Aśoka. The foundations have crumbled, but even now it is about thirty meters high. In front there is a stone pillar about twenty-one meters high. The stone has the luster of a jewel, and it reflects things clearly like a mirror. Various figures appear here through the fervent prayers [of the people] from time to time, with auspicious or inauspicious signs. This is the place where the Tathāgata, having attained enlightenment, first turned the wheel of the Dharma. To one side, not far away, is a stupa.

This is the place where Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya and the others, seeing the Bodhisattva abandoning his ascetic practice, left his service and came here to practice meditation themselves.

To the side of this is a stupa where five hundred *pratyekabuddhas* entered nirvana simultaneously. There are three further stupas, which are where three buddhas of the past sat and walked.[160]

Hsüan-tsang then describes a great number of legends.

The third volume of his biography, *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan*, gives a slightly different version.

Going from here [Kuśinagara] about five hundred *li* through a large forest, [he came to] the country of Vārāṇasī. The country is about four thousand *li* in circumference, and the [capital] city borders the Ganges on the west. It is about ten *li* in length and about five or six *li* in breadth. Here are about thirty *saṃghārāmas* and about two thousand priests, all of whom study [the teachings of] the Hīnayāna of the Sarvāstivādins.

About ten *li* northeast of the city, across the river, is the *saṃghārāma* of the Deer Plain [Sārnāth]. Its buildings soar high into the sky and are surrounded on four sides by long corridors. Here live fifteen hundred priests, all of whom study the Hīnayāna teachings according to the Saṃmatīya school. There is a temple inside the *saṃghārāma* about thirty meters in height. The stages on the outer surface are built of stone, and there are brick niches for statues of the Buddha in more than a hundred stages. In all the niches are golden statues of the Buddha. Within the temple is a brass statue of the Buddha, in size the same as the actual body of Śākyamuni, in the form of turning the wheel of the Dharma.

Southeast of the temple is a stone stupa about thirty meters in height, built by King Aśoka. A stone pillar about twenty-one meters tall stands in front. This is the place where Śākyamuni first turned the wheel of the Dharma. To one side is the place where Maitreya [in T'ang China, called Tz'u-tze; the former reading of Mi-le is a corrupted form] received the prophecy of his buddhahood. The next stupa is the place where in the past Śākyamuni, as the bodhisattva Jyotipāla [Jotipāla in Pali], during the time human years amounted to 20,000, received the prophecy of buddhahood from Kāśyapa Buddha. South of the place where Śākyamuni received his prophecy, at the place where

four buddhas of the past walked, there is a platform of piled blue stones, about fifty paces long and about twenty-one meters high. On top are figures of the four buddhas in the attitude of walking.

West of the *saṃghārāma* is the pond where the Tathāgata Śākya[muni] bathed himself, the pond where he washed his eating bowl, and the pond where he washed his robes; all are protected by a divine dragon to ensure that they are not polluted by people. Beside the pond is a stupa. This is where Śākyamuni, when he was undergoing training as a bodhisattva, became a six-tusked white elephant and gave his tusks to a hunter; where as a bird he made a pledge with a monkey and a white elephant beneath a banyan tree and set the order of the elder's precedence over the younger, and went around teaching people; and where as a deer king he brought Kauṇḍinya and the others of the five to liberation.[161]

MODERN SĀRNĀTH

Sārnāth is about eight kilometers north of Vārāṇasī. The road leading to it is paved and tree-lined. Sārnāth is famous as the place where the Buddha gave his first discourse. The Buddhist scriptures call it Deer Park, and deer may have roamed there in the past. In 1956 I saw a deer grazing beside the road, perhaps brought there deliberately to recall the legend, since I had seen none on my previous visit in 1952. This supposition was confirmed when a local person told me that deer had been brought there specifically to please visitors to Deer Park. However, on a later visit, in January 1976, there were no longer any signs of deer. Today the site is covered with grass and enclosed by a brick wall, which I first noticed in 1956, and has the appearance of a large park. The lawns are watered by hoses. When I visited the site in 1976 rape flowers were blooming everywhere.

The site has a long history. Before the rise of Buddhism it was called Isipatana, "the gathering place of the hermits." Even today, Hindus and Jainas as well as Buddhists make pilgrimages there. Sārnāth is an abbreviated form of Śāraṅganātha, the name of a bodhisattva thought to be connected with the place. The first thing that catches the eye is a large brick mound called Chaukhaṇḍī, atop which is an octagonal tower. Here, I was told, the five *bhikkhus* greeted Gotama. Scholars think part of the mound dates from the Gupta period (320–ca. 500). The tower was built in 1588

by Govardhan, son of King Todar Mal, to commemorate the visit there of the Mogul emperor Humāyūn (1508–56). The brick structure has three square terraces and a square base; the name Chaukhaṇḍī, which seems to have a connection with the word *square*, has apparently been used since ancient times. The archaeologist Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814–93) dug down into the base from the central area of the mound in an endeavor to retrieve relics but found nothing.

The largest and most imposing of Sārnāth's monuments is the Dhāmekh Stupa, a thirty-two-meter-high cylindrical tower with a brick façade built on a base twenty-eight meters in diameter. Scholars have hypothesized that Dhāmekh is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit *dharmekṣā*, "contemplating the Dharma." The core of the stupa is thought to date from the time of Aśoka. Arched niches must have once contained statues.[162] Archaeologists say that the stupa we see today probably dates from the Gupta period. After that time the Huns (*Hūṇa* in Sanskrit) invaded central India from the northwest, inflicting great harm on Buddhism. It was the Hun king Śaśāṅka who cut down the *bodhi* tree. Such a large stupa could not have been built under such circumstances. The scholarly consensus is that the stupa marks the spot where the bodhisattva Maitreya received his prediction of future buddhahood.[163]

The Mahābodhi Society built a large modern temple at Sārnāth, called the Mūlagandha-kuṭī Vihāra, in 1931. It was constructed as part of the efforts of a Ceylonese monk, Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1933; born David Hewavitarane), to revive Buddhism in India. Modeled on the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā, it is a simple building without the adornments typical of Hindu temples, and pleasing to modern taste. The interior is constructed of marble, agreeably cool to the touch. Interior murals depicting the life of the Buddha were painted by the Japanese artist Kōsetsu Nousu.[164] An Indian acquaintance has remarked that these murals are the only complete set in India portraying the Buddha's life, and this is probably true. Indian Buddhist artworks were abandoned, left to be covered with soil or bush, or destroyed over the centuries. Only in modern times have they been rediscovered through excavation.

A description of how the murals came to be painted is recorded on the wall of the main temple building in English, Japanese, Hindi, and Urdu. The Mahābodhi Society made contact with Nousu through the auspices of the Japanese government, and the work was carried out between the years 2498 and 2502 of the Buddhist calendar (1932–36; the calculation

seems to be according to the theory of Junjirō Takakusu). The connection with Japan had been established by Dharmapāla, who had visited that country a number of times raising funds. The cost of the murals was met in part by a donation from an Englishman, B. L. Broughton, and by Nousu's own contributions from money raised from exhibitions in India, Ceylon, and Burma of paintings he did during the rainy season, when he was unable to work on the murals. The remainder of the funds was raised through donations from the Japanese government and devotees in India and Japan. The work is signed Kōsetsu Nousu and dated "2,596th year of the [Japanese] imperial reign."

The murals depict twenty-six scenes in the life of the Buddha. The scene of the Buddha conquering Māra, the Evil One, and attaining enlightenment usually depicts the Buddha's hand gestures (*mudrā* in Sanskrit), his left hand placed on his lap and the fingers of his other hand pointing downward (which is called the *mudrā* showing the Buddha's subduing of Māra). But at Dharmapāla's request, the hand gesture was changed to the gesture of bestowing blessings, which features the opening of the right hand upward. The temple bell was donated by Japanese Buddhists. Most people who travel to India, if they have any interest in its culture, go to Vārāṇasī, and probably most of them visit this temple. Though the murals are not advertised, they succeed in displaying the spirit of Japanese art to people from all over the world. Local people call this temple the "Japanese temple" (*Japan mandir*), although an inscription in the temple also records the donation of Mary E. Foster (1844–1930), an American in whose veins ran the blood of Hawaiian royalty. She was converted to Buddhism by Dharmapāla and provided the money to build the temple.

The central part of the temple enshrines relics discovered in Taxila. The innermost altar contains a replica of the fifth-century statue of the seated Buddha delivering his first discourse discovered in Sārnāth. (The original is in the Archaeological Museum in Sārnāth.) It is surrounded by banners and offerings of flowers and candles. There are also relics from Mirpur Khas and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, placed below the pedestal of the statue. To the left is a long, narrow plaque inscribed with the words "Homage to the Lotus Sutra." A *bodhi* tree, a sapling from Anuradapura in Sri Lanka, has been planted alongside the temple.

Near the temple is a pilgrims' hostel built by the Birlas. The office of the Mahābodhi Society is also located here. In the vicinity is the "Chinese temple" (*Cīna mandir*), built completely in Chinese style through the donations of Chinese Buddhists, although the central image is in the Bur-

mese style. The main hall contains reproductions of paintings of scenes from the Buddha's life from his birth to the veneration of the two merchants immediately after his enlightenment. The paintings are in Western style and depict those around the Buddha in the style of European nobles. They were painted in Colombo, the capital of what was still Ceylon. The Hungarian historian of Buddhist art Ervin Baktay says they were painted at least fifty years ago. Though Dr. Baktay and Professor Glasenapp did not like them, the pictures represent an interesting example of East-West cultural diffusion.

Sārnāth also contains the remains of a large building (*caitya*) dating from the Gupta period, called the Dharmacakrajinavihāra. It was built entirely of brick, and reliefs have been found in places. The main approach to the building is lined on both sides with votive stupas. Through a gate to the left there are the remains of a large pillar. Here was once placed a Kuṣāṇa-period standing bodhisattva statue (now in the Archaeological Museum). The pillar was originally topped with a large parasol in the form of a lotus.

To the west of the main temple is a stone edict column erected by Aśoka. Only the lower portion now remains; its four-headed lion capital, hardly damaged at all, is in the Archaeological Museum. The column itself was broken into three pieces, and today they are protected by a concrete roof. The lion capital is to be seen immediately upon entering the museum. The capital alone is taller than the average person. It is topped by four sculptured lions facing different directions and seated back to back. It is today the state crest of the Republic of India. Beneath the lions are four wheels of the Dharma, with an elephant, bull, horse, and lion carved between them. According to the museum curator, the elephant symbolizes the pregnancy of Gotama's mother, Māyā, after dreaming of a white elephant; the bull, his birth; and the horse, his renunciation of secular life. Also in the museum is the famous seated statue of the Buddha referred to above. Copies of the statue are found in the Sārnāth Buddhist temple, as mentioned, and in the Buddhist temple associated with the Birla temple in New Delhi. The subtle smile on the Buddha's face is inexpressibly tender. Of particular interest is the halo behind the statue, whose delicate ornamentation can be appreciated far better in reality than in a photograph.

A white Jaina temple stands to one side of the Dhāmekh Stupa. A Burmese temple has also been built close to the place where the Aśoka column is preserved.

LATER TEACHING ACTIVITIES

The discourse at Deer Park was a great turning point in Gotama's life, for it was after this that he began to teach ordinary lay people. For the next forty-five years, until his death at the age of eighty, he traveled from place to place in central India, along the reaches of the Ganges, devoting himself to teaching.

During the rainy season he would remain in one place, undertaking religious training with his disciples.[165] This rainy-season retreat was known as *vassa* (Skt., *vārṣika*). At other seasons, when no rain fell and they could undertake activities without hindrance, Gotama and his disciples traveled around teaching people about the Way. His community of believers grew rapidly. Gotama was described as "a bountiful man [*vadaññu*], who wears a yellow robe [and] wanders homeless" (*Sn.*, 487). He carried a bowl (*Sn.*, 413) and sought alms (*Sn.*, 408), a practice called *piṇḍacāra* (*Sn.*, 414). He wandered from village to village, from town to town (*Sn.*, 192), and also stayed outdoors in the countryside on occasion (*Sn.*, 191).

The various *Vinayas* detail a number of the Buddha's teaching activities. The reason for their inclusion is explained in the following way: "For five years after the World-honored One attained enlightenment, the community of *bhikkhus* retained its purity, but after that errors were gradually committed. [Therefore] the World-honored One made regulations as the need arose and established and taught the *Prātimokṣa* [the code of precepts in the *Vinaya*]."[166] It was probably considered necessary to explain briefly what kind of teaching activity had led to the establishment of a particular precept. In the *Shih-sung-lü*, the Chinese translation of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, no explanation precedes the rules for receiving the precepts.[167] The *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü*, the Chinese translation of the Mahāsaṃghīka *Vinaya*, states:

> The Tathāgata [first] ordained five men, Aññāta Koṇḍañña and the others. They were called the well-come home-leavers [because the Buddha had invited them to ordination with the words "Come, *bhikkhus*."]. They had received the full precepts and shared the same precepts, the same teacher, the same dwelling, the same food, the same learning, and the same teaching. [There were no differences among them.] Next he ordained 30 others, including Puṇṇa Mantāniputta.[168] Next, at Vārāṇasī, he ordained Bhaddiya.[169] Next he ordained Uruvela Kassapa [and his] 500 [followers]. Next he ordained Nadī Kassapa [and his] 250 [follow-

ers]. Next he ordained Gayā Kassapa [and his] 200 [followers]. Next he ordained 250 others, including Upasena. Next he ordained Sāriputta and Mahā-Moggallāna and [their] respective [bands of] 250 followers. Next he ordained Mahā-Kassapa and Channa and Kāḷudāyin and Upāli.[170] Next he ordained 500 people of the Sakyas. Next on [the banks of a stream called] the Vaggumudā he ordained 500 people. Next he ordained 500 robbers. Next he ordained Sāgata, son of a wealthy merchant.[171]

The Pāli *Vinaya* goes into far greater detail about the expansion of the Buddha's teaching activities. It adds information about how these activities had been preceded by the Buddha's enlightenment and Brahmā's encouragement, and ends with the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. The accounts in both the *Wu-fen-lü* and the *Ssu-fen-lü* begin with the genealogy of the Śākyas and describe Gotama's life prior to his enlightenment, and finish, like the Pāli *Vinaya*, with the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.[172] The account in the *Ssu-fen-lü* is considerably developed and expanded. The Sarvāstivādin *Saṅghabhedavastu* (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*) begins with the Śākya genealogy, gives details of Gotama's life, and describes events up to the crime of Devadatta and the schism in the Saṅgha. The Tibetan translation of the *Vinaya* corresponds to that text. The various *Vinayas* were the templates for later biographies of the Buddha.

Gotama's activities are described more or less chronologically up to his enlightenment and for several years thereafter, but his later activities are not described in chronological order. Only the Chinese translation of a description of the eight holy sites of Buddhism, the *Pa-ta-ling-t'a ming-hao-ching*, records what Gotama did in chronological order:

> For twenty-nine years he was in the king's palace; he practiced austerities for six years in the Snow Mountains; for five years he converted and ordained [people] in Rājagṛha; for four years he remained in the grove of [King] Bimbisāra; for two years he went into retreat on the rock of Je-li [Cālikā?]; for twenty-three years he remained in Śrāvastī.[173]
>
> The Tathāgata Śākya[muni] went and dwelt in the following holy places for one year: Vaiśālī and Deer Park, Mo-chü-li [Makkhali?] and the Tuṣita heaven, Śmaṣāṇa and Kauśāmbī and the summit of Pao-t'a-shan [Ratnagiri?] and Mahāvana, the village of Veṇuvana, Vairañjā, and Kapilavastu, the capital of King Śuddhodana.
>
> In this way he spent his eighty years. Then [Śākya]muni entered nirvana.[174]

Since no other writings give a chronological account of Gotama's life, the above is extremely valuable. However, it is not absolutely reliable and needs to be read critically. For example, Gotama is said to have spent six years practicing austerities in the Snow Mountains; yet we know that he spent those six years in Bihar, where snow never falls. "Snow Mountains" may have been inserted by the Chinese translator.

The *Seng-ch'ieh-lo-ch'a so-ch'i-ching*, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* quoted in Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* (*Chos-ḥbyung*), and the Burmese biography of the Buddha record chronologically where the rainy-season retreats were spent. The *Seng-ch'ieh-lo-ch'a so-ch'i-ching* states:

> Thus the Blessed One turned the wheel of the Dhamma in Vārāṇasī. When he first turned that [wheel of the] Dhamma, he benefited many living beings; here he spent the first rainy-season retreat and benefited the king of Magadha. The second, third, and fourth [rainy-season retreats] were spent on Vulture Peak [Gijjhakūṭa]. The fifth [was at] Vesālī. The sixth [was on] Mount Maṅkula. The seventh he spent for the sake of his mother in the Heaven of the Thirty-three [Gods]. The eighth [he spent in] the realm of the Yakkhas. The ninth [he spent at] Kosambī. The tenth [he spent at] Cetiyapabbata. The eleventh [he spent] again in the realm of the Yakkhas. The twelfth [he spent] at the quiet retreat at Magadha. The thirteenth he again [spent] in the realm of the Yakkhas. The fourteenth [he spent] at a place he often visited: Anāthapiṇḍika's Park in Sāvatthī. The fifteenth he spent in the Sakya village of Kapilavatthu. The sixteenth he returned to Kapilavatthu. The seventeenth [he spent] in Rājagaha. The eighteenth [he spent] again in Rājagaha. The nineteenth [he spent] on Mount Cālikā. The twentieth summer retreat he stayed in Rājagaha. The twenty-first he returned to Mount Cālikā and without traveling elsewhere spent four summer retreats in the realm of the Yakkhas. For nineteen years he remained in Sāvatthī for the summer retreat, going nowhere else. And finally, the Tathāgata spent his final summer retreat in P'i-chiang Village on the borders of Vajji.[175]

Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* (*Chos-ḥbyung*) says:

> The *Mahāvibhāṣā* moreover says: In the place [Deer Park] where
> he swung the Wheel of the Doctrine,
> In Vaiçalī, in Paṇḍubhūmi, in the realm of the gods,
> In Balaghna [place abounding with remedies] and in Kauçambī,

In the wilderness [Mahāvana], in Uçīrayicī,
In the Bamboo Grove, and
In the city of Kapilavastu,
In each of these places the Lord,
The Highest of living beings abided for a year.
Twenty-three years he resided in Çrāvastī,
Four years in the place abounding with remedies,
Two years he spent in Indraçailaguhā [Indra's cave],
Five years in the villages of Rājagṛha,
Six years he underwent the practice of asceticism and
Twenty-nine years he abided in his father's palace.
Thus the Lord, the holiest and highest of Sages,
Attained the age of 80 and departed into Nirvāṇa.[176]

The Burmese biography of the Buddha lists the following: first year, Migadawon (Deer Park); second, third, and fourth years, the Weloowon (Bamboo Grove) monastery; fifth, Mahawon (Mahāvana); sixth, Makula mountain; seventh, on the rock of Pantukambala in Tawadeintha (the Tuṣita heaven); eighth, the grove or forest of Tesakala; ninth, Kothambi (Kosambī); tenth, Palelayaka; eleventh, the monastery on Deckinagiri, or southern mountain near the village of Nala in Magadha; twelfth, Satiabia; thirteenth, a monastery near Tsalia; fourteenth, the Dzetawon (Jetavana) monastery; fifteenth, the Nigranda monastery in Kapilawot (Kapilavastu); sixteenth, Alawee; seventeenth, the Weloowon monastery; eighteenth, the monastery near Tsalia; nineteenth, the Weloowon monastery; twentieth, the Dzetawon monastery.[177]

This record also mentions that the Buddha spent the forty-fourth year at the Dzetawon monastery and the forty-fifth at the Weluwa (Bamboo Grove) monastery.

Table 6 combines the above information. The table clearly shows that the Buddha's activities centered on Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, and Vesālī.[178] It is notable that the Burmese record is a virtual blank after the twentieth rainy-season retreat.[179]

A short sutra, the *Shih-erh-yu-ching*, gives an outline of the Buddha's teaching activities during the first twelve years after his enlightenment that agrees broadly with the information in the writings just cited.

First year: From the eighth day of the fourth month to the fifteenth day of the seventh month the Buddha remained beneath the [*bodhi*] tree.

Table 6. Gotama's Age, Years After Enlightenment, and Sites of the Rainy-Season Retreats

YEAR	AGE	SITE			
		Seng-ch'ieh-lo-ch'a ching	Burmese	*Pa-ta-ling-t'a ming-hao-ching*	Bu-ston
1st	36	Vārāṇasī	Migadawon	Deer Park	Deer Park
2nd	37	Vulture Peak	Weloowon monastery	Rājagṛha	Rājagṛha
3rd	38	Vulture Peak	Weloowon monastery	Rājagṛha	Rājagṛha
4th	39	Vulture Peak	Weloowon monastery	Rājagṛha	Rājagṛha
5th	40	Vesālī	Mahawon	Vaiśālī	Vaiçalī
6th[1]	41	Mount Maṅkula	Makula mountain	Makkhali (?)	Paṇḍubhūmi
7th	42	Heaven of 33 [Gods]	Tawadeintha	Tuṣita heaven	realm of the gods
8th[2]	43	realm of Yakkhas	grove of Tesakala	grove of Bimbisāra	Balaghna
9th[3]	44	Kauśambi	Kothambi	Kauśāmbī	Kauçambi
10th	45	Cetiyapabbata	Palelayaka	Ratnagiri (?)	
11th[4]	46	realm of Yakkhas	Deckinagiri monastery	grove of Bimbisāra	Balaghna
12th[5]	47	Magadha	Satiabia	Verañjā	Balaghna
13th[6]	48	realm of Yakkhas	monastery near Tsalia	grove of Bimbisāra	Balaghna
14th	49	Anāthapiṇḍika's Park at Sāvatthī	Dzetawon monastery	Śrāvastī	Çrāvastī
15th	50	Sakya village of Kapilavatthu	Nigranda monastery in Kapilawot	Kapilavastu	Kapilavastu
16th	51	Kapilavatthu	Alawee	Mahāvana	wilderness
17th[7]	52	Rājagaha	Weloowon monastery	Rājagṛha	Rājagṛha

Table 5—*Continued*

18th[8]	53	Rājagaha	monastery near Tsalia	grove of Bimbisāra	Balaghna
19th	54	Mount Cālikā	Weloowon monastery	Mount Cālikā (?)	Indraçailaguhā
20th	55	Rājagaha	Dzetawon monastery	Rājagṛha	Rājagṛha
?				Śmaṣāṇa	Uçīrayicī
21st–24th[9]	56–59	Mount Cālikā		Mount Cālikā (?)	Indraçailaguhā
25th–43rd	60–78	Sāvatthī		Śrāvastī	Çrāvastī
44th	79	P'i-chiang Village on the borders of Vajji	Dzetawon monastery	Śrāvastī	Çrāvastī
45th	80		Weluwa	Veṇuvana	Bamboo Grove

1. The Buddha moved from Vaiśālī to Śrāvastī, where he spent the sixth retreat. At the end of the retreat he moved to Rājagṛha (H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* [Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1896], p. 31). As can be seen below as well, Kern makes conclusive statements about the chronology, perhaps based on a South Asian tradition.
2. Kern states that the eighth retreat was held at Crocodile Hill (Śiṃśumāra-giri), a hill in Deer Park of Bhesakalāvana in the country of Bharga (Kern, *Manual*, p. 34).
3. According to one Southern tradition, the Buddha spent the ninth retreat in Ghositārāma in Kauśāmbī (P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*, vol. 1 [Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1855], p. 234). However, see Kern, *Manual*, p. 34.
4. During the eleventh retreat, the Buddha stayed near Rājagṛha (Kern, *Manual*, p. 35).
5. Concerning the twelfth through fourteenth retreats, see *Bigandet, Life or Legend*, pp. 240–41; Kentoku Hori, *Bijutsujō no Shaka* (Śākyamuni in art; Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1910), pp. 208–9. During the twelfth retreat, the Buddha stayed at a place near Verañjā (Kern, *Manual*, p. 36).
6. The thirteenth retreat was spent at Śrāvastī and Cālikā (Kern, *Manual*, p. 36).
7. The Buddha went from Āḷavī to Rājagṛha, and spent the seventeenth retreat in the Bamboo Grove there (Kern, *Manual*, p. 37).
8. The eighteenth retreat was spent on a hill near Cālikā, the nineteenth at Veṇuvana, and the twentieth at Jetavana (Kern, *Manual*, p. 37).
9. Concerning Mount Cālikā, Shinkō Mochizuki, "Buddha jōdō shijūgonen ni okeru agon no chiten" (The places of *vassa* during the forty-five years of enlightenment) (*Bukkyō kenkyū* 1, no. 2 [July-August 1937], p. 8) says: "If we consider Cālikā to be in Sāvatthī because it was located nearby, this would mean the Buddha spent a total of twenty-five years at Sāvatthī." Akanuma does not refer to the mountain in his dictionary.

Second year: Discourses to various people in Deer Park and other places.
Third year: Instruction of Uruvilvā Kāśyapa and two others; the number of *bhikṣus* rose to one thousand.
Fourth year: Instruction given at Mount Gayāśīrṣa.
Fifth year: Instruction given at Bamboo Grove [monastery]. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are received into the community. Each had 250 disciples; there were now 1,250 *bhikṣus*. [Here the sutra gives details about how that number was attained.]
Sixth year: The wealthy merchant Sudatta and Prince Jeta cooperate to build a monastery.
Seventh year: In the country of Kauśāmbī,[180] the Buddha preaches the *Pratyutpanna[-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi]-sūtra* for the sake of P'o-t'uo-huo and seven others. [This is clearly a later addition.]
Eighth year: He instructs the younger brother of King Thunśindara on Mount Willow.
Ninth year: He instructs T'uo-chüeh-mo in a swamp.
Tenth year: He returns to Magadha and instructs King Fu-chia-sha [Pukkuśa].
Eleventh year: In awe he teaches Maitreya the former stories under the [*bodhi*] tree.
Twelfth year: He returns to his father's country [Kapilavastu].[181]

The original of the *Shih-erh-yu-ching* is not extant, and there are no alternative Chinese translations. The text is difficult to understand and I have included only the main points.

With the information gleaned from these writings in mind, let us examine Gotama's main teaching activities.

At Vārāṇasī

In addition to his five former companions, at Vārāṇasī Gotama ordained Yasa, the son of a rich merchant.[182] There were now seven *arahats*. When Yasa's father, who had come to try to persuade the young man to return to lay life, met Gotama, he became a lay believer, as did Yasa's mother and his former wife.[183]

Moved by Yasa's example, four of his friends, Vimala, Subāhu, Puṇṇaji, and Gavampati, all sons of merchants, met Gotama and were accepted as

disciples. There were now eleven *arahats*. Then fifty more of Yasa's friends, all sons of families long established and influential in Vārāṇasī, likewise met Gotama and were ordained, making a total of sixty-one *arahats*.

THE ORDINATION OF YASA

Here is the Pāli description of Yasa's ordination in the *Vinaya;* passages identical with those in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsutra* are underlined.[184]

> 1. At that time there was in Bārāṇasī a youth of good family called Yasa, the son of a wealthy merchant, of an obedient and refined nature. He had three mansions, one for the winter, one for the summer, and one for the rainy season. In the mansion of the rainy season he lived for four months surrounded by female musicians, who included no men, and he did not leave the palace.
>
> Thus Yasa, son of a good family, was satiated with the objects of the five desires, was filled with them, and possessed them. He fell asleep first, and after that the female musicians also fell asleep. An oil lamp remained burning the whole night.
>
> 2. And Yasa, son of a good family, awoke first and saw his female musicians sleeping. One had her lute in the hollow of her arm; one had her small drum resting against her neck; one had her drum in the hollow of her arm; one had disheveled hair; one was drooling; and they were muttering in their sleep. It made him think that a cemetery had come into being [before his eyes] within his reach. When he had finished looking, distress arose in him and his mind was weary of it.
>
> Then Yasa, son of a good family, uttered these solemn words: "Ah, what distress! Ah, what agony!"
>
> 3. Then Yasa, son of a good family, put on his golden sandals and went to the door of his house.

Since there is no equivalent in the Sanskrit or Tibetan texts of the phrase "put on his golden sandals," it can probably be considered a later addition. The Chinese text reads: "He wore jeweled shoes, costing 100,000 pieces of gold."

> Nonhuman beings [*amanussā*] opened the gate, saying, "Let no one prevent Yasa, son of a good family, from leaving home and going into homelessness to lead a wandering life."
>
> And Yasa, son of a good family, went to the gate of the city. Non-

human beings opened the gate, saying, "Let no one prevent Yasa, son of a good family, from leaving home and going into homelessness to lead a wandering life."

Then Yasa, son of a good family, went to Deer Park, where hermits gather.

4. At that time the Venerable Master, having arisen before dawn, was pacing up and down outside. The Venerable Master saw Yasa, son of a good family, in the distance, coming toward him. He left the place where he was pacing and sat down on a seat that had been made for him.

Then Yasa, son of a good family, approached the Venerable Master and uttered the solemn words: "Ah, what distress! Ah, what agony!"

Thereupon the Venerable Master said to Yasa, son of a good family: "Here is no distress, here is no agony. Yasa, come and sit down. I will speak of the teachings for you."

5. Then Yasa, son of a good family, [hearing] "Here is no distress, here is no agony," was filled with joy and uplift. He took off his golden sandals, approached the place where the Venerable Master was, bowed respectfully to him, and sat to one side.

This description makes it clear that Gotama must have been sitting on a large sheet placed on the ground outdoors.

When Yasa, son of a good family, sat to one side, the Venerable Master taught him by means of a graduated discourse [*anupubbikathā*]. That is, he spoke to him about giving alms; moral rules; heaven; and the afflictions, harm, and pollution of the desires and the benefits of abandoning them.

6. The Venerable Master, knowing that the mind of Yasa, son of a good family, was sound, flexible, not given to erroneous views, joyful and brave, and clear, taught the teaching praised by all the buddhas, that is, [the Four Noble Truths of] suffering, its cause, its extinction, and the way [to its extinction].

If the phrase "the teaching praised by all the buddhas" can be interpreted as being the way that Aśoka recommended,[185] it must be a teaching that had come into being before his time. This may, however, be a later addition.

Just as a clean cloth free from dirty specks can be perfectly dyed, Yasa, son of a good family, sitting here, has obtained the pure and unstained

eye that perceives the Truth: "Whatever is subject to the accumulation and arising [by causes and conditions] is also subject to their extinction."
7. Now the mother of Yasa, son of a good family, had gone to the mansion to see Yasa, son of a good family, but not seeing him she went to where the wealthy merchant, the householder [Yasa's father], was, and said to him: "Householder, your son Yasa has disappeared." Then the wealthy merchant, the householder, sent messengers on horseback in the four directions, and he himself went to Deer Park, where hermits gather. There he found the golden sandals discarded. Discovering them, he followed [their marks].
8. The Venerable Master saw the wealthy merchant, the householder, coming in the distance. Seeing him, the Venerable Master thought: "I will use my supernatural abilities so that the wealthy merchant, the householder, though sitting here, will not see Yasa, son of a good family, also sitting here." And so the Venerable Master used his supernatural powers to that end.
9. Then the wealthy merchant, the householder, approached the place where the Venerable Master was, and he said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, has the Venerable Master seen Yasa, son of a good family?" "Householder, sit down. If you sit here, you may perhaps see Yasa, son of a good family, sitting here also."

Then the wealthy merchant, the householder, thinking, "If I sit here, I may perhaps see Yasa, son of a good family, sitting here also," was exultant, uplifted, and he bowed respectfully to the Venerable Master and sat to one side.
10. When the wealthy merchant, the householder, had sat to one side, the Venerable Master taught him by means of a graduated discourse. . . . He obtained the pure and unstained eye that perceives the Truth. "Whatever is subject to accumulation and arising [by causes and conditions] is also subject to their extinction." And the wealthy merchant, the householder, having seen the Truth, having attained the Truth, having gained knowledge of the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome all doubts, having rid himself of all delusions, having gained conviction, dependent on no one else for the teachings of the Master, said to the Venerable Master: "It is wonderful, Revered One, wonderful, Revered One. As a person fallen down is set aright, as the hidden is revealed, as the way is shown to one wandering lost, as an oil lamp is held aloft in the darkness, saying, 'Those who have eyes may see shapes,' the Venerable Master has explained the Dhamma through

> a variety of ways. Therefore I take refuge in the Venerable Master. I take refuge in the Dhamma and the community of *bhikkhus*. Venerable Master, receive me as a lay believer. I take refuge from this day to the time of my death."

The formula by which Yasa's father requested that he be received as a believer is found often in other Buddhist writings, as well. The *Vinaya* version is probably later than that contained in the prose section of the *Suttanipāta*,[186] since Gotama is addressed in the *Vinaya* as *bhagavān* ("Venerable Master, Blessed One") or by the title *bhante* ("Revered One"). These are later forms of address than that used in the *Suttanipāta*, where those newly taking refuge in Buddhism call Gotama by his name with an honorific (*bho Gotama*). Yasa would probably have addressed the Buddha as *bho Gotama*.

> 11. Yasa, son of a good family, while his father was receiving the teaching, contemplated [his own] stage, as he had seen and understood it; and he lost all attachment and his mind became free of the defilements. Then the Venerable Master thought: "Yasa, son of a good family, while his father was receiving the teaching, has contemplated [his own] stage, as he has seen and understood it; and he has lost all attachment and his mind has become free of the defilements. It is impossible for Yasa, son of a good family, to return to the base [secular] life and be satiated with desires as he was when he lived the life of a lay person. I will use my supernatural abilities so that he does not return." And so the Venerable Master used his supernatural powers to that end.
>
> 12. The wealthy merchant, the householder, saw Yasa, son of a good family, sitting there. Seeing him, he said to Yasa, son of a good family: "Yasa, my son. Your mother is overwhelmed by grief and sadness. Give your mother life."
>
> 13. Then Yasa, son of a good family, looked at the Venerable Master. At that time, the Venerable Master said to the wealthy merchant, the householder: "What do you think, householder? Yasa, like yourself, has seen the Truth, through a learner's knowledge and through a learner's insight.[187] He has contemplated [his own] stage, as he has seen and understood it; and he has lost all attachment and his mind has become free of the defilements. Householder, can Yasa, son of a good family, return to the base [secular] life and be satiated with desires as he was when he lived the life of a lay person?"

"No, Revered One."

"Householder, Yasa, like yourself, has seen the Truth, through a learner's knowledge and through a learner's insight. He has contemplated [his own] stage, as he has seen and understood it; and he has lost all attachment and his mind has become free of the defilements. Householder, it is impossible for Yasa, son of a good family, to return to the base [secular] life and be satiated with desires as he was when he lived the life of a lay person."

14. "It is of benefit to him, Revered One, that Yasa, son of a good family, has lost all attachment and his mind has become free of the defilements. It is his sublime advantage. Revered One, might the Venerable Master today take his meal with me, with Yasa, son of a good family, as his attendant?"

The Venerable Master expressed his consent by his silence.

Then the wealthy merchant, the householder, understanding that the Venerable Master had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, bowed respectfully to the Venerable Master, and, passing around with his right side toward him, departed.

15. Soon after the wealthy merchant, the householder, had departed, Yasa, son of a good family, said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, let me receive ordination and the precepts from the Venerable Master." The Venerable Master said: "Come, *bhikkhu*. The teachings have been well taught. Undertake pure practice for the sake of the complete annihilation of suffering."

This is how that venerable person [Yasa] received the precepts [*upasampadā*]. At that time there were seven *arahats* in the world.

This episode is famous as the first instance of a lay person being admitted into the community of *bhikkhus*, or Saṅgha. It tells us two things. First, at that time ordination occurred at the same time as receiving the precepts. It was only in later times that the two were considered to be distinct. Second, there were as yet no complicated provisions and ceremonies concerning admission to the Saṅgha. When a man became a member of the Saṅgha, he followed the same actions as the others, and so in actuality maintained the various precepts and regulations. Receiving the precepts thus meant simply being admitted to the Saṅgha.

In saying "at that time there were seven *arahats* in the world," the Pāli text included Gotama in the same terms as his disciples, making no distinction between them regarding the attainment of ultimate Truth. By

contrast, the process of the deification of Gotama is clear in the *Ssu-fen-lü*, which states: "At that time there were seven *arahats* in the world; six were the disciples, the seventh was the Buddha."

The following verse in the *Theragāthā* is attributed to Yasa: "Beautifully perfumed and finely clothed, / Adorned with all ornaments, / [I led a life of luxury]. / [Now] I have attained the three knowledges / And fulfilled [the practice] of the Buddha's teaching."[188] The *Nidānakathā* speaks of the episode very briefly: "Then the Master perceived that Yasa, son of a good family, had the disposition [to become an *arahat*]. When he abandoned his home in the nighttime, disgusted [with the sleeping forms of his women attendants], [the Master] called to him: "Come, Yasa." On that very night Yasa attained the first stage of a sage, and the next day he entered the last stage, *arahat*."[189]

THE CONVERSION OF YASA'S FAMILY

The Pāli *Vinaya* then describes how Yasa's family was converted:

> 1. In the early morning the Venerable Master put on his robes, took up his alms bowl and his outer robe, and, with the Venerable Yasa as an attendant, went to the dwelling of the wealthy merchant, the householder. When he arrived, he sat down in the place prepared for him. Then the mother and the former wife of the Venerable Yasa approached the place where the Venerable Master was, bowed respectfully to him, and sat down to one side.
>
> 2. The Venerable Master taught them by means of a graduated discourse. He spoke to them about giving alms; moral rules; heaven; and the afflictions, harm, and pollution of the desires and the benefits of abandoning them.
>
> The Venerable Master, knowing that the minds of the women were sound, flexible,[190] not given to erroneous views, joyful and brave, and clear, taught the teaching praised by all the buddhas, that is [the Four Noble Truths of] suffering, its cause, its extinction, and the way [to its extinction].
>
> Just as a clean cloth free from dirty specks can be perfectly dyed, the women, sitting there, obtained the pure and unstained eye that perceives the Truth. "Whatever is subject to accumulation and arising [by causes and conditions] is also subject to their extinction."
>
> 3. The women, having seen the Truth, having attained the Truth, hav-

ing gained knowledge of the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome all doubts, having rid themselves of all delusions, having gained conviction, dependent on no one else for the teachings of the Master, said to the Venerable Master:

"It is wonderful, Revered One, wonderful, Revered One. . . . Therefore we take refuge in the Venerable Master. We take refuge in the Dhamma and the community of *bhikkhus.* Venerable Master, receive us as lay believers. We take refuge from this day to the time of our death."

These were the first women to become lay believers by reciting the Triple Refuge.

4. Then the mother, father, and former wife of the Venerable Yasa with their own hands served delicious food, both hard and soft, to the Venerable Master and the Venerable Yasa. When [they saw] that the Venerable Master had finished and had washed his bowl and his hands, they sat down to one side. Then the Venerable Master taught, instructed, encouraged, and delighted the mother, father, and former wife of Yasa by discourses according to the Dhamma. He then rose from his seat and departed.

This passage is important because it describes how the first women lay believers made their appearance. (The *Wu-fen-lü,* however, says that a woman believer had already appeared at Uruvelā.)[191]

THE ORDINATION OF FOUR OF YASA'S FRIENDS

Then four of Yasa's friends were ordained.[192] The Pāli *Vinaya* relates:

1. The Venerable Yasa had had four friends in lay life, sons of leading merchant families in Bārāṇasī, by name Vimala, Subāhu, Puṇṇaji, and Gavampati.[193] They heard: "Yasa, son of a good family, has cut off his hair and his beard and donned the yellow robe. He has left his home and homeless [he has become a homeless ascetic]." Hearing this, they thought: "That cannot be any ordinary teaching or discipline. That cannot be any ordinary kind of renunciation, because [someone like] Yasa, son of a good family, has cut off his hair and his beard and donned the yellow robe, has left his home and homeless [become a homeless ascetic]."

2. The four went to where the Venerable Yasa was.[194] Approaching, they bowed respectfully to the Venerable Yasa and stood to one side.

Then the Venerable Yasa went with his four lay friends to where the Venerable Master was. They bowed respectfully to the Venerable Master and sat to one side.

Sitting to one side, the Venerable Yasa said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, these four people were my friends in my former life. They are sons of leading merchant families in Bārāṇasī, by name Vimala, Subāhu, Puṇṇaji, and Gavampati. Revered One, please instruct these four and bring them to understanding."

3. The Venerable Master taught them by means of a graduated discourse. . . .

The Venerable Master said: "Come, *bhikkhus*. The teachings have been well taught. Undertake pure practice for the sake of the extinction of suffering."

This is how these venerable ones received the precepts.

Then the Venerable Master taught and instructed the *bhikkhus* by discourses according to the Dhamma and brought them to understanding. When the Venerable Master had taught and instructed the *bhikkhus* by discourses according to the Dhamma and had brought them to understanding, they lost all attachment and their minds became free of the defilements. There were then eleven *arahats* in the world.

THE ORDINATION OF FIFTY OF YASA'S FRIENDS

The Pāli *Vinaya* continues:

1. The Venerable Yasa had had fifty friends in lay life, sons of leading merchant families in the district. They heard: "Yasa, son of a good family, has cut off his hair and his beard and donned the yellow robe. . . . That cannot be any ordinary teaching or discipline. . . .

2. They went to where the Venerable Yasa was. Approaching, they bowed respectfully to the Venerable Yasa and stood to one side. Then the Venerable Yasa went with his fifty lay friends to where the Venerable Master was. They bowed respectfully to the Venerable Master and sat to one side.

Sitting to one side, the Venerable Yasa said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, these fifty people were my friends in my former life. They are sons of leading merchant families in Bārāṇasī. Revered One, please instruct them and bring them to understanding."

3. The Venerable Master taught them by means of a graduated dis-

course. . . . The Venerable Master said: "Come, *bhikkhus.* The teachings have been well taught. Undertake pure practice for the sake of the extinction of suffering."

This is how these venerable ones received the precepts.

Then the Venerable Master taught and instructed the *bhikkhus* by discourses according to the Dhamma and brought them to understanding. When the Venerable Master had taught and instructed the *bhikkhus* by discourses according to the Dhamma and had brought them to understanding, they lost all attachment and their minds became free of the defilements. There were then sixty-one *arahats* in the world.[195]

The *Nidānakathā* says:

And he ordained the fifty-four friends of Yasa with the formula "Come, *bhikkhus,*" and caused them to attain the final stage of an *arahat.* When there were thus sixty-one *arahats* in the world, the Master, after the rainy season ended, sent the sixty *bhikkhus* into various directions with the formula, "Go forth, *bhikkhus,* on your wanderings." He himself went to Uruvelā.[196]

ENCOURAGEMENT TO SPREAD THE TEACHING AND MĀRA'S TEMPTATION

In two places the Pāli scriptures describe Gotama's encouragement to his disciples to go out and spread the teachings.[197] They are compared below; passages identical to those in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* are underlined.

VINAYA, "MAHĀVAGGA"

At that time [when Gotama had gained sixty-one disciples], the Venerable Master said to the *bhikkhus:*

SAṂYUTTA-NIKĀYA

On one occasion the Venerable Master was dwelling at Deer Park, where hermits gather, in Bārāṇasī. He addressed the *bhikkhus,* saying, "*Bhikkhus!*" "Revered One," they answered. The Venerable Master said:

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

I am freed of all bonds, *bhikkhus,* whether they be divine or human. You also are freed from all bonds, whether they be divine or human. Go forth for the good of the many, the happiness of the many, out of com-

passion for the people of the world, for the good and happiness of gods and human beings. Let not two of you take the same road [so that the greatest number of people will be exposed to the teaching]. Preach the teaching that is good at the beginning, good in the middle, and good at the end, in spirit and letter. Proclaim the perfected and purified holy way. There are in the world those whose eyes are covered by little dust, yet because they do not hear the teaching they are far from the Truth. [If they hear it] they will thoroughly understand the Truth. And I too will go to the village of Senā in Uruvelā, there to preach the teaching.

Just then Māra, the Evil One, approached where the Venerable Master was and spoke to him in verse:

VINAYA

"You are bound by the fetters of Māra,

SN

You are bound by all fetters,

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

All fetters divine and human.
You are bound by strong fetters, *samaṇa*,
You cannot escape from me."

VINAYA

"I am freed from the fetters of Māra,

SN

I am freed from all fetters,

COMMON TO BOTH TEXTS

All fetters divine and human.
I am freed from the strong fetters.
You have lost, you who bring destruction!

VINAYA

Whatever pleases the senses,
Forms, colors, smells, tastes, or contacts,
I do not wish for them.
You have lost, you who bring destruction!"

Then Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.

This section is not found in the *Wu-fen-lü*. A brief version is recorded in the *Ssu-fen-lü*.[198] Since it appears in two places in the Pāli canon, however, it must have been composed at a fairly early date. The Pāli canon also contains an explanation of the full precepts, which does not appear in the Chinese translation, an indication that this was a later addition connected with the spread of the teachings. According to the Chinese translation of the Mahāsaṃghika *Vinaya*, the *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü*, the full precepts had not yet been devised.

It was a commonly held opinion in Gotama's time that a true *bhikkhu* did not actively teach, but spent his time in quiet meditation. This may show that the Buddha felt some hesitation or anxiety about teaching. This may have been expressed as the temptations of Māra, which of course the Buddha overcame. Thus even after Gotama began his teaching activities, we find stories of how Māra attempted to prevent him from teaching the Way. One, which cannot be dated, is contained in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya:*

On one occasion the Venerable Master was dwelling in the Brahmin village called Ekasālā in Kōsala. At that time he was preaching the teaching, surrounded by a great crowd of lay people. At that time Māra, the Evil One, thought: "The *samaṇa* Gotama is preaching the teaching, surrounded by a great crowd of lay people. What if I were to approach where Gotama is and darken the sight of the people?" Then Māra, the Evil One, approached where Gotama was and addressed the Venerable Master in verse:

"Not suitable are you
To teach others.
Should you dare to do so
Take care not to cling to support [*anurodha*] or opposition
[*virodha*]."

[Gotama replied:]

"When teaching others
The enlightened person feels compassion
Toward them.

> The perfected person [*saṃbuddha*] is liberated from both support
> and opposition."

> Then Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.[199]

According to the Chinese translation, the place was Silāvatī, a Śākya village.[200] What is certain is that Gotama questioned whether he should teach. His replies to Māra always confirm his confidence in his ability to do so.[201] Stories about Māra's temptation are especially numerous in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, which includes twenty-five so-called Māra suttas (*Māra-saṃyutta*). They are all set *after* the enlightenment. As we will see later, there are also Māra tales about Gotama's last years. Stories that link the conquest of Māra with the attainment of enlightenment do not appear anywhere in the earliest Buddhist writings.

The previously quoted *Suttanipāta* (pp. 155–57) shows the supposedly enlightened Buddha fighting with Māra. We can draw two important conclusions from this. First, even an enlightened person, one who has become a buddha, is exposed to unceasing temptations and intimidation. The Buddha had to fight the temptations and intimidation of Māra. It is in that exertion that the buddhahood of a buddha consists. The exertion, the practice, is in itself Buddhism. Enlightenment does not mean perfection. Attempts to understand Gotama in human terms can be seen everywhere in the early Buddhist writings. Second, later biographies of the Buddha, such as the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, tell of Māra's temptations of Gotama while he was still training, before his enlightenment, but they say very little about such episodes after he attained buddhahood. This is a function of later Buddhists' tendency to deify Gotama, to portray him as a transcendental being who had gone far beyond Māra.

ORIGINS OF THE *UPASAMPADĀ* ORDINATION BY TAKING REFUGE IN THE THREE TREASURES

According to the Pāli *Vinaya*, people were accepted into the Saṅgha by means of the *upasampadā* (precepts) ordination by taking refuge in the Three Treasures—the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha. Other *Vinayas* and the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, however, lack this passage, which

suggests that it was added later to reflect the thinking at that time. A point in favor of this explanation is the fact that no historical personages appear in the passage in the *Vinaya:*

1. At that time the *bhikkhus* brought from various places and various countries people wanting to be ordained and to receive the precepts, thinking, "The Venerable Master will ordain them and bestow the precepts upon them." As a result, both the *bhikkhus* and those who desired to be ordained and to receive the precepts grew tired.

When the Venerable Master was alone and concentrated his mind, the deliberation arose: "Now the *bhikkhus* have brought back from various places and various countries people wanting to be ordained and to receive the precepts, thinking, 'The Venerable Master will ordain them and bestow the precepts upon them.' As a result, both the *bhikkhus* and those who desire to be ordained and to receive the precepts grow tired. Therefore I will give the *bhikkhus* permission, saying, 'Now, *bhikkhus,* you yourselves may grant ordination and the precepts in various places and various countries.'"

2. The Venerable Master, having arisen from seclusion in the evening, for this reason, after he had spoken to [the gathered *bhikkhus* with] a graduated discourse about the Dhamma, addressed the *bhikkhus,* saying, "Now the *bhikkhus* have brought from various places and various countries people wanting to be ordained and to receive the precepts. . . .

3. I now give you, *bhikkhus,* permission. Now, *bhikkhus,* you yourselves may grant ordination and the precepts in various places and various countries. However, you should grant ordination and the precepts in this way. First cut off the hair and the beard [of the aspirant], robe him with a yellow robe, adjust the upper robe so it covers one shoulder [leaving the right shoulder bare], and have him bow down at the feet of the *bhikkhus* [with his head on the ground], sit down squatting, place the palms of his hands together, and say:

4. 'I take refuge in the Buddha. I take refuge in the Dhamma. I take refuge in the Saṅgha. For the second time I take refuge in the Buddha. For the second time I take refuge in the Dhamma. For the second time I take refuge in the Saṅgha. For the third time I take refuge in the Buddha. For the third time I take refuge in the Dhamma. For the third time I take refuge in the Saṅgha.' *Bhikkhus,* I permit ordination and receiving the precepts with this Triple Refuge.[202]

THE OVERTHROW OF MĀRA

The Pāli *Vinaya* goes on to describe an attack by Māra:

> 1. After the Venerable Master had passed the rainy season, he addressed the *bhikkhus,* saying, "*Bhikkhus,* by right concentration and by right effort I have attained supreme liberation and realized supreme liberation. You also, *bhikkhus,* by right concentration and by right effort should attain supreme liberation and realize supreme liberation."
> 2. Then Māra, the Evil One, approached where the Venerable Master was and addressed the Venerable Master in verse:
>
> "You are bound by the fetters of Māra,
> All fetters divine and human.
> You are bound by strong fetters, *samaṇa,*
> You cannot escape from me."
>
> [Gotama replied:]
>
> "I am freed from the fetters of Māra,
> All fetters divine and human.
> I am freed from the strong fetters.
> You have lost, you who bring destruction!"
>
> Then Māra, the Evil One, thinking, "The Venerable Master knows me, the Blessed One knows me," vanished then and there, downcast and sorrowful.

This section is very old, although it was inserted into the *Vinaya* relatively late. Virtually the same text appears in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (Māra suttas, *pāsa* 1).[203] Here, though, it is said to have occurred at Deer Park. The account in *pāsa* 2 is almost identical, occurring in the same place, except that at the end the Buddha says: "Go and teach." This section does not appear in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra.*

TO URUVELĀ

SEEKING THE SELF

After his stay in Bārāṇasī, Gotama set out again for Uruvelā, the place where he had attained enlightenment.[204] On one occasion he left the

road and entered a grove, seating himself beneath a tree. Just then thirty friends came to the grove with their wives to enjoy themselves. One did not have a wife and had brought a courtesan, who made off with their money and belongings when they were not looking. The whole party went to seek the courtesan and, while wandering about, came upon the Buddha seated beneath the tree. They came up and asked him if he had seen the woman. "Why are you looking for her, young men?" asked Gotama. "The thirty of us with our wives came to the grove to enjoy ourselves. Because one had no wife he brought along a courtesan, and this courtesan has taken our belongings. We are now searching for her in the grove." In response Gotama asked: "What do you think, young men? Which is better, to go in search of a woman or to go in search of the self?" "It is better that we go in search of the self." "Then, young men, sit down and I will teach you." Sakyamuni then taught the young men the same teaching he had given Yasa, and they attained the same degree as he and were ordained.[205]

The Pāli *Vinaya* relates the incident as follows: Underlining indicates wording virtually identical to that in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra.*

> 1. <u>And the Venerable Master, having stayed in Bārāṇasī as long as he desired, set out walking to Uruvelā.</u> At that time the Venerable Master left the road and <u>went to a woodland grove, and</u> [having arrived] <u>went in and sat down at the base of a tree. Just at that time there were</u> thirty <u>friends</u> of high standing with their wives <u>enjoying themselves</u> in the grove. Since one of them had no wife, a courtesan was brought along for him. While they were heedlessly enjoying themselves, <u>the courtesan</u> took their belongings and <u>ran away.</u>[206]
>
> 2. Then the friends, to help their companion, <u>went in search of the woman</u> and, <u>wandering about the grove, saw the Venerable Master sitting at the base of a tree. Having seen him, they approached the place where the Venerable Master was and asked him: "Revered One, has the Venerable Master seen a woman?"</u>
>
> <u>"Young men, what do you want with the woman?"</u>
>
> <u>"Revered One, we are</u> thirty <u>friends of high standing who have come with</u> our wives <u>to enjoy ourselves</u> in the grove. <u>Since one of us has no</u> wife, a courtesan was brought along for him. While we were heedlessly enjoying themselves, the courtesan took our belongings and ran away. To help our companion, <u>we are searching for the woman</u> and wandering about the grove."

3. "What do you think, young men? Which is better for you, to go in search of a woman or to go in search of the self [*attā*]?"

"It would be far better, Revered One, to go in search of the self."

"Then, young men, sit down. I will instruct you in the teachings."

Saying, "Yes, Revered One," the friends of high standing respectfully bowed to the Venerable Master and sat down to one side.

4. The Venerable Master taught them by means of a graduated discourse. He spoke to them about alms, ethical rules, heaven, the afflictions, harm, the pollution of the desires, and the benefits in abandoning them. The Venerable Master, knowing that their minds were sound, flexible, not given to erroneous views, joyful and brave, and clear, taught the teaching praised by all the buddhas, that is, [the Four Noble Truths of] suffering, its cause, its extinction, and the path [to its extinction]. Just as a clean cloth free from dirty marks can be perfectly dyed, the thirty friends, sitting there, obtained the pure and unstained eye that perceives the Truth. "Whatever is subject to the accumulation and arising [of causes and conditions] is also subject to their extinction."

5. They, having seen the Truth, having attained the Truth, having gained knowledge of the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome all doubts, having rid themselves of all delusions, having conviction, dependent on no one else under the teachings of the Master, said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, let us receive ordination and the precepts from the Venerable Master." The Venerable Master said: "Come, *bhikkhus*. The teachings have been well taught. Undertake pure practice for the sake of the extinction of suffering." This is how these venerable persons received the precepts.

This witty and interesting passage has the definite flavor of a made-up story. According to the *Nidānakathā* Sakyamuni was walking to Uruvelā when "he gave teaching to thirty young friends of high standing in the *kappāsiya* forest on the way. Of these the lowest attained the first stage of a sage [*sotāpanna*], while the highest attained the third stage [*anāgāmin*]. He ordained them all with the formula, 'Come, *bhikkhus*.' Then, sending them in various directions, he himself went on to Uruvelā."[207]

THE CONVERSION OF THE THREE KASSAPA BROTHERS

Next Gotama returned to the Uruvelā region, where he had undertaken his initial training, and converted the three Kassapa brothers, who prac-

ticed a fire cult.[208] Why he returned to Uruvelā is not clear, but he may have thought his teaching activities would be curtailed if he did not convert the Kassapa brothers, held in great respect by the local people for their magical powers.[209] Here is the brief description in the *Nidānakathā:* "[Gotama], by performing 3,500 miracles, won over the three matted-haired ascetics, the Kassapa brothers led by Uruvela Kassapa[210] who had one thousand matted-haired ascetics as followers. He ordained them all with the formula 'Come, *bhikkhus.*' Having seated them on Gayāsīsa hill, he taught them the Fire Discourse, and all attained the highest stage of *arahat.*"[211]

Since this episode is dealt with in some detail in the oldest Buddhist writings, it is worth further study. When Gotama arrived in Uruvelā, he found there three matted-haired Brahmins, brothers according to legend, Uruvela Kassapa, Nadī Kassapa, and Gayā Kassapa, with their followings of five hundred, three hundred, and two hundred disciples, respectively.[212] Their names seem to have meant the Kassapa who lived in Uruvelā, the Kassapa who lived on the bank of the Nerañjarā River (*nadī* means river), and the Kassapa who lived in the town of Gayā.[213] Uruvela Kassapa was performing a fire ritual at the time, but Gotama overcame him by the use of various forms of supernatural power (*abhiññā*). Though Uruvela Kassapa had thought himself superior, he finally admitted defeat and cut off his hair and threw all his ritual implements into the river. He and his followers became disciples of Gotama and received ordination. Seeing what had happened, Nadī Kassapa, Gayā Kassapa, and all their followers were likewise ordained as Gotama's disciples. It is difficult for us today to understand the meaning of such a competition of miraculous powers, but the legend seems to be an early one.

Study of pre-Buddhist Indian religious history reveals the centrality to Vedic ritual of sacred fire and the special reverence paid to the fire god, Agni, so it is likely the Brahmins in the legend were performing a similar type of rite.[214] The episode suggests that Buddhism's spread owed much to its victory over Brahmanic ritual. Another possibility is that the Kassapa brothers were practitioners of a particular fire-worshiping religion; this, though, calls for further study.

The conversion of the Kassapa brothers was highly significant for the social vigor of the early Buddhist community, for it meant that Gotama had dominated Brahmanism. He had dared to take up a challenge from a rival group in the very place where he had undergone religious training. Though his words were moderate, his actions were provocative. In this confrontation, he was victorious. He was without doubt a man of consid-

erable ambition. The episode compares with that of the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, the disciples of Sañjaya, which reveals Gotama's ascendancy over the heterodox teachers, as well.

We do not know how often Gotama returned to Uruvelā in his lifetime, but it is clear that he converted numbers of people in the area. When he was teaching on the banks of the Nerañjarā, a woman called Cāpā heard him and was ordained.[215] On another occasion, when he was teaching at Gayā, the Venerable Senaka became a lay follower.[216]

Following is the story of the conversion of the Kassapa brothers as it appears in the Pāli *Vinaya*. Portions of the text identical to the account in the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* are underlined.

THE MIRACLE AT URUVELĀ (1), *VINAYA*, "MAHĀVAGGA," I, 15

1. And the Venerable Master, wandering from place to place, in the course of time arrived at Uruvelā. At that time there lived in Uruvelā three matted-haired ascetics [*jaṭila*] called Uruvela Kassapa,[217] Nadī Kassapa, and Gayā Kassapa. The matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa was guide, leader, head, foremost, and highest over five hundred matted-haired ascetics. The matted-haired ascetic Nadī Kassapa was guide, leader, head, foremost, and highest over three hundred matted-haired ascetics. The matted-haired ascetic Gayā Kassapa was guide, leader, head, foremost, and highest over two hundred matted-haired ascetics.

2. Then the Venerable Master went to the hermitage [*assama*] of the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa and asked him: "If it is not inconvenient to you, Kassapa, I would like to spend the night in the hall of the sacred fire [*agyāgāra*]."[218]

"It is not inconvenient to me, Great *Samaṇa*,[219] but there is a fierce *nāga* king of magical power in that hall, a terribly venomous serpent. I hope that it will not cause you any harm."

[This question and response are repeated twice in the *Vinaya*.]

"It will not do anything to harm me. Allow me, Kassapa, [the use of] the hall of the sacred fire."

"Stay there as you will, Great *Samaṇa*."

3. Then the Venerable Master entered the hall of the sacred fire, spread out a grass mat, and sat down cross-legged, his body erect, paying attention to what was before him. Then that *nāga*, seeing the Venerable Master had entered, grew distressed and displeased and belched smoke. Then the Venerable Master thought: "I will extinguish the

power of [his] fire with my fire, without harming his skin, hide, flesh, ligaments, bones, or marrow."

"Spreading out a grass mat" may mean to make a temporary seat in a particular place by spreading out grass. It is unlikely Gotama would actually have carried a grass mat around with him on his wanderings.

4. Then the Venerable Master displayed his superhuman powers and sent forth smoke. The *nāga*, not conquering anger, emitted flames. The Venerable Master, permeating the principle of fire [entering into the condition of fire], also sent forth flames. When they had both sent forth their flames, the hall of the sacred fire looked as if it were on fire, flaming and blazing. Then the matted-haired ascetics, surrounding the hall of the sacred fire, said: "The Great *Samaṇa* is indeed beautiful; perhaps the *nāga* will not harm him."[220]

5. When the night had passed, the Venerable Master, not having harmed the *nāga*'s skin, hide, flesh, ligaments, bones, or marrow, but having extinguished the power of the [*nāga*'s] fire with his own, placed [the *nāga*] in his alms bowl and showed it to the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa, saying, "Here, Kassapa, is your *nāga*. The power of his fire was mastered by the power of mine."

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for he has been able to extinguish the power of the fire of that fierce *nāga* king of magical power, that terribly venomous serpent, with [his own] fire.

However, he is not an *arahat* like me."[221]

From here on the different versions display considerable variety; I will give that of the Pāli *Vinaya*.

6. Near the Nerañjarā River, the Venerable Master said to the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa: "If it is not inconvenient to you, Kassapa, I would like to spend this moonlight night in the hall of the sacred fire [*aggisālā*]."

"It is not inconvenient to me, Great *Samaṇa*, but I give you warning for your own peace of mind. There is a fierce *nāga* king of magical power in that hall, a terribly venomous serpent. I hope that it will not cause you any harm."

"It will not do anything to harm me. Allow me, Kassapa, [the use of] the hall of the sacred fire."

Knowing he had [received permission, the Venerable Master], without fear, having overcome all fear, entered. Then that king of serpents, seeing the holy man [the Buddha] had entered, grew distressed and displeased and belched smoke. The human *nāga* king [Gotama], joyful and not bewildered, also sent forth smoke. The *nāga* king, not conquering anger, emitted burning flames. The human *nāga* king, having thoroughly imbibed the principle of fire, also sent forth flames. When they had both sent forth their flames, the matted-haired ascetics, seeing the hall of the sacred fire [which looked as if it were on fire], said: "The Great *Samaṇa* is indeed beautiful; perhaps the *nāga* will not harm him."

7. When the night had passed, the flames of the *nāga* were extinguished, but the flames [of Gotama], of superhuman powers, remained as before, showing forth many colors, blue, red, crimson, yellow, and crystal. On the Aṅgirasa's [Gotama's] body there were flames of many colors. [Gotama,] having put the *nāga* king in his alms bowl, showed it to the Brahmin, saying, "Here, Kassapa, is your *nāga*. The power of his fire was mastered by the power of mine."

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa, being inclined now to have faith in the Venerable Master because of his superhuman powers, said: "Stay here, Great *Samaṇa*, and I will provide you always with food."

We should note that Gotama is referred to here as Aṅgirasa. In the *Ṛg Veda* Aṅgirasa (or Aṅgīrasa) is an intermediate being between gods and human beings, but to conservative Brahmins the term referred to a fire ritualist as the supreme magician.[222] Gotama developed a new religious movement emancipated from such forms.

THE MIRACLE AT URUVELĀ (2), *VINAYA*, "MAHĀVAGGA," I, 16

1. Then the Venerable Master was dwelling in a certain woodland grove near the hermitage of the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa. On that occasion, the four great heavenly kings, in the depths of the night, illuminating the whole grove with their refined and glowing radiance, approached the place where the Venerable Master was and, having respectfully bowed before the Venerable Master, stood in the four directions, like great firebrands.

2. Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa, when the night

had passed, went to the place where the Venerable Master was and said to the Venerable Master: "Great *Samaṇa*, it is time. Food has been prepared. Who were they who, in the depths of the night, illuminating the whole grove with their refined and glowing radiance, approached the place where you were and, having respectfully bowed before you, stood in the four directions, like great firebrands?"

Here Uruvela Kassapa addresses Gotama with the familiar "you" (*tvaṃ*), exhibiting his own sense of equality with the Buddha.

"They were the four great heavenly kings, Kassapa, who came to me to hear my teaching."

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for even the four great heavenly kings have come to hear his teaching. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

Then the Venerable Master ate the food of the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa and remained in the same grove.

There is also considerable disparity among the various texts in the following description.[223]

THE MIRACLE AT URUVELĀ (3), *VINAYA*, "MAHĀVAGGA," I, 17

1. And further, Sakka, lord of *devas*, in the depths of the night, illuminating the whole grove with his refined and glowing radiance, approached the place where the Venerable Master was and, having respectfully bowed before the Venerable Master, stood to one side, like a great firebrand, more glorious and more superb than the former splendors of color.

2. Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa, when the night had passed, went to the place where the Venerable Master was and said to the Venerable Master: "Great *Samaṇa*, it is time. Food has been prepared. Who was he who, in the depths of the night, illuminating the whole grove with his refined and glowing radiance, approached the place where you were and, having respectfully bowed before you, stood to one side, like a great firebrand, more glorious and more superb than the former splendors of color?"

"He was Sakka, Kassapa, who came to me to hear my teaching."

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great

Samaṇa has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for even Sakka has come to hear his teaching. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

Then the Venerable Master ate the food of the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa and remained in the same grove.

The Miracle at Uruvelā (4) (*Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 18) next relates that Brahmā, lord of the world, came and bowed before the Buddha. The order of appearance of the heavenly deities reflects their spiritual powers, Brahmā being considered superior to Sakka. This corresponds to the facts of Indian religious history. Sakka (Indra) was the most powerful of the deities in the ancient *Ṛg Veda*, and the most popular. Brahmā made his appearance around the time of the *Upaniṣads*, and in the period when Buddhism arose he was venerated as the creator of the world.

In response to Uruvela Kassapa's question the next morning, the Buddha said:

"He was Brahmā, lord of the world, Kassapa, who came to me to hear my teaching."

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for even Brahmā, lord of the world, has come to hear his teaching. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

Then the Venerable Master ate the food of the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa and remained in the same grove.

THE MIRACLE AT URUVELĀ (5), *VINAYA*, "MAHĀVAGGA," I, 19

1. At that time the great ritual conducted by the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa was approaching, and people from Aṅga and Magadha wishing to attend came carrying a great amount of food, both hard and soft. Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "Now my great ritual is about to commence, and people from Aṅga and Magadha wishing to attend come carrying a great amount of food, both hard and soft. Should the Great *Samaṇa* before that multitude of people perform some miracle, the gain and the respect he receives will increase, and my own will decrease. Tomorrow, therefore, may the Great *Samaṇa* not come."

2. Then, knowing in his heart what the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa was thinking, the Venerable Master went to Uttarakuru [the ideal realm of the north] and there received food as alms, which he

took to eat on the banks of the lake of Anotatta, and then he rested there in the noonday heat.

And the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa, when the night had passed, went to the place where the Venerable Master was and said to the Venerable Master: "Great *Samaṇa,* it is time. Food has been prepared. Why did you not come yesterday? We were wondering, 'Why does the Great *Samaṇa* not come?' and we put aside for you your portions of hard and soft food."

3. "Kassapa, did you not think: 'Now my great ritual is about to commence, and people from Aṅga and Magadha wishing to attend come carrying a great amount of food, both hard and soft. Should the Great *Samaṇa* before that multitude of people perform some miracle, the gain and the respect he receives will increase, and my own will decrease. Tomorrow, therefore, may the Great *Samaṇa* not come'?

4. "Kassapa, I understood in my mind the thoughts in your mind, and I went to Uttarakuru and there received food as alms, which I took to eat on the banks of the lake of Anotatta, and then I rested there in the noonday heat."

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for he knows in his mind the thoughts in the minds [of others]. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

Then the Venerable Master ate the food of the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa and remained in the same grove.[224]

THE MIRACLE AT URUVELĀ (6), *VINAYA*, "MAHĀVAGGA," I, 20

1. At that time, the Venerable Master[225] had a robe made of rags.

"A robe made of rags" (*paṃsukūla,* lit., "rags from a dust heap") refers to a robe made by sewing together castoff scraps of cloth. *Bhikkhus* in the early period of Buddhism all wore such robes.

And the Venerable Master thought: "Where shall I wash this robe of rags?" Then Sakka, lord of *devas,* knowing in his mind the thoughts in the mind of the Venerable Master, scooped out a pond with his hand and said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, be pleased to wash your robe of rags here." And the Venerable Master thought: "What shall I use to pound the rags on?" Then Sakka, knowing in his mind the thoughts in the mind of the Venerable Master, placed a great stone before him, saying, "Revered One, be pleased to pound the rags here."

Even today in India people squat around the banks of ponds to do their washing. They hold the washing over their heads and pound the clothes on stones or rocks to clean them. They pound the clothes so hard that shirts sent to a laundry often come back with broken buttons. This pounding, unchanged from ancient times, is called *parimaddati*.

In the paragraph just quoted Sakka addresses Sakyamuni politely in the third person, *bhante*. Until this time, in encounters with the Buddha, he had used the more familiar second person, *tvaṃ*. Before, he had been a rival in terms of superhuman powers, but now Sakka had declared his dependence on the Buddha and so used a polite mode of address.

> 2. Next[226] the Venerable Master thought: "What will I hold onto when I get out [of the pond]?" Then the tree deity living in the *kakudha* tree, knowing in his mind the thoughts in the mind of the Venerable Master, bent down a branch and said: "Revered One, be pleased to take hold of this [branch] when going up [from the pond]."[227]
>
> And the Venerable Master thought: "Where shall I lay the robe of rags to dry?" Then Sakka, lord of *devas*, knowing in his mind the thoughts in the mind of the Venerable Master, placed a great stone before him and said: "Revered One, be pleased to lay your robe of rags to dry here."
>
> 3. And[228] the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa, when the night had passed, went to the place where the Venerable Master was and said to the Venerable Master: "Great *Samaṇa*, it is time. Food has been prepared. Previously there was here no such pond as this. How is it that the pond is here now? Previously there was here no such stone as this. Who has put down this stone? Previously the branch of the *kakudha* tree was not bent down. [Why] is it now bent down?"[229]
>
> 4. "Kassapa, I had here a robe made of rags. I thought: 'Where shall I wash this robe of rags?' Then Sakka, lord of *devas*, knowing in his mind the thoughts in my mind, scooped out a pond with his hand and said to me: 'Revered One, be pleased to wash your robe of rags here.' This is the pond that the nonhuman being [*amanussa*, spiritual being] scooped out with his hand. Next I thought: 'What shall I use to pound the rags on?' Then Sakka, knowing in his mind the thoughts in my mind, placed a great stone before me, saying, 'Revered One, be pleased to pound the rags here.' This is the stone that the god placed here.
>
> 5. "Kassapa, I thought: 'What will I hold onto when I get out [of the

pond]?' Then the tree deity living in the *kakudha* tree, knowing in his mind the thoughts in my mind, bent down a branch and said: 'Revered One, be pleased to take hold of this branch when going up [from the pond].' Thus the *kakudha* tree was a hold for my hand.

"Kassapa,[230] I thought: 'Where shall I lay the robe of rags to dry?' Then Sakka, lord of *devas*, knowing in his mind the thoughts in my mind, placed a great stone before me and said: 'Revered One, be pleased to lay your robe of rags to dry here.' This is the stone that the god placed here."

6. Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for Sakka, lord of *devas*, does him service. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

Then the Venerable Master ate the food of the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa and stayed in the same grove.

7. And the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa, when the night had passed, went to the place where the Venerable Master was and announced the time to the Venerable Master, saying: "Great *Samaṇa*, it is time. Food has been prepared."

"Kassapa,[231] go [before me]. I will follow." Having thus sent the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa on before him, he took fruit from the *jambu* tree, after which [the continent] of Jambudīpa is named.[232] Then, arriving before [Kassapa], he sat down in the hall of the sacred fire.

8. The matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa[233] saw the Venerable Master sitting in the hall of the sacred fire. Seeing him, he asked the Venerable Master: "By what road did you come, Great *Samaṇa*? Though I set out before you, you have arrived before me and are seated in the hall of the sacred fire."

9. "Kassapa, after I sent you before me, I took fruit from the *jambu* tree, after which the continent of Jambudīpa is named. Then, arriving before [you], I sat down in the hall of the sacred fire. This *jambu* fruit is full of color, fragrance, and taste. Here, you may eat it if you like."

"No, Great *Samaṇa*, you alone are qualified to eat it. Be pleased to eat it yourself."

And the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for he, after sending me before him, took fruit from the *jambu*

tree, after which the continent of Jambudīpa is named and, arriving before [me], sat down in the hall of the sacred fire. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

The next section has a number of variants; again I base my description upon the Pāli *Vinaya.*

Then the Venerable Master ate the food of the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa and stayed in the same grove.

10. And the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa, when the night had passed, went to the place where the Venerable Master was and announced the time to the Venerable Master, saying, "Great *Samaṇa,* it is time. Food has been prepared."

"Kassapa, go [before me]. I will follow." Having thus sent the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa on before him, he took fruit from the *amba* [mango] tree growing near the village of Jambu, after which the continent of Jambudīpa is named . . . *āmalakī* tree . . . *harītakī* tree . . . and, going to [the Heaven of] the Thirty-three [Gods], took a flower from the *pāricchattaka* tree. Then, arriving before [Kassapa], he sat down in the hall of the sacred fire. The matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa saw the Venerable Master sitting in the hall of the sacred fire. Seeing him, he asked: "By what road did you come, Great *Samaṇa*? Though I set out before you, you have arrived before me and are seated in the hall of the sacred fire."

11. "Kassapa, after I sent you before me, I went to [the Heaven of] the Thirty-three [Gods] and took a flower from the *pāricchattaka* tree. Then, arriving before [you], I sat down in the hall of the sacred fire. The flower from the *pāricchattaka* tree is full of color, fragrance, and taste. Here, you may take it if you like."

"No, Great *Samaṇa*, you alone are qualified to eat it. Be pleased to eat it yourself."

And the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for he, after sending me before him, went to [the Heaven of] the Thirty-three [Gods] and took a flower from the *pāricchattaka* tree and, arriving before [me], sat down in the hall of the sacred fire. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

12. At that time the matted-haired ascetics, wishing to attend to their [sacred] fires, were unable to split firewood. Then those matted-haired ascetics thought: "That we are unable to split firewood is doubtless due

to the superhuman powers and the spiritual power of the Great *Samaṇa.*"

Then the Venerable Master said to the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa: "Shall their firewood be split, Kassapa?"

"Let their firewood be split, Great *Samaṇa.*"

And immediately five hundred pieces of wood were split.

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for he has even been able to split firewood. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

13. At that time the matted-haired ascetics, wishing to attend to their [sacred] fires, were unable to light their fires. . . . unable to extinguish their fires. Then those matted-haired ascetics thought: "That we are unable to extnguish our fires is doubtless due to the superhuman powers and the spiritual power of the Great *Samaṇa.*"

Then the Venerable Master said to the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa: "Shall their fires be extinguished, Kassapa?"

"Let their fires be extinguished, Great *Samaṇa.*"

And immediately five hundred fires were extinguished.

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for he has even been able to extinguish fires. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

15. Again at that time on the cold winter nights between the eight-day festivals when the snow was falling, the matted-haired ascetics repeatedly plunged into the Nerañjarā River and came up again, performing [ritual ablutions].[234] The Venerable Master created five hundred braziers. The matted-haired ascetics, coming out of the water, warmed themselves. And they thought: "That these braziers have been created is doubtless due to the superhuman powers and the spiritual power of the Great *Samaṇa.*"

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, for he has even been able to create large braziers. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

16. Again at that time great rains fell out of season and caused great floods. The place where the Venerable Master was staying was also covered with water. Then the Venerable Master thought, "I shall make the water on all sides recede and pace up and down in the middle on dust-covered ground." Then the Venerable Master made the water on

all sides recede, and he paced up and down in the middle on dust-covered ground. But the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* should not be washed away," and he went out in a boat with a large number of matted-haired ascetics to the place where the Venerable Master was staying. The matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa saw that the Venerable Master had made the water on all sides recede and was pacing up and down in the middle on dust-covered ground and, seeing, said to the Venerable Master: "Are you there, Great *Samaṇa?*"

"I am here, Kassapa." And he flew up into the air and landed in the boat. Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa thought: "The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power, since he has not been carried away by the waters. However, he is not an *arahat* like me."

17. Then the Venerable Master thought: "This foolish person will probably go on thinking all the time: 'The Great *Samaṇa* has mighty superhuman powers and great spiritual power. However, he is not an *arahat* like me.' I will deeply stir this matted-haired ascetic." And the Venerable Master said to the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa: "Kassapa, you are not an *arahat*. Nor are you practicing the way of the *arahat*. You have not yet attained the path by which you may become an *arahat* or by which you will become capable of practicing the way of the *arahat*."

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa bowed before the Venerable Master, his head touching the ground at [Gotama's] feet, and said: "Revered One, let me receive ordination and the precepts from the Venerable Master."

18. "Kassapa,[235] you are the guide, leader, head, foremost, and highest over five hundred matted-haired ascetics. Go first and tell them and let them act as they see fit."

Then the matted-haired ascetic Uruvela Kassapa went to where they were and said to them: "Friends, I wish to follow the pure practice under the Great *Samaṇa*.[236] Act as you see fit."

"Friend, we have long put our faith in the Great *Samaṇa* [Uruvela Kassapa]. If you follow the pure practice under the Great *Samaṇa* [Gotama], we also will follow the pure practice under the Great *Samaṇa*."

19. Then those matted-haired ascetics [cut off] their matted hair and threw their belongings and implements for the fire ritual into the river[237]

and went to where the Venerable Master was and, bowing before the Venerable Master, their heads touching the ground at his feet, said to him: "Revered One, let us receive ordination and the precepts from the Venerable Master."

The Venerable Master said, "Come, *bhikkhus*. The teachings have been well taught. Undertake pure practice for the sake of the complete annihilation of suffering." This is how these venerable ones received the precepts.

20. And the matted-haired ascetic Nadī Kassapa saw the [cut] matted hair and the belongings and implements for the fire ritual floating down the river and thought: "May misfortune not befall my brothers." He sent some of his matted-haired ascetics to see what had happened and went himself with his three hundred matted-haired ascetics to where Uruvela Kassapa was and said to him: "Kassapa, is this better?" "Yes, friend, it is better."

21. And those matted-haired ascetics [cut off] their matted hair and threw their belongings and implements for the fire ritual into the river and went to where the Venerable Master was. . . .

The Venerable Master said: "Come, *bhikkhus*. The teachings have been well taught. Undertake pure practice for the sake of the complete annihilation of suffering." This is how these venerable ones received the precepts.

22. And the matted-haired ascetic Gayā Kassapa saw the [cut] matted hair and the belongings and implements floating down the river and thought: "May misfortune not befall my brothers." He sent some of his matted-haired ascetics to see what had happened and went himself with his two hundred matted-haired ascetics to where Uruvela Kassapa was and said to him: "Kassapa, is this better?" "Yes, friend, it is better."

23. And those matted-haired ascetics [cut off] their matted hair and threw their belongings and implements for the fire ritual into the river and went to where the Venerable Master was and, bowing before the Venerable Master, their heads touching the ground at his feet, said to him: "Revered One, let us receive ordination and the precepts from the Venerable Master."

The Venerable Master said: "Come, *bhikkhus*. The teachings have been well taught. Undertake pure practice for the sake of the complete annihilation of suffering." This is how these venerable ones received the precepts.

24. By the spell [*adhiṭṭhāna*] of the Venerable Master, the five hundred

sticks were not split, they were split, the fires were not lit, they were lit, the fires were not extinguished, or they were extinguished, and the five hundred braziers were created. By such means did thirty-five hundred miracles occur.

People of the time appear to have thought that Gotama could perform miracles through his superhuman powers. This can be confirmed by reference to other Buddhist writings, as well. We find the following criticism in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya:* "I have heard that the *samaṇa* Gotama is a juggler [*māyāvin*], that he knows a trick of glamour [*māyā*] by which he entices away followers of those who hold other views."[238] However, Gotama himself held that it was wrong for the general run of *samaṇas* to display superhuman powers (*iddhi*) arbitrarily. Legend says that when the elder Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja received a sandalwood alms bowl from a merchant of Rājagaha as a result of such powers, Sakyamuni forbade his followers to perform such feats and miracles (*iddhipāṭihāriya*).[239]

That the tale of the Kassapa brothers and the ritual fire appears in the *Vinaya* points to the lateness of its compilation, at a time when Gotama was undergoing deification and people thought that he possessed superhuman powers and could perform miracles. In Vedic religion, it was usual to build a fire altar (*vedi*) outdoors and to place offerings in the fire. Here there is no mention of the term "fire altar." Instead we have a description of the Kassapa brothers performing esoteric fire rites within a "fire hall"; this remains a common ritual in Hindu temples today. The practices of the Kassapa brothers perhaps represent an intermediate stage between the Vedic fire ritual and the esoteric fire rites of Hinduism.

It is hard to understand why the conversion of the Kassapa brothers held such a fascination for the compilers of biographies of the Buddha that they described it in great detail. Many Buddhist writings make a point of referring to Gotama during his subsequent career by the formula "being accompanied by 1,250 *bhikkhus.*" If 1,000 of these were the former followers of the Kassapa brothers and 250 were the former disciples of the prominent Rājagaha teacher Sañjaya, the core of the early community was made up of the former. The simultaneous entry of these people was very important for Buddhism. It becomes even more important if we consider that the conversion of large numbers of people in the central-Indian state of Magadha was a direct result of the conversion of the Kassapa brothers.

THE FIRE DISCOURSE

Next Gotama went with his new followers to Mount Gayāsīsa (Skt., Gayāśīrṣa).[240] This seems to have been a sacred site since ancient times. According to Hsüan-tsang, it was five or six *li* southwest of Gayā, and a later text (a commentary on the *Udāna*) describes it as a holy place not far from Gayā, a place with rivers and ponds where ordinary people came to wash away their sins. Mount Gayāsīsa was the single hill in the area, and because there was a large rock shaped like an elephant's head on it, big enough to shelter a thousand ascetics, it was called "Elephant's Head Peak."[241]

Gayā has long been a major Hindu religious center. It cannot have been by chance that Gotama practiced austerities nearby, and today he is honored in the city. It was here that Devadatta later revolted against him; in fact, it was because of Gayā's ancient religious tradition that Devadatta was able to express his opposition to Gotama.

The episode is given here as it appears in the Pāli *Vinaya*.[242] Portions of the text identical to the account in the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* are underlined.

THE FIRE DISCOURSE, *VINAYA*, "MAHĀVAGGA," I, 21

1. And the Venerable Master, having stayed in Uruvelā as long as he desired, set out for Mount Gayāsīsa with one thousand of his followers.[243] They had all formerly been matted-haired ascetics. The Venerable Master dwelt near Gayā at Mount Gayāsīsa with the one thousand *bhikkhus*.

2. There the Venerable Master announced to the *bhikkhus*: "*Bhikkhus!* Everything is ablaze. What is ablaze? The eyes are ablaze. The form [objects seen by the eyes] is ablaze. The mental functions [based on] the eyes are ablaze. The contact of the eye [with visible objects and mental functions] is ablaze. The sensations produced by the contact of the eye, whether pleasant, unpleasant, or neither one nor the other, are ablaze. By what are they ablaze? I tell you they are ablaze with the fire of greed, with the fire of hatred, with the fire of delusion, ablaze with birth, old age, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair.

3. "The ears are ablaze. Sounds are ablaze. . . . The nose is ablaze. Smells are ablaze. . . . The tongue is ablaze. Tastes are ablaze. . . . The body is ablaze. The objects felt [by the body] are ablaze. . . . The mind is ablaze. Objects of thought are ablaze. The mental functions based

on the mind are ablaze. The contact of the mind [with audible objects and mental functions] is ablaze. The sensations produced by the contact of the mind, whether pleasant, unpleasant, or neither one nor the other, are ablaze. By what are they ablaze? I tell you they are ablaze with the fire of greed, with the fire of hatred, with the fire of delusion, ablaze with birth, old age, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair.

4. "A disciple who is well learned, *bhikkhus*, when he considers things in this way, grows weary of the eye, grows weary of objects seen by the eye, grows weary of the mental functions [based on] the eyes, grows weary of the contact of the eye [with the objects seen by the eyes and mental functions], grows weary of the sensations produced by the contact of the eye, whether pleasant, unpleasant, or neither one nor the other. He grows weary of the ear, he grows weary of sounds. . . . He grows weary of the nose, he grows weary of smells. . . . He grows weary of the tongue, he grows weary of tastes. . . . He grows weary of the body, he grows weary of the objects felt by the body. . . . He grows weary of the mind, he grows weary of the objects of thought, he grows weary of the objects of the mental functions based on the mind, he grows weary of the contact of the mind [with audible objects and mental functions], he grows weary of the sensations produced by the contact of the mind, whether pleasant, unpleasant, or neither one nor the other. Growing weary of them, he rids himself of greed. Being rid of greed, he is liberated. Being liberated, he becomes aware of his liberation and realizes that birth is exhausted, that the pure practice is fulfilled, that what is necessary has been done, and that he will not return to this world again."

When he had uttered these words of affirmation, those one thousand *bhikkhus* lost all attachment and their minds were liberated from all defilements.[244]

These *bhikkhus* had of course until very recently performed fire rituals. This fact Gotama turned skillfully into a metaphor for his discourse, that our own existence is just like a blazing fire. He was often to employ similar means of teaching, causing people to stop some form of behavior and then using it as a metaphor for a more profound philosophical truth. We must understand his exposition of the Fire Discourse in the context of his consideration of the needs of his new followers, former members of a post-Vedic fire cult.

6. The Conversion of Influential Followers and Events in the Later Years

In Rājagaha

The Conversion of King Bimbisāra

According to biographies of the Buddha, after his stay at Uruvelā Gotama went to Mount Gayāsīsa, in the country of Gayā, with the thousand disciples he had newly converted. After remaining there for a time, he led the thousand men to Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, where Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, took refuge in his teachings.[1] Bimbisāra donated to the Saṅgha his recreation park, Veḷuvana (Bamboo Grove), which stood outside the north gate of Rājagaha.[2] The *Vinaya* describes the course of events in detail.[3] Portions of the text that agree with the Sanskrit *Catuṣpatiṣatsūtra* are underlined, allowing us to surmise the early form of the legend. Passages thought to be later additions are set off by single and double asterisks.

> 1. Then the Venerable Master, having stayed at Mount Gayāsīsa as long as he wished, set off walking toward Rājagaha with the large band of a thousand *bhikkhus*, they who had formerly been matted-haired ascetics. Then the Venerable Master, walking on, in due course arrived at Rājagaha. The Venerable Master stayed in Rājagaha at the Laṭṭhi [Staff] Grove in the Supatiṭṭha Shrine [*cetiya*].

According to a legend recorded by Hsüan-tsang, the "Grove of the Staff" grew after a Brahmin had tried to measure the height of the Buddha with a length of bamboo.[4] The Chinese traveler's comment that "the bamboos

here grow luxuriantly; they cover the hill and extend through the valley" suggests that he was referring to the Bamboo Grove. What the "Supatiṭṭha Shrine" was is not clear. Before the Buddha's time it was generally believed that a deity or spirit dwelt in a large tree, to which the name Supatiṭṭha may have been given. It is unlikely that there was any building.[5] In later centuries the term *cetiya* ("shrine") came to be applied to a building dedicated to a deity.

> 2. Indeed, King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha heard people saying the following: "Friends, the *samaṇa* Gotama, born of the Sakya clan [Sakyaputta], has gone out into homelessness from the Sakya clan, has reached Rājagaha, and is staying at Rājagaha in the Laṭṭhi Grove in the Supatiṭṭha Shrine. *And concerning the Venerable Master Gotama there has arisen a great reputation, that the Venerable Master is an *arahat*, a truly awakened one, one endowed with knowledge and conduct, a happy person, one who knows the world, peerless, one who controls human beings, a teacher of gods and humans, an enlightened one [Buddha], Bhagavat.** He knows himself and has verified and teaches the Dhamma to this world, with its gods, Māras, and Brahmās, and to all living beings, including *samaṇas*, Brahmins, gods, and human beings. He teaches the Dhamma that is good at the beginning, good in the middle, and good at the end in spirit and letter, and that is perfect and purified, and explains the practice.[6] It is indeed good to see perfected ones like this.
> 3. Then King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha, surrounded by 120,000 Brahmins and wealthy men of Magadha, approached the Venerable Master, greeted him respectfully, and sat down to one side.

According to the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, "the king departed from Rājagṛha to meet the Venerable Master."[7] Therefore the authors of these texts must have believed the Laṭṭhi Grove to be outside the city.

> Then some of those 120,000 Brahmins and wealthy men of Magadha also greeted the Venerable Master respectfully and sat down to one side; some exchanged greetings with him and, having exchanged friendly and courteous greetings, sat down to one side; some bowed before him with the palms of their hands pressed together and sat down to one side; *some called out their names to the Venerable Master** and sat down to one side; and some sat down to one side in silence.

4. Then *those 120,000** Brahmins and wealthy men of Magadha thought: "Does the Great Samaṇa pursue the pure practice under Uruvela Kassapa, or does Uruvela Kassapa pursue the pure practice under the Great Samaṇa? Then the Venerable Master, knowing in his heart what *those 120,000** Brahmins and wealthy men of Magadha were thinking in their hearts, spoke to the Venerable Uruvela Kassapa in verse:

"What have you seen, dweller in Uruvelā, you who are so
disciplined as to be emaciated through your austerities,
That you have abandoned the sacred fire?
Kassapa, I ask you the reason:
Why did you abandon the sacred fire?"

[Uruvela Kassapa replied:]

"The sacrifices [of the Brahmins] speak of color and form, of
sounds, of tastes, of sensuous desires and women.
Knowing these all to be elements that are worldly restraints,
And therefore defiled,
I found no pleasure in either the sacrifice or the offering."

5. "Kassapa," said the Venerable Master,

If your heart delights neither in color or form, in sounds, nor
in tastes,
Tell me, Kassapa, in what does it delight, in this world of
gods and human beings?"

[Uruvela Kassapa replied:][8]

"I saw the realm of tranquillity, without restraint, with-
out anything at all,
Not attached to that governed by desire,
Without change, without cause to change.
Therefore I found no pleasure in either the sacrifice or
the offering."

6. Then the venerable Uruvela Kassapa rose from his seat,[9] arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, prostrated himself at the feet of the Venerable Master, and said to him: "Revered One, the Venerable Master is my teacher and I am a pupil." Then *those 120,000** Brahmins and wealthy men of Magadha thought: "Uruvela Kassapa is undertaking the pure practice under the Great Samaṇa."

7. *Then the Venerable Master, knowing in his heart what the 120,000 Brahmins and wealthy men of Magadha were thinking in their hearts,

taught them by means of a graduated discourse. He spoke to them about giving alms; ethical rules; heaven; the afflictions, harm, and pollution of the desires; and the benefits in abandoning them. The Venerable Master, knowing that their minds were sound, flexible, not given to erroneous views, joyful, brave, and clear, taught the teaching praised by all the buddhas, that is [the Four Noble Truths of] suffering, its cause, its extinction, and the path [to its extinction].**[10]

8. Just as a clean cloth free from dirty marks can be perfectly dyed, the 120,000 Brahmins and wealthy men of Magadha, with King Bimbisāra at their head, sitting there, obtained the pure and unstained eye that perceives the Truth. *"Whatever is subject to the accumulation and arising [of causes and conditions] is also subject to their extinction."[11] Ten thousand declared themselves to be lay believers.**

9. Then King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha, *having seen the Truth, having attained the Truth, having gained knowledge of the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome all doubts, having rid himself of all delusions, having conviction, dependent on no one else for the teachings of the Master,[12]** said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, formerly, when I was a prince, I had five wishes, which have now been fulfilled. Formerly, when I was a prince, I thought: 'Oh that I may be anointed king!' This was my first wish, and it has now been fulfilled. And 'May the *arahat*, the perfectly enlightened one, come to my kingdom!' This was my second wish, and it has now been fulfilled.

10. "And 'May I pay homage to the Venerable Master.' This was my third wish, and it has now been fulfilled. And 'May that Venerable Master teach me his doctrine.' This was my fourth wish, and it has now been fulfilled. And 'May I understand that doctrine of the Venerable Master.' This was my fifth wish, and it has now been fulfilled. Revered One, formerly, when I was a prince, I had five wishes, which have now been fulfilled.

11. "It is wonderful, Revered One, wonderful, Revered One. *As a person fallen down is set aright, as the hidden is revealed, as the way is shown to one wandering lost, as a lamp is held aloft in the darkness for those who have eyes to see, the Venerable Master has revealed the Dhamma through a variety of ways.**[13] Therefore I take refuge in the Venerable Master. I take refuge in the Dhamma and the community of *bhikkhus*.[14] Venerable Master,[15] receive me as a lay believer. I take refuge from this day to the time of my death." May the Venerable Master

consent to accept a meal from me tomorrow, with his band of *bhikkhus*." The Venerable Master assented by his silence.

12. Then King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha, having understood the Venerable Master's assent, rose from his seat, greeted him respectfully, and departed, circling him to the right. Then*[16] King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha, when that night had passed, and excellent food, both hard and soft, had been prepared, had the time [of the meal] announced to the Venerable Master. "It is time, Revered One, the meal is ready." Then the Venerable Master, having dressed himself early that morning, entered Rājagaha with his band of a thousand *bhikkhus*, the former matted-haired ascetics.

13. At that time Sakka, lord of the *devas*, assumed the form of a youth and walked in front of the band of *bhikkhus* with the Buddha at the head, singing the following verses:

"He who has regulated himself, with those who have regulated themselves;
He who has attained liberation, with those who have attained liberation;
The Venerable Master, golden like a golden garland, together with the former matted-haired ascetics,
Has entered Rājagaha.
The liberated with the liberated;
He who has attained liberation, with those who have attained liberation;
The Venerable Master, golden like a golden garland, together with the former matted-haired ascetics,
Has entered Rājagaha.
He who has crossed [to the other shore], with those who have crossed [to the other shore];
He who has attained liberation, with those who have attained liberation;
The Venerable Master, golden like a golden garland, together with the former matted-haired ascetics,
Has entered Rājagaha.
The Venerable Master, dwelling in the ten states,[17] having the ten powers, knowing the ten virtues,[18] endowed with the ten [of one who has penetrated the Way],

Surrounded by ten thousand men, has entered Rājagaha."[19]

14. Seeing Sakka, lord of the *devas*, people said: "This youth is indeed lovely, excellent to look upon. The mind of this youth is pure. Who does he wait upon?" When they had spoken in this way, Sakka, lord of the *devas*, said in verse to those people:

"He who is steadfast, controlled of self in all things,
There is none his like in this world,
Awakened, Arahat, well farer . . .
It is he whom I serve."**

15. At that time[20] the Blessed One approached the palace of King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha and with his band of *bhikkhus* sat in the place appointed. Then King Bimbisāra, having offered with his own hand the band of *bhikkhus*, with the Buddha at the head, excellent food both hard and soft, and satisfied them, when the Venerable Master had finished eating and washed his hands and bowl, sat down to one side.

16. Having sat down to one side, King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha thought: "Now, where should the Blessed One stay that would be neither too far from a village [*gāma*] nor too near, convenient for coming and going, accessible to people with all their wishes, not crowded by day, not noisy at night, with few people, undisturbed by people, suitable for meditation?"

17. Then King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha thought: "My Bamboo Grove is neither too far from a village nor too near, is convenient for coming and going, is accessible to people with all their wishes, is not crowded by day, is not noisy at night, has few people, is undisturbed by people, and is suitable for meditation. I will donate my Bamboo Grove to the band of *bhikkhus* with the Buddha at the head."

18. Then King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha took a golden flask and poured water over the Venerable Master's [hands], saying, "Revered One, I would like to donate my Bamboo Grove to the band of *bhikkhus* with the Buddha at the head." The Blessed One accepted the donation. Then, having encouraged and gladdened King Seniya Bimbisāra with his preaching on the Dhamma, he rose from his seat and departed. Then the Blessed One, having taught the doctrine concerning the Dhamma, addressed the *bhikkhus*, saying, "*Bhikkhus*, I allow the grove to be accepted."

Today there is a lake to the north of the site of the old city of Rājagaha, surrounded by hills. Scholars believe that the Bamboo Grove used

to be on its banks. It is known as Veḷuvana-Kalandaka-nivāpa (Kalandaka Bamboo Park), that is, the park where squirrels (*kalandaka*) roam. According to legend, squirrels once saved a sleeping king from a poisonous snake and were given the park as an expression of the king's gratitude.[21] Here the Veḷuvana *vihāra* (Bamboo Grove monastery) was built.[22] There are few wooded areas in Bihar. An exception is the comparative profusion of large trees in the vicinity of the site of the Bamboo Grove monastery outside the northern gate of the old city.

The significance of the stipulation "neither too far from a village nor too near" as being the ideal site for a *vihāra* is crucial for understanding the sociological aspects of early Buddhism. Those who took refuge in the Buddha's teaching were for the most part city dwellers, including royalty, merchants, and craftsmen. The earliest community of ordained Buddhists did not affirm urban life but developed through a negation of it.

The conversion of the king was a deeply significant event at a time when the monarchy was gaining power. A later legend tells how King Bimbisāra gathered 80,000 village headmen and ordered them to listen to the teachings of Gotama, and the 80,000 then set off for Vulture Peak.[23]

The *Nidānakathā* relates the conversion of King Bimbisāra in an almost identical manner:

> Attended by these thousand *arahats*, [the Blessed One], saying, "I have come to fulfill the promise I made to King Bimbisāra," set off for the Laṭṭhi Grove near Rājagaha. The king heard from the watchman of the grove that the Master had come, and he went to the Master, accompanied by 120,000 Brahmins and men of property, and bowed down at the feet of the Tathāgata, those feet patterned on the sole with the symbol of the wheel, and which gave out a radiant light like a canopy of golden cloth. [Having made obeisance,] he withdrew to one side, together with his attendants. At that time the thought occurred to those Brahmins and men of property: "Does the Great Samaṇa undertake pure practice under Uruvela Kassapa, or does Uruvela Kassapa undertake [pure practice] under the Great Samaṇa?" The Blessed One, aware in his heart of their thoughts, spoke to the Elder Uruvela Kassapa in verse:
>
> "Resident of Uruvelā, emaciated [by your ascetic practices],
> What have you seen, that you have abandoned your fire worship?
> Kassapa, I ask you the meaning of this.
> How is it you have given up the sacrificial fire?"

> The elder, understanding the Blessed One's intention, replied in verse:
>
> "The sacrifices speak of form, sound, and taste,
> Of sensuous desires and women.
> Knowing that they are defiled, being within attachment,
> I am no longer attracted by sacrifices and offerings."
>
> To let them know that he was the disciple, he bowed at the Tathāgata's feet, saying, "Revered Master, my master is the Blessed One and I am the disciple." Seven times he rose into the air, to the height of one, two, three, and so on up to seven *tāla* trees, and descending, he bowed to the Tathāgata and sat to one side. Seeing that wonder, all the people praised the merit of the Master, saying, "Look how great the power of the Buddha is! Even Uruvela Kassapa, obstinate in his false views and regarding himself as a holy one, has broken the net of delusion and has yielded to the successor of the buddhas." The Blessed One said: "It is not just at this time that I have instructed Uruvela Kassapa. In the past too he was instructed by me." . . . He proclaimed the Four [Noble] Truths. Then the king of Magadha [Bimbisāra], with 110,000 of his attendants, attained the first stage, while the other 10,000 attendants became lay followers. The king, still sitting beside the Master, told him that his five wishes had been accomplished; then he took refuge [in the Buddha], invited him for the next day, and rose from his seat, departing having circled from the Buddha's right.
>
> The next day, those who had already met the Blessed One and those who had not, all the inhabitants of Rājagaha, 180 million of them, left Rājagaha early in the morning for the Laṭṭhi Grove to see him. The road, three *kāvatas* long, could not contain them all. The Laṭṭhi Grove was filled with people. Perceiving the great beauty of him of the ten powers, they never became weary of it. Thus this place was called Vaṇṇabhū [the place of praise], for at such places praises of the beauty of his person, made up of all the greater and lesser characteristics of a buddha, are to be sung. There was no room for even a single *bhikkhu* to extricate himself, so crowded were the grove and the road with people gazing at the great beauty of the one possessing the ten powers.

Following this description, it is related that Sakka descended before the Buddha in the form of a young Brahmin[24] and praised him. The *Nidāna-kathā* goes on to describe how the Buddha entered Rājagaha, met Bimbisāra, and received the donation of the Bamboo Grove.

> The Master, passing along the path opened by Sakka, entered Rājagaha, accompanied by a thousand *bhikkhus*. The king gave a great donation to the Saṅgha and the Buddha at its head. "Revered Master, I cannot live without the Three Treasures. At particular times, and at others, I would like to visit the Blessed One. The Laṭṭhi Grove is far away, but my grove, the Bamboo Grove, is not far. It is easy to travel to and from there and it is a fit dwelling place for the Buddha. Blessed One, please accept it from me," he said, and in token of the presentation of the Bamboo Grove, he poured water, the color of gems and scented with flowers, from a golden flask over the hands of the one possessing the ten powers.
>
> When the grove was accepted, the earth shook as if the teachings of the Buddha were taking root. In all Jambu [India] there was no dwelling place other than the Bamboo Grove whose acceptance caused the earth to shake. In all Tambapaṇṇi [present-day Sri Lanka] there was no dwelling place other than the Mahāvihāra whose acceptance caused the earth to shake. The Master, having accepted the Bamboo Grove, expressed his thanks to the king and rose from his seat. Then, accompanied by *bhikkhus* of his Saṅgha, he entered the Bamboo Grove.

Bimbisāra was later assassinated by his son Ajātasattu (Skt., Ajātaśatru). Since this is described in a large number of Buddhist texts, it can probably be considered historical fact. One version of the episode says that it happened when Sakyamuni was seventy-two,[25] but the source for this calculation is unknown.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STAY IN RĀJAGAHA

Though Sakyamuni moved from place to place, of all the places he stayed he remained longest at Rājagaha. Nāgārjuna noted this and explained it as follows:

> The Buddha appeared in the world because he wanted to bring liberation to all beings, to lead them to nirvana, the realm of tranquillity and joy. Thus he stayed often at Śrāvastī but not at Kapilavastu. Because the Buddha attained supreme enlightenment [*anuttarā samyaksaṃbodhiḥ*] and gained the Dharma body in the village of Uruvelā on the banks of the Nairañjanā River in the country of Magadha, he stayed often at Rājagṛha.

> QUESTION: I understand the reasons he stayed often at Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha. Why did he stay more often at Rājagṛha [than Śrāvastī]?
> ANSWER: He stayed often at Śrāvastī from a feeling of gratitude to the land of his birth. . . . He stayed often at Rājagṛha from a feeling of gratitude to the land of the Dharma body. All buddhas love the Dharma body. . . . Because the Dharma body is superior to the birth body, the Buddha stayed more often in Rājagṛha.[26]

This reasoning is false. If he had wanted to live at the place where he had attained enlightenment, he would have stayed at Bodhgayā (Uruvelā) or Gayāsīsa or near the city of Gayā, not at Rājagaha. In the Buddha's day, Rājagaha was the capital of the most powerful country in India, the most technically advanced city, and relatively free from the shackles of traditional Brahmanism. It was because of Rājagaha's location that Buddhism spread. In modern terms, it would be like living on the outskirts of Tokyo, the capital and largest city of Japan, where progress is swift and traditions are not deeply embedded, or living, like Albert Einstein, in Princeton, New Jersey, relatively close to New York. Gotama did not practice meditation in quiet seclusion. He used the strong and weak points of the newly emergent urban civilization with fine but cool calculation.

Late in his life, Gotama fondly enumerated the places he had lived in the vicinity of Rājagaha to his attendant, Ānanda. The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* relates: "Rājagaha is delightful. Vulture Peak is delightful. The *nigrodha* tree of Gotama is delightful. The Robbers' Cliff is delightful. The Cave of Seven Leaves on the side of Mount Vebhāra is delightful. The Black Rock on the side of Mount Isigili is delightful. The Snake's Head Crag in the Cold Forest is delightful. The Tapoda Grove is delightful. The Squirrels' Feeding Ground [Kalandakanivāpa] in the Bamboo Grove is delightful. Jīvaka's Mango Grove is delightful. Deer Park at Maddakucchi is delightful."[27] The *nigrodha* tree of Gotama was a resting place for the Buddha and his followers, and later a *vihāra* was built there. The Cave of Seven Leaves was on the cliff on the slope of Mount Vebhāra, north of Rājagaha. "Seven Leaves" refers to the *sattapaṇṇi* tree (*Alstonia scholaris*). The Cold Forest was a place where corpses were abandoned.[28] The Buddha was not just extolling places of natural beauty. There were many such places in India. The significance of the deep impression they made on him becomes clearer when we remember that all these sites were near the capital of a mighty kingdom.

TRANSCENDING SKEPTICISM: SĀRIPUTTA AND MOGGALLĀNA

The conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna was a very important event in the history of intellectual development. They were among the 250 followers of a Brahmin named Sañjaya who lived in Rājagaha.[29] One day Sāriputta noticed the *bhikkhu* Assaji, one of the original five companions of the Buddha, who had come into the city on an alms round, and asked him who his master was and whose Dhamma he followed. Assaji replied that he was a disciple of Gotama and recited the following verse: "All things arise from a cause. / He who has realized the Truth has explained the cause, / And also how they cease to be: / This is what the great *samaṇa* has taught."[30] It is recorded that Sāriputta's eyes were then opened to the Truth. All things arise from a variety of causes, through a variety of causes and conditions. Nothing arises of itself. The Chinese translations add the compound *wu-yu-chu* or *wu-chu*,[31] meaning "there is nothing that is the master"—in other words, nothing at all has any self-nature. This reveals how the Chinese translators interpreted the meaning of the verse.

This legend has some historical reliability. In the Jaina sutras Sāriputta relates that "the Omniscient [the Buddha] spoke concerning the arising and extinction of various conditions."[32] This may mean that Sāriputta also taught according to the verse he had heard from the *bhikkhu* Assaji and that what appears here is its formulation by the Jainas.

Moggallāna also heard the verse from Assaji. Then the two men went to the Bamboo Grove, where Gotama then was, taking with them the 250 wandering ascetics who were Sañjaya's followers, and became *bhikkhus*.[33] Sañjaya must have been very angry; it is said that "hot blood issued from the mouth of the wandering ascetic Sañjaya."

After that a number of young men of good family from Magadha went to the Buddha to request ordination. So many disciples did he attract that a scurrilous verse began to make the rounds of Rājagaha: "The *samaṇa* Gotama comes and takes children away, takes husbands away; / He breaks homes. / Already he has ordained a thousand matted-haired Brahmins / And the 250 Brahmins of Sañjaya. / Whom will he take away next?" Gotama assured the *bhikkhus* that criticism would not last long, that it would last but seven days; when seven days had passed, it would disappear. It was as he had predicted.[34]

The *Nidānakathā* recounts the episode of Sāriputta and Moggallāna briefly:

> At that time two wandering ascetics called Sāriputta and Moggallāna lived near Rājagaha, seeking the deathless [nirvana]. One of them, Sāriputta, seeing the Elder Assaji [in the city] on his alms round, was deeply impressed and waited on him, and hearing from him the verse that begins "All things arise from a cause" attained the first stage of a sage. He repeated the verse to his companion the wandering ascetic Moggallāna, and Moggallāna also attained the first stage. Both left [their teacher] Sañjaya and together with their own followers took ordination under the Master. Of the two, Moggallāna attained the highest stage of a sage [*arahatta*] in seven days. The Elder Sāriputta took half a month. The Master made these two his chief disciples, and on the day Sāriputta attained the highest stage [the Master] held an assembly of the disciples.[35]

This much can probably be regarded as historical fact. Following is the version presented in the *Vinaya;* portions of the text that agree with the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* are underlined. Text thought to be a later addition is set off between single and double asterisks.

> (23.1) At that time a wandering ascetic called Sañjaya was living in Rājagaha with a great band of 250 wandering ascetics.[36] Now, at that time Sāriputta and Moggallāna[37] were training under the wandering ascetic Sañjaya. They had made a promise to each other: "Whichever of us attains the deathless first will let the other know."
> (2) Then the Venerable Assaji, having dressed himself early that morning, had entered Rājagaha on his alms round with a bowl and outer robe. He was pleasing whether approaching or departing, looking in front or looking behind, whether drawing in or stretching out, his eyes fixed on the ground, and he was in accordance with etiquette. The wandering ascetic Sāriputta saw the Venerable Assaji in Rājagaha on his alms round, that he was pleasing whether approaching or departing, looking in front or looking behind, whether drawing in or stretching out, his eyes cast down, possessed of pleasant eyes, his eyes fixed on the ground, and he was in accordance with etiquette. Seeing him, he thought: "If there is in this world one who is worthy of respect or who has entered the Way of one worthy of respect, he is among such *bhikkhus*. I will approach him and ask: 'Friend, under whom have you taken ordination? Who is your master? Whose teachings do you follow?'"

(3) However, it then occurred to the wandering ascetic Sāriputta: "Now is not the time to question this *bhikkhu*, for he is entering houses seeking alms. I will remain close behind the *bhikkhu*. This is how a seeker of the Way may be known." Eventually the Venerable Assaji, having done his alms round in Rājagaha, took the food he had received and returned [and finished his meal]. Then the wandering ascetic Sāriputta drew near the place where the Venerable Assaji was, exchanged greetings with the Venerable Assaji, and, having spoken friendly and polite words, stood to one side. Having stood to one side, the wandering ascetic Sāriputta said to the Venerable Assaji: "Friend, your faculties are pure, and your complexion clear and bright. Under whom have you taken ordination? Who is your master? Whose teachings do you follow?"

(4) "Friend, there is a great *samaṇa*, who went into homelessness from the Sakya clan. I have taken ordination under that Venerable Master. My teacher is that Venerable Master. I follow the teachings of that Venerable Master."

"What is the doctrine of your teacher? What does he teach?"

"Friend, I am new to the community, and it is not long since I was ordained. I have only begun to practice the teaching and the precepts. I cannot teach you in any detail, but I will speak to you briefly of the main points [of the doctrine]." Then the wandering ascetic Sāriputta said to the Venerable Assaji: "Let it be so, friend. Speak to me much or little, but tell me the main points. I am seeking the main points. There is no need to speak at length."

(5) Then the Venerable Assaji spoke to the wandering ascetic Sāriputta the following teaching of the Dhamma:

"All things arise from a cause.
He who has realized the Truth has explained the cause,
And also how they cease to be:
This is what the great *samaṇa* has taught.

When the wandering ascetic Sāriputta heard this teaching of the Dhamma, he attained the eye of the Truth, without smear or stain: "Things that are of a nature to arise are all of a nature to be extinguished." He said: "Even if that were all of the Dhamma, it is enough. You have already attained the stage where no anxiety remains, a stage unseen for countless *kalpas* in the past."

(6) Then the wandering ascetic Sāriputta went to the place where the

wandering ascetic Moggallāna was. The wandering ascetic Moggallāna saw the wandering ascetic Sāriputta coming from afar. Seeing the wandering ascetic Sāriputta coming, he said: "Friend, your faculties are pure, and your complexion clear and bright. Have you attained the deathless?" "Yes, friend, I have attained the deathless."

(7) *"Friend, by what means have you attained the deathless?" "Friend, I saw the Venerable Assaji in Rājagaha on his alms round. . . .

(10) "Then the Venerable Assaji spoke the following teaching of the Dhamma:

> 'All things arise from a cause.
> He who has realized the Truth has explained the cause,
> And also how they cease to be:
> This is what the great *samaṇa* has taught.'"

When the wandering ascetic Moggallāna heard this teaching of the Dhamma, he attained the eye of the Truth, without smear or stain: "Things that are of a nature to arise are all of a nature to be extinguished." He said: "Even if that were all of the Dhamma, it is enough. You have already attained the stage where no anxiety remains, a stage unseen for countless *kalpas* in the past."

(24.1) Then the wandering ascetic Moggallāna said to the wandering ascetic Sāriputta: "Friend, let us go to the Venerable Master, for he is the teacher for us." "Friend, the 250 wandering ascetics here depend on us and are living here because of us. Let us first tell them [what we are doing] and consult them so that they can do what they think best." And so Sāriputta and Moggallāna went to where the wandering ascetics were and said to them: "Friends, we are going to the Venerable Master, for he is the teacher for us." "We depend on you, venerable ones, and are living here because of you. If you, venerable ones, are going to train under the great *samaṇa,* we will likewise train under the great *samaṇa.*"

(2) Then Sāriputta and Moggallāna went to where the wandering ascetic Sañjaya was and said to Sañjaya: "Friend, we are going to the Venerable Master, for he is the teacher for us." "Friends, you should not. Do not go. The three of us will lead this band." *Twice . . . three times Sāriputta and Moggallāna said to Sañjaya: "We are going to the Venerable Master, for he is the teacher for us." "Friends, you should not. Do not go. The three of us will lead this band."**

(3) However, Sāriputta and Moggallāna went to the Bamboo Grove,

leading the 250 wandering ascetics. Hot blood issued from the mouth of the wandering ascetic Sañjaya.

According to the *Ssu-fen-lü*, however, Sāriputta responded to Moggallāna's urging to become disciples of Gotama by saying: "We already have two hundred fifty disciples. . . . We should tell them first [what we are thinking of doing] and get their agreement."[38] It appears from this text that the 250 ascetics were already considered the disciples of Sāriputta and Moggallāna themselves. The *Wu-fen-lü*, however, says that Sañjaya had already died and Sāriputta and Moggallāna had inherited his disciples.[39] The phrase in the Pali *Vinaya* "hot blood issued from the mouth" is also found in many other passages referring to the indignation of ascetics and religious people.[40]

The Venerable Master saw Sāriputta and Moggallāna coming from afar and, seeing them, said to the *bhikkhus*: "*Bhikkhus*, two friends are now coming, Kolita [Moggallāna] and Upatissa [Sāriputta]. They will become my chief disciples, great and excellent." *When they had attained the profound knowledge and matchless liberation as a result of the destruction of attachments to existence and arrived at the Bamboo Grove, the Master made a prediction about them. "Two friends are now coming, Kolita and Upatissa. They will become my chief disciples, great and excellent."**
(4) Then Sāriputta and Moggallāna went to where the Venerable Master was and, having prostrated themselves at his feet, said to him: "Revered One, may we receive ordination and the precepts from the Venerable Master?" The Venerable Master said: "Come, *bhikkhus*. The teachings have been well taught. Undertake pure practice for the sake of the complete annihilation of suffering." Thus those venerable persons received the precepts.
(5) At that time many distinguished sons of good families in Magadha were coming one after another to undertake the pure practice under the Venerable Master. People became angry and critical, saying: "The *samaṇa* Gotama has come and taken our sons away. The *samaṇa* Gotama has come and taken our husbands away. The *samaṇa* Gotama has come and destroyed our homes. Recently he ordained a thousand matted-haired ascetics. He has also ordained the two hundred fifty wandering ascetics who were disciples of Sañjaya. Many distinguished sons of good

families in Magadha are coming one after another to undertake the pure practice under the *samaṇa* Gotama." When people saw [Buddhist] *bhikkhus,* they would reproach them in verse:

"The great *samaṇa* has come to the mountain-encircled capital
[Rājagaha] of Magadha.
Already he has poached Sañjaya's followers.
Whom will he poach next?"

(6) The *bhikkhus* heard the people's criticism and reported it to the Venerable Master. [In reply, Sakyamuni said:] "*Bhikkhus,* this noise will not last long. It will last but seven days; when seven days have passed, it will disappear. If, *bhikkhus,* they criticize you with the verse

The great *samaṇa* has come to the mountain-encircled capital of
Magadha.
Already he has poached Sañjaya's followers.
Whom will he poach next?

refute it with this verse:

Great heroes, those who know the Truth,
Lead by the correct means.
Who could be jealous
Of wise men leading by correct means?" . . .

When people realized that the *bhikkhus,* followers of the one [Buddha] of the Sakyas, were led by correct means and not by evil, the [critical] noise persisted exactly seven days and disappeared after that time.

The episode ends at this point in the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*.[41] I believe that this legend is based on historical fact. The Jaina *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* describes the teachings of a holy sage named Sañjaya directly after those of Sāriputta.[42] According to this text, Sañjaya's teachings were ethical rather than metaphysical, concerned with the practice of good. There is no conflict here with skepticism.

The conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna and the followers of Sañjaya was a major event in early Buddhism. These two men are generally regarded as the greatest of the Buddha's ten chief disciples. Sāriputta was considered foremost in wisdom and Moggallāna foremost in superhuman powers. As a skeptic, Sañjaya was relegated to the list of the leading non-Buddhist teachers of the day.

According to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta,* King Ajātasattu of Magadha reported to the Buddha about Sañjaya's teachings as follows:

Sañjaya of the Belaṭṭha tribe spoke as follows:

"Great King, should you ask me whether an afterworld exists, and I believed that it did exist, I would answer: 'An afterworld exists.' However, I do not think there is an afterworld. I do not think it is so, nor do I think it is otherwise. I do not deny it, nor do I say there neither is nor is not another world.

"Should you ask me whether an afterworld does not exist . . .

"Should you ask me whether an afterworld both exists and does not exist . . .

"Should you ask me whether an afterworld neither exists nor does not exist . . .

"Should you ask me whether living beings are produced by chance . . .

"Should you ask me whether living beings are not produced by chance . . .

"Should you ask me whether living beings are both produced by chance and not produced by chance . . .

"Should you ask me whether living beings are neither produced by chance nor not produced by chance . . .

"Should you ask me whether there is reward or retribution for good or bad actions . . .

"Should you ask me whether there is no reward or retribution for good or bad actions . . .

"Should you ask me whether there is both reward or retribution for good or bad actions and no reward or retribution for good or bad actions . . .

"Should you ask me whether there is neither reward nor retribution for good or bad actions nor no reward or retribution for good or bad actions . . .

"Should you ask me whether the perfected being exists after death . . .

"Should you ask me whether the perfected being does not exist after death . . .

"Should you ask me whether the perfected being both exists and does not exist after death . . .

"Should you ask me whether the perfected being neither exists nor does not exist after death, and I believed that the perfected being neither exists nor does not exist after death, I would answer: 'The perfected being neither exists nor does not exist after death.' However, I do not think it is so, nor do I think it seems so, nor do I think it is otherwise. I

do not deny it, nor do I say the perfected being neither exists nor does not exist after death."[43]

In this way, "Sañjaya of the Belaṭṭha tribe, when asked about the immediate fruits of the life of one seeking the Way [*samaṇa*], advocated evasion."

Sāriputta and Moggallāna went to join Gotama, as we have seen, taking with them all the disciples of Sañjaya, advocate of the suspension of judgment. The fact that they became the nucleus of the developing Saṅgha shows how in the process of its expansion Buddhism transcended, and triumphed over, skepticism. The rejection of metaphysical speculation by the early Saṅgha suggests that Buddhism had already traveled along the same road as Sañjaya. Early Buddhism did not remain at that point, however, but went beyond it, as Assaji's verse demonstrates, taking the more positive position that all things come into existence through causes and conditions.

The conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna also reveals the composition of the core of the early Saṅgha. Through the conversion of these two men, 250 new followers were added to the Buddha's band of disciples, which now numbered 1,250. Many Buddhist texts employ the phrase "The Buddha came with his 1,250 *bhikkhus*."[44] Four important historical facts can be read into this statement.

First, the nucleus of the Saṅgha was composed of men who had either been practitioners of the fire cult or the followers of a skeptic. These people were interested in religious practice, not in subtle philosophy or metaphysics. This confirms early Buddhism's emphasis on practice and explains the large number of skeptical expressions in the earliest Buddhist texts, such as the "Chapter of Eights" ("Aṭṭhaka-vagga") and the "Chapter on Going to the Far Shore" ("Pārāyana-vagga") in the *Suttanipāta*.

Second, 1,250 has been fixed as the number of *bhikkhus* in the Saṅgha. This suggests that while the number of disciples may have increased later, there was no further rapid expansion. The Saṅgha had attained a certain stability. Those who had entered first were considered the core, while those who came later were not regarded as constituting a particular group.

Third, although the disciples of the Kassapa brothers were most numerous, the leadership of the Saṅgha was in the hands of the Rājagaha intellectuals, especially Sāriputta and Moggallāna. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the Jainas considered Sāriputta, not Gotama, to represent the Buddhist Saṅgha.[45]

Fourth, the biographical section of the Pāli *Vinaya* essentially finishes with this episode. Although to us it seems incomplete to stop here, the *Vinaya* compilers doubtless believed that it was with the addition of Sañjaya's followers that the Saṅgha became stabilized and that no further description was necessary.

Gotama's activities in Rājagaha are mentioned in a large number of sutras, but here I am concerned primarily with presenting and explaining the biography as it appears in the various *Vinayas.*

THE RETURN HOME

THE OLDEST WRITINGS

Events subsequent to the conversion of the followers of Sañjaya are not covered in any detail in the *Vinayas.*[46] According to a brief account in one *Vinaya,* the next men to be ordained were Mahā-Kassapa, Channa, Kāḷudāyin, and Upāli.[47] Mahā-Kassapa was renowned as the foremost in religious training and ascetic practice. Later biographies intimate that he took refuge in the Buddha somewhere near Rājagaha.[48]

Gotama next returned to his old home in Kapilavatthu. Legend attributes the return to the urging of Udāyin.[49] It is said that at that time Gotama converted five hundred Sakya men. He visited his father, King Suddhodana, and spoke with his former wife, Yasodharā, and his child, Rāhula. The drama of this meeting, after so many years, can be imagined. Since the oldest writings make no mention of such a reunion, however, I will not go into detail here.

Later biographies do not agree as to when Gotama returned to his homeland; some say it was the second year after his enlightenment, while others say it was the sixth or even the twelfth year.[50] The actual timing cannot be confirmed.[51] It is very likely that he returned home a number of times during the forty-five years following his enlightenment. During that time his two most important bases were Sāvatthī in Kosala and Rājagaha in Magadha, and he would have had to cross Sakya territory when traveling between them.[52]

Gotama was received with great reverence in Kapilavatthu. Both his half-brother, Nanda, and his son, Rāhula, were ordained as *bhikkhus,*[53] and eventually both Suddhodana and Rāhula's mother took refuge in him.[54]

Legend tells us that the barber's son Upāli and the Buddha's cousin Ānanda were also ordained at this time.[55] Tradition says that Nanda was brought to ordination through the Buddha's use of skillful means (*upāya*). He was a good-looking man and always had to exercise care in his training. He is reputed to have been the foremost of the disciples in guarding the doors of the senses.[56] According to one tradition, Ānanda was ordained around the fifteenth year after the Buddha's enlightenment, when he was twenty years old. He probably became the Buddha's personal attendant five years later, when Sakyamuni was about fifty-five.[57]

The Sakyas practiced a republican form of government through a council of the nobility and built a council hall, which appears to have had a variety of uses. It is said that they invited the Buddha to be the first person to lecture in it. This probably occurred in his later years.[58] The *Majjhima-Nikāya* relates:

> At one time the Venerable Master was staying in the Banyan Grove Park at the Sakya capital of Kapilavatthu. At that time, the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu had just built a new council hall [*santhāgāra*], and it had not yet been occupied by *samaṇas* or Brahmins or any other people. Then the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu went to where the Venerable Master was and, greeting him and sitting to one side, they said: "Revered One, the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu have just built a new council hall and it has not yet been occupied by *samaṇas* or Brahmins or any other people. Revered One, let the Venerable Master be the first to use it. When the Venerable Master has used it first, then the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu will use it. This will bring merit and happiness to the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu." The Venerable One assented by his silence.
>
> Then the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu, knowing the Venerable Master had assented, rose from their seats, greeted the Venerable Master, and, keeping their right side toward him, went to the council hall. They then decorated the council hall thoroughly, prepared the seats, set out a water flask, and hung an oil lamp. They went to where the Venerable Master was and, greeting him, stood to one side. Then they said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, the council hall has been decorated thoroughly, seats have been prepared, a water flask has been set out, and an oil lamp has been hung. It is now time."
>
> The Venerable Master put on his robe, took up his bowl and robe, and with the *bhikkhus* went to the council hall. Having arrived, he washed his feet, entered the hall, and sat down facing east near the central pil-

> lar. The *bhikkhus* too washed their feet, entered the hall, and sat down near the western wall facing east toward the Venerable Master. The Sakyas of Kapilavatthu also washed their feet, entered the hall, and sat down near the eastern wall facing west toward the Venerable Master.[59]

Religious people in India in the Buddha's time went barefoot, so they would wash their feet before entering a building. The floor of the council hall was probably made of whitewashed packed earth, as can still be seen in India today.[60] The hall was not large; the central pillar would have supported the whole building. In later centuries vaulted ceilings spanned large halls in castles and palaces, but the primitive Sakyas could not have built such a place. Chinese translators rendered the term *santhāgāra* as "hall" or "conference hall" (*t'ang, chiang-t'ang*). According to one Chinese translation, the Sakyas' hall was in the suburbs of Kapilavatthu.[61] The *Majjhima-Nikāya* continues:

> Then the Venerable Master, having encouraged and gladdened the Sakyas with his discourse on the Dhamma far into the night, addressed the Venerable Ānanda,[62] saying: "Ānanda, you have still that which is left for you to learn, and are still practicing the Way. Teach the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu, for my back is aching and I wish to stretch it." "Yes, Revered One," replied the Venerable Ānanda. Then the Venerable Master folded his outer robe into four and lay down on his right side in the lion posture, one foot upon the other, mindful, aware, and reflecting on the thought of rising again.

The *Saṅgīti-sutta* also describes how the Mallās of Pāvā (Pāveyyakā Mallā) likewise built a new council hall, called the Ubbhaṭaka, and invited Gotama to be the first to use it.[63] The Mallās lived near the Sakyas, within the present borders of India.

It is by no means certain that Gotama received a warm welcome in Kapilavatthu. The former heir seems to have been regarded with some contempt as an oddly garbed wandering religious practitioner. In time, though, he was able to temper this initial distrust.

> At one time the Venerable Master was staying in the Sakya village of Khomadussa. At that time early in the morning the Venerable Master put on his robe and took up his bowl and entered Khomadussa on his alms round. The Brahmins and householders of the village had gath-

ered in the council hall [*sabhā*] to discuss business. Rain was falling softly.

The Venerable Master came up to the hall. The Brahmins and householders of Khomadussa saw the Venerable Master coming from afar, and said: "Who are those shaven-haired *samaṇas*? Do they know about the rule of the council hall [*sabhādhamma*]?[64]

The "rule of the council hall" refers to the custom, when there was a meeting at the council hall, of entering from a side door so as not to disturb those already in the hall.

Then the Venerable Master addressed them in verse:

"Where there are not good people, there is no council.
Those who do not speak of the Dhamma are not 'good people.'
It is those who have put aside greed and anger and delusion,
Who speak of the Dhamma, who are 'good people.'"[65]

Hearing these words, says the sutra, the people took refuge in the Buddha. The leading members of the Sakyas were concerned about the social rules, but Gotama considered personal ethical questions to be far more important. In this sense early Buddhism can be said to have been concerned with supraworldly matters.

Later Gotama's influence extended to the rulers, as well. Bhaddiya, ruler of the Sakyas after Suddhodana, became an ordained disciple at the urging of Anuruddha.[66] "Bhaddiya, in a forest, or at the foot of a tree, or in an empty place, constantly uttered this thought: 'Ah, how pleasant. Ah, how pleasant.'"[67] His fellow *bhikkhus*, thinking this behavior strange, reported it to Gotama. "The gentleman[68] Bhaddiya is dissatisfied with the pure practice and, whenever he remembers the delights of his former kingship, utters this thought: 'Ah, how pleasant. Ah, how pleasant.'" Gotama called Bhaddiya to him and asked him why he said: "Ah, how pleasant. Ah, how pleasant." Bhaddiya replied:

"Formerly, when I was a king, a strongly armed guard always protected me, whether I was in the palace, outside the palace, inside the city, outside the city, or inside the country. But though I was protected by a strongly armed guard, I was afraid, anxious, alarmed, and frightened. However now, whether in a forest, or at the foot of a tree, or in an empty place, I am not afraid, anxious, alarmed, or frightened, but unworried, calm in appearance, tranquil, with a mind like a deer's. It was this I was considering when in a forest, or at the foot of a tree, or in an

> empty place, I again and again uttered the thought 'Ah, how pleasant. Ah, how pleasant.'"

Political conspiracies must have been never-ending even in such a small country as the Sakyas'. In this sense too the Saṅgha can be said to have provided a refuge.

Gotama did not work among only the higher levels of society, such as the Brahmins and the nobility. The social strength of early Buddhism may have been due to a large extent to the support it received from converts among these classes; nevertheless, the Saṅgha itself was classless and built on a principle of equality, so that *bhikkhus* from a humble social background were accepted and because of seniority could rank higher than those of noble birth. A good example is the ordination of Upāli. The *Vinaya* says:

> Then the seven, the Sakya king Bhaddiya [Bhaddiyo Sakyarājā] and Anuruddha and Ānanda and Bhagu and Kimbila and Devadatta, with Upāli the barber, as in the past they had gone out with a fourfold army to a pleasure garden, now went forth with a fourfold army. When they had gone a long way, they sent back the army and crossed into another [tribe's] territory. Having bundled up their ornaments in their outer robes, they said to Upāli the barber: "Well now, Upāli, return. With this you should be able to make a good living." The barber Upāli was about to return when he thought: "The Sakyas are fierce. If they think that I have killed these [six] young men, they will kill me. These young Sakyas are going from home to homelessness. Why should I not do likewise?"
>
> He unloosed his bundle, hung the contents on a tree, and, saying: "Let whoever sees it take it," he went to where the young Sakyas were.

Seeing Upāli coming, the youths asked him why he had come back. Upāli explained to them what he had been thinking, and they all went off together to seek Gotama. Approaching him, they said:

> We Sakyas are proud. This barber Upāli has attended us for a long time. Please allow him to be ordained first. Rising from the seat we will greet him, salute him with joined palms, and show the proper attitude toward him. Thus will the Sakya pride within us be removed."
>
> Thus the Venerable Master ordained Upāli the barber first and the Sakya youths after him.[69]

It is uncertain whether this episode contains any historical truth,[70] but it demonstrates that men from lower classes ordained first had seniority over those from higher classes.

It is natural to think that men from the Sakya tribe, of the same blood as the Buddha, would have had an important place in the formation of early Buddhism.[71] As the list below shows, we can identify forty-one *bhikkhus*, twenty *bhikkhunīs*, nine laymen, and three laywomen among the Buddha's disciples and followers who were Sakyas.[72] Whether they all actually existed is unclear, but the numbers do represent the fact that many Sakyas joined the Buddha.

Bhikkhus: Ānanda, Aññā-Koṇḍañña, Anuruddha, Assaji, Bandhura, Bhaddiya, Bhadhiya-Kāligodhaputta, Channa, Devadatta, Devasabha, Gotama, Hatthaka, Kāḷudāyin, Kimbila, Lomasa-Kaṅgiya, Mahānāma, Meghiya, Nāgasamāla, Nāgita, Nālaka, Nanda, Nanda, Nandiya, Nisabha, Pakkha, Paripuṇṇaka, Puṇṇa-Mantāniputta, Rāhula, Rakkhita, Sappadāsa, Seniya, Sīha, Sīvaka, Sīvali, Soṇa-potiriyaputta, Tissa, Upāli, Usabha, Uttiya, Vanavaccha, Vappa

Bhikkhunīs: Abhirūpā-Nandā, Bhaddakaccānā, Bhadrā, Bodhī, Dhīrā, Dhīrā, Janapadakalyāṇī-Rūpanandā, Mahāpajāpatī, Mittā, Nandā, Saṅghā, Sumanā, Sundarī-Nandā, Tissā, Thullā-Nandā, Upasamā, Uttarā, Vaḍḍhesī, Visākhā, Yasavatī

Laymen: Bhaddiya, Bodhi, Godha, Kakudha-Koliyaputta, Mahānāma, Nandiya, Puṇṇa-Koliyaputta, Sarakāni, Vappa

Laywomen: Kāligodhā, Rohiṇī, Suppavāsā-Koliyadhītā

It is said that Sakyamuni taught the Sakya lay followers in particular to maintain the eight prohibitions.[73]

THE *NIDĀNAKATHĀ*

While the *Nidānakathā* describes the events following the first discourse only briefly, its account of the Buddha's return to his old home is far more detailed.[74] When King Suddhodana heard that his son was staying at the Bamboo Grove in Rājagaha, he sent a courtier with many attendants to escort him back to Kapilavatthu.

> When the Tathāgata was staying in the Bamboo Grove, King Suddhodana heard that his son had undertaken austerities for six years, had

attained the highest enlightenment, and now was turning the wheel of the most wonderful teaching; he was staying in the Bamboo Grove near Rājagaha. He called a certain courtier to him and said: "Go you now and take a thousand men to Rājagaha, and bring my son back here, saying to him in my name: 'Your father, Suddhodana, the great king wishes to meet you.'" He accepted the king's commission, saying: "Yes, O King," and went quickly with a thousand men the sixty *yojanas* [between Kapilavatthu and Rājagaha], and entered the *vihāra* at the hour that he of the ten powers [the Buddha] was teaching the four groups of followers.

However, the courtier and all the other men were dazzled by the Buddha and took ordination under him, becoming his disciples. Going out for wool, they had come home shorn.

Thinking: "Let my commission from the king wait a while," he listened to the discourse of the Master, standing to one side of the gathering. In that way, he and the thousand with him gained the stage of *arahat* and asked to be ordained. The Blessed One said: "Come, *bhikkhus*," and held out his hand. In that instant, all of them appeared with robes and bowls created by superhuman power, just like elders of one hundred years.

Arahats, when they gain that stage, lose all attachment to phenomenal things, and so [the courtier] did not tell him of the ten powers the message the king had entrusted to him.

The king commanded: "None of the messengers have come back, not even to bring a message; now you are to go," and he sent another courtier as before. He left, but in the same way, with his retinue, attained the stage of the *arahat*, and remained silent. Again the king sent a total of nine courtiers, each with a retinue of a thousand men; all of them neglected what they were supposed to do and remained silent.

When the king realized that no one was going to reply or bring a message, he thought: "Having no affection [*sineha*] for me, not one of them has returned even with a message. Who will do as I say?" He looked around the courtiers assembled before him and caught sight of Kāḷudāyin. He was faithful to the king and trustworthy in all that he did; and he was born on the same day as the Bodhisatta and had been his playfellow and companion. The king turned to him and said:

"Kāḷudāyin, wishing to meet my son I have sent nine thousand men to him, but not one has returned or brought back a message. The end of my life is not far, and I wish to see my son before I die. Can you help me see my son?"

"If you give me permission, O King, to become a *bhikkhu,* I will do as you ask."

"That is well. Become a *bhikkhu* or not as you wish, but enable me to see my son."

"I obey, O King." [Kāḷudāyin] set off for Rājagaha bearing the king's commission. It being the hour the Master was teaching, he listened to the discourse, standing to one side of the gathering. He and the followers with him gained the stage of *arahat* and were ordained [with the formula] "Come, *bhikkhus.*"

The *Nidānakathā* then relates the Buddha's teaching activities so far.

The Master spent the first rainy-season retreat after he became a Buddha at Isipatana, and when it was over a closing ceremony was held. Then he went to Uruvelā, and during the three months there converted the matted-haired ascetics, the three brothers. On the day of the full moon, in the month of Phussa, he set out for Rājagaha leading a thousand *samaṇas.* There he stayed two months. Thus five months had passed since he left Bārāṇasī and the cold season had finished. Eight weeks had gone by since the Elder Udāyin had arrived.

On the day of the full moon, in the month of Phagguna, [Udāyin] thought: "The cold season has ended and spring has arrived. People are transporting their crops and the roads are everywhere. The earth is covered with new grass, the forests are full of beautiful flowers, and the roads are everywhere passable. Now is the time for him of the ten powers to bring blessings [*ñātisaṃgaha*] to his family." He approached the Blessed One and in a verse of sixty stanzas praised traveling so that he of the ten powers might visit his native place:

"Crimson with fruit are the trees, their leaves cast aside.
They seem brilliant as glowing fires.
Now, great hero, is the time to share the delights [of the teachings].

"Neither too hot nor too cold,
There will be no difficulty in obtaining alms, no want.
The earth is green with deep grass.
Great sage, now is the time."

Udāyin spoke of the natural beauty to be encountered on the journey home. The *Theragāthā* contains many such verses, though natural beauty never occupied an important place in the mainstream of Buddhist teaching. It was in the Zen Buddhism of East Asia that the theme emerged strongly. All the same, the Sōtō sect priest Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655) called "effete" the famous verse by Dōgen, a harsh master to himself and others, about his love for the moon and flowers. Buddhist scholars do not seem to have taken up the subject, but I believe it is a topic worth discussing.

Gotama Buddha acquiesced to Udāyin's proposal.

> Then the Master said to him: "Why, Udāyin, are you praising traveling in such a sweet voice?"
>
> "Venerable Master, your father, King Suddhodana, wishes to see you. Will you not bring blessings to your family?"
>
> "Well said, Udāyin. I will do so. Inform the Saṅgha, and they will make preparations for a journey."
>
> "I obey, Revered Master," replied the Elder [Udāyin] and he informed [the *bhikkhus*].

The phrase "bring blessings to my family" (*karissāmi ñātakānaṃ saṃgahaṃ*) means, literally, "embrace my family." Even Gotama, who had attained enlightenment, was no doubt assailed by old memories. The feelings of affection that a sage should have transcended pulled at him, and he decided to set out on the journey home. Confucianists throughout East Asia and nativist scholars in Japan have long accused Buddhism of being a religion that ignores family ties. Gotama, however, in the depths of his subconscious, had not lost his love of family, though this affection had been purified and transformed.

> The Blessed One, accompanied by twenty thousand *bhikkhus* free from the defilements—ten thousand youths of good family from Anga and Magadha and ten thousand men from Kapilavatthu—left Rājagaha and progressed at a pace of one *yojana* a day. They went slowly, intending to arrive at Kapilavatthu, a distance of sixty *yojanas* from Rājagaha, in two months.
>
> The Elder [Udāyin], thinking to inform the king that the Blessed One had left, rose in the air and appeared in the king's dwelling. The king rejoiced to see the Elder; he had the Elder sit on a rich couch and filled his bowl with delicious food that had been prepared for himself. Then the Elder arose and appeared to be leaving.

"Sit down and eat."

"I would like to eat when I am near the Master, O Great King."

"Where is the Master now?"

"O Great King, he has set out to visit you, accompanied by twenty thousand *bhikkhus*.

Rejoicing, the king said: "Eat here, and after you have finished, take alms for my son from here until he arrives in this town."

The Elder agreed.

We next have the legend of how Sakyamuni ate only the food brought to him from his father by superhuman means. The king then prepared a great welcome for his son.

> When the Venerable Master arrived, the Sakyas, wishing to see the most distinguished of all their relatives, assembled to discuss where the Blessed One should stay. They decided that the Nigrodha Grove of the Sakyas would be most pleasant and made preparations for him there. Then, with perfumes and flowers in their hands, they went out to meet him, sending before them young boys and girls of the town beautifully dressed, and after them the princes and princesses. They themselves, with offerings of perfumes and flowers and incense, led the Blessed One to the Nigrodha Grove. There the Blessed One sat down on the splendid Buddha seat prepared for him, accompanied by the twenty thousand *bhikkhus* who were free from the defilements.

The attitude of the townspeople toward Gotama Buddha was not warm, however. They looked down on him.

> The Sakyas were by nature proud and disrespectful. Thinking: "Prince Siddhattha is younger than we are; he is our younger brother, our nephew, our son, our grandson," they said to the young princes: "Bow before the Blessed One; we will sit behind you."

There was alienation and conflict between rulers and ruled. The ordinary people probably did not acknowledge those, like *bhikkhus*, who had fled from social constraints. It was only through the performance of a miracle that they submitted to Gotama.

> After they had sat, without bowing, the Blessed One understood what they meant and, thinking: "My relatives do not bow to me. Very well

> then, I will make them do so," he entered that meditation that is based on superhuman powers and emerging from it rose into the air as if shaking the dirt off his feet over their heads and performed a miracle [*pāṭihāriya*], the same as that miracle of the pairs performed at the foot of the *gaṇḍamba* tree.

There is no knowing today on what historical fact this "miracle" may have been based.

As a result, the Buddha converted the king. When the courtiers saw the king take refuge in the Buddha, they followed suit.

> Seeing this miracle, the king said: "Blessed One, on the day you were born, when you were taken to the [hermit] Kāḷadevala to bow before him, seeing your feet turn around and place themselves on the Brahmin's head, I bowed before you. That was my first salutation to you. When you were lying on your couch in the shade of the *jambu* tree on the day of the plowing festival, seeing that the shadow of the *jambu* tree did not move, I bowed before you. That was my second salutation to you. Again today I bow at your feet, seeing this unprecedented miracle. This is my third salutation to you." When the king bowed before the Buddha, not a single Sakya was able to refrain from bowing before him, and all of them bowed. When the Blessed One had thus made all his relatives bow before him, he came down from the sky and sat in the seat prepared for him.

The pattern of first the king and his courtiers taking refuge in Buddhism and then the teachings spreading gradually among the people is a feature of the way Buddhism was accepted throughout Asia.

> When the Blessed One sat, the company of relatives reached the climax. They sat attentively, their minds concentrated. Just then a great cloud poured down a lotus rain. Copper-colored water pounded down. Those who wished to get wet became wet; not a single drop touched the bodies of those who did not wish to get wet. Seeing it, everyone wondered at the strangeness of it and said to one another: "What a wonder! What a miracle!"
>
> When they had heard the [Buddha's] discourse, they rose, bowed before him, and departed. However, no one, not even the king or his ministers, invited him to take his meal with them the following day. The

> next day the Master, accompanied by his twenty thousand disciples, entered Kapilavatthu to seek alms. However, no one came to him, or invited him [to his house], or took his bowl.

Why was alms-seeking not welcome in the Sakya capital, when it was accepted in other places? "The Blessed One, standing at the gate [of the town], considered: 'How did the buddhas of the past seek alms in their native places? Did they go directly to the homes of the powerful, or did they beg from house to house?'" *Buddhas* here means not "enlightened ones" but religious mendicant sages of a type common at the time, whom we have already seen mentioned in the Jaina *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*.

> And not discovering that any buddhas had gone directly, he thought: "I too must preserve this tradition, this custom. In the future my disciples too will fulfill their duty regarding seeking alms, learning from my example." Beginning at the first house, he made his alms round begging from door to door.
>
> Saying that the noble Prince Siddhattha was making his alms round, large numbers of people opened the windows of their two- and three-storied houses and stared at him.

The sight of people watching processions and parades from upper windows is common in India. The best remaining example of architecture that lends itself to this practice is to be found in the Palace of the Winds (Hawa Mahal) in Jaipur.

Gotama's former wife also watched him from an upper window.

> Rāhula's mother, [Gotama's] consort, thought: "They say my lord, who used to go about this very town in glorious majesty riding in a golden palanquin, is now going about begging for food, an alms bowl in his hands, with his hair and beard shaved and wearing a yellow robe. Is this pleasing in appearance?" She opened her window and looked out. She saw the Blessed One lighting up the streets of the town with a light emitted from his body that shone in many different colors for the length of a *vyāma* all around him. He was brilliant with the eighty minor signs and the thirty-two distinguishing marks of a great being, and shone with the glorious radiance of an unequaled Buddha.
>
> She reported it to the king, saying: "Your son is making his alms round."

To the Sakyas the sight of the king's son begging for alms was an embarrassment. It was not behavior expected of the royal house.

> Greatly agitated, the king put on his outer robe with his own hands and made haste outside. He hurried to where the Blessed One was and stood before him and said: "Blessed One, why are you putting us to shame in this fashion? What is your purpose in going around begging for alms? Do you think you cannot provide enough food for your *bhikkhus*?"
>
> "This, O Great King, is our traditional practice."
>
> "Master, does not our tradition stem from the royal line of Mahāsammata? Not one of that lineage ever walked around seeking alms."

Here we see a supraworldly religion through the eyes of traditional secularism. Gotama set out to persuade the king of the narrowness of that view.

> "Your lineage, O King, is the lineage of kings, but ours is that of the buddhas, extending from Dīpaṃkara and Koṇḍañña down to Kassapa. These, and thousands of other buddhas, have begged for alms and lived on their alms alone." And standing in the middle of the road, he recited this verse:
>
> "Rouse yourself! Be not idle!
> Follow the Good Way!
> One who acts correctly rests in ease
> In this world and the next."
>
> When Gotama had finished reciting that verse, the king attained the first stage of the sage. He attained the second stage on hearing this verse:
>
> "Follow the Good Way!
> Do not that which is evil!
> One who acts correctly rests in ease
> In this world and the next."
>
> He attained the third stage on hearing the birth story of the *Mahādhammapāla,* and at the time of his death [*maraṇasamaye*], lying on the auspicious couch under a white canopy, he attained the highest stage of *arahat*. The king never needed to undertake religious training living in the forest.

From the viewpoint of later traditional and conservative Buddhist doctrine (Hīnayāna), it was impossible for a layman to attain the stage of *arahat*

while remaining in his secular dwelling. To consider Suddhodana to have been any different just because he was the Buddha's father opposes that doctrine. This story of a layman attaining the supreme stage without leaving home must have been nonsensical to traditional scholars of doctrine, but they could not hide the fact that such a concept existed.

Next, members of the royal household took ordination.

> When [the king] attained the first stage of the sage, he took the Blessed One's bowl and led the Blessed One with his retinue to the great towered palace and served them with many kinds of food, both hard and soft. When the meal was finished, the women of the palace all came and bowed before the Blessed One. [However,] the mother of Rāhula did not come.
>
> Though she told her attendants to go and salute their lord, she herself did not go, saying: "If I have any merit, my lord will come to me of himself. At that time I will bow before him."

This attitude is understandable, given that Gotama had abandoned her when he left secular life. Eventually, though, she was able to take refuge in him.

> The Blessed One gave his bowl to the king to hold and, taking his two chief disciples [Sāriputta and Moggallāna], went to the room of the king's daughter [*rājadhītā*, the mother of Rāhula], saying: "Nothing will be said against the king's daughter, however she greets me." He sat down in the seat prepared for him.

Yasodharā had loved Gotama passionately and yearned for him.

> She came quickly, holding him by his ankles and placing her head on the soles of his feet, thus saluting him as she had intended. The king told [Gotama] of the king's daughter's goodness of heart and the love and respect she had for the Blessed One. "Master, when my daughter [Yasodharā] heard that you had donned the yellow robe, from that time she dressed in yellow. When she heard you took but one meal a day, she also took one meal a day. When she knew you had abandoned big beds, she too slept on a mat on the floor. When she knew you abstained from using garlands and perfumes, she too abstained from using garlands and perfumes. Even when her relatives sent a message

that they would look after her, she did not go to meet even one of them. Such, Blessed One, is the goodness of my daughter's heart."

"It is not strange, O King, that the king's daughter should protect herself now, with you to watch over her and with her wisdom advanced, for in a past life, when she was wandering around the foot of the mountains alone, without a protector, even though her wisdom was not advanced she protected herself well." He then related the birth story of the *Candakinnara,* rose from his seat, and left.

On the third day the Buddha ordained his half-brother, Nanda, immediately after his wedding ceremony.

> On the second day were held the ceremonies of Nanda's installation as crown prince, his moving to a new residence, and his wedding. The Buddha went to his house, gave his bowl to the prince to hold, and, thinking to persuade him to take ordination, spoke to him words of happiness. After that he rose from his seat and left. [Nanda's bride] Janapada Kalyāṇī [literally, "the most beautiful one in all the land"], seeing the prince about to leave [with the Blessed One], watched him as he left and cried out: "Come back soon." However, he could not bring himself to say to the Blessed One: "Here is your bowl back," and he accompanied him to the *vihāra.* Though he was reluctant, he took ordination under the Blessed One. It was on the third day after the Blessed One arrived in Kapilavatthu that he ordained Nanda.

To modern eyes such behavior seems very brutal. The fact that the author of the *Nidānakathā* included the episode without misgivings may indicate his intention of stressing Gotama's enormous power of influence.

Next Gotama ordained his son, Rāhula.

> On the seventh day the mother of Rāhula dressed the prince in his best clothes and went to where the Blessed One was. "Look, Rāhula," she said, "at that *bhikkhu* who looks like the golden Brahmā, surrounded by twenty thousand *bhikkhus.* He is your father. He had great treasures, which we have not seen since he left home. Go to him and say: 'Father, I am your son. When I am crowned, I will be a great wheel-rolling king. I need wealth. Give me that wealth, for a son is heir to his father's property,' and take your wealth!" The prince went to where the Blessed One was and knew he had the affection [*sineha*] of his father. Rejoicing,

> he cried: "Happy, *bhikkhu,* is your shadow," and many other things befitting him. When the Blessed One had finished his meal and given thanks, he rose from his seat and departed. The prince followed the Blessed One, saying: "*Bhikkhu,* give me my inheritance. *Bhikkhu,* give me my inheritance."

Rāhula wanted an inheritance in the worldly sense. Gotama's view, however, was spiritual.

> The Blessed One did not make the prince return. His attendants could not prevent him from going with the Blessed One. In that way, he went with the Blessed One to the grove. Then the Blessed One thought: "My son wants his father's wealth, but that is only something that brings suffering and rebirth. I will give him the sevenfold noble wealth that I attained at the place of enlightenment. I will make him the possessor of spiritual wealth." He turned to the Venerable Sāriputta and said: "Sāriputta, ordain Prince Rāhula."

Thus Gotama made his own son the inheritor of his spiritual wealth. But the family did not welcome Rāhula's ordination.

> With the ordination of Prince [Rāhula], the king grieved greatly. Unable to bear his grief, he declared to the Blessed One: "Venerable Master, let not the Venerable Master ordain a child without the permission of his parents." The Blessed One agreed to his request.

This incident was the basis of the later rule of the Saṅgha that children could not be ordained without their parents' permission.[75]

Gotama's action in causing his close relatives to be ordained was criticized later, not only by members of other religions and scholarly traditions (Hinduism, Confucianism, Japanese nativism) but also even by some devout Buddhists. It is hard for us with our modern sensibilities to comprehend the worries and suffering in the minds of people who lived in the Buddha's time; perhaps the aspiration to take ordination helped sustain them.

The conclusion of the visit to Kapilavatthu is described as follows: "And thus, after the Blessed One established his father in the three stages of the sage, he set out again for Rājagaha accompanied by the company of *bhikkhus* and stayed in the Cold Forest [Sītavana]." The Cold Forest, as

we have seen, was a cemetery on the outskirts of Rājagaja where corpses were abandoned. It was to a place among the grave markers that Gotama returned.

In Kosala

KING PASENADI

The kingdom of Kosala was a large state rivaling Magadha, original overlord of the Sakyas. Gotama stated: "(422) On the middle slopes of those Snow Mountains [Himalayas], O King, there live a people, the inhabitants of Kosala, who are upright in nature and endowed with wealth and courage. / (423) They are Ādicca [of the sun lineage] by clan and Sākiya by birth. From that family, O King, I went into homelessness, not desiring sensuous pleasures."[76] Because Kosala was the suzerain of the Sakyas, it was not strange that Gotama should appeal to and then convert its king, Pasenadi (Skt., Prasenajit), son of Mahākosala, ruler of Kosala and Kāsī and overlord of the Sakyas.[77]

The *Dīgha-Nikāya* says: "In truth the Sakyas are vassals of King Pasenadi of Kosala. They are obedient to him, salute him respectfully, rise from their seats and make obeisance before him, and show a humble attitude before him."[78] Even so, the king treated Gotama as his Sakya vassals had treated him, for "he values the Dhamma, prizes the Dhamma, reveres the Dhamma, venerates the Dhamma, respects the Dhamma."[79] Thus the king showed the highest honor to one who, though a former vassal, was an enlightened sage.

Pasenadi had a great number of consorts. Mallikā and Vāsabha Khattiyā are particularly well known. Mallikā was the daughter of a landscape gardener in Sāvatthī, while Vāsabha Khattiyā was the child of the Sakya Mahānāma and a slave. Pasenadi and Mallikā had a daughter named Vajirā (also known as Vajīrī Kumārī),[80] who was later to wed King Ajātasattu of Magadha. Viḍūḍabha, the son of Pasenadi and Vāsabha Khattiyā, was later to bring about the annihilation of the Sakya clan.

Pasenadi seems to have been about the same age as the Buddha. According to the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, late in life he stated: "Venerable One, the Blessed One is of the *katthiya* caste and I too am of the *katthiya* caste. The Blessed One is a Kosalan and I too am a Kosalan. The Blessed One is eighty years of age and I too am eighty years of age."[81]

Pasenadi's closing years were apparently bitter. A legend says that while he was visiting the Buddha a general named Kārāyana, who held a grudge against Pasenadi, stole his five symbols of royalty and gave them to Prince Viḍūḍabha, making him king.[82] When Pasenadi emerged from his pleasant conversation with Gotama, he found his army gone. Only one horse and one serving woman were waiting for him. Pasenadi heard the details of what had happened from the woman and decided to go to Magadha to gain the support of his nephew Ajātasattu to capture Viḍūḍabha. When he arrived at Rājagaha, it was already sundown and the gates were closed for the night. Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, was surrounded by a fortress, so once the gates were closed, no one could enter. He entered a common hall (*sālā*) to sleep. (Such public houses have been found in various parts of India since ancient times. They are usually open to allow anybody to enter at any time. Religious events are also held there.) However, he died during the night, overcome by the wind and heat. At dawn passersby heard the anguished crying of the serving woman and reported to King Ajātasattu that a grievous thing had happened to the king of Kosala. Out of respect for his uncle, the king gave Pasenadi burial.

Gotama seems to have been very close to Pasenadi. At one time the king was suffering from shortness of breath from the large quantities of rich food he had been eating. The Buddha advised him to eat only small amounts, and he recovered.[83] Pasenadi had no compunction about speaking very plainly to the Buddha. The *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* relates that once he asked Gotama: "You claim to be perfectly and supremely enlightened, but as compared with the six masters, including Pūraṇa-Kassapa, you are young in years and their junior in the religious life."

"I am not to be scorned or despised because I am young."[84]

THE CONVERSION OF BUSINESS LEADERS

Gotama's conversion of business leaders in large urban centers was of profound importance, for this provided the social basis for the development of early Buddhism. A legend relates that while the Buddha was dwelling in the Bamboo Grove park a rich merchant of Rājagaha (*Rājagahaka seṭṭhi*) donated thirty *vihāras* in one day.[85] The biographies of the Buddha, though, place far more significance on the conversion of a wealthy man in Sāvatthī (Skt., Śrāvastī), the capital of Kosala, which lay northwest of Kapilavatthu.[86]

There was living in Sāvatthī at that time a man of wealth (*gahapati*) named Sudatta. A man of deep compassion, he well deserved his name, which meant "great giver." He was also known by the sobriquet Anāthapiṇḍika (feeder of the lonely), which probably means he distributed his wealth among the needy, for he would not have received such a name if he had supported the *bhikkhus* of the Buddhist Saṅgha alone. In fact, he was renowned as the first among the givers of alms.[87]

All the Buddhist accounts describe him as a devout follower of the Buddha; their agreement attests to his probable historicity. A relatively old tradition says that he had traveled to Rājagaha on business and while there had taken refuge in the Buddha, overwhelmed by the nobility of Gotama and his *bhikkhus*.[88] It was at his invitation that the Buddha went to Sāvatthī, and the Jetavana (Prince Jeta's Park) there was his donation.[89] The park, located on the southern outskirts of Sāvatthī, had belonged to Prince Jeta, a son of Pasenadi, and had been recently acquired by Sudatta. It is said that a *vihāra* was built there, the famous Jetavana monastery.[90]

How much of this is historical fact is not clear. An ancient verse that reads in part, "This is the Jeta Grove, where dwells the band of hermits [*isi*]," seems to confirm at least that Sudatta donated it.[91] Whether modern excavations on the site can definitely be ascribed to the Buddha's time is questionable, although archaeologists' surveys show the site to measure thirty-two acres.[92] Donation of that amount of land may have happened even at the time of the Buddha.[93] There is also a tradition that Prince Jeta donated the trees, which is why Chinese translations give the name of the park as "Anāthapiṇḍika's Park of Jeta's Trees."

Sāvatthī was at the crossroads of a number of important routes in northern India. The first went to Vaiśālī via Setavya, Kapilavatthu, Rāmagāma, Kuśinagara, and the fertile lower slopes of the Himalayas. The second linked Sāvatthī and Vārāṇasī by way of Sāketa. The third went via Sāketa to Kauśāmbī; in later times it extended through Bhārhut and Sāñcī to Ujjenī, from which one road led to the Godāvarī River and another to the port of Suppāraka (a little north of modern Bombay). The fourth ran to the region of the Kurus, along the upper reaches of the Ganges, through Saṃkaśya. The fifth extended to Taxila, in far northwestern India, by way of Soreyya. Buddhism was to spread along those trade routes.[94] Sakyamuni's extended sojourns in Sāvatthī no doubt had much to do with his clear understanding of the city's strategic potential.

The places where the Buddha stayed most often were, as we have seen, Rājagaha and Sāvatthī; Sāvatthī led in terms of the number of rainy-

season retreats spent at any one place. Later accounts say that he spent five or seven rainy seasons in Rājagaha and more than twenty years in Sāvatthī.[95] Though these accounts date from later times, the fact that they agree suggests a certain reliability. Sāvatthī, in short, was the nucleus for the development of the early Buddhist community.[96]

The site of the Jetavana monastery is now overgrown, but existing inscriptions tell us it was in existence until around the twelfth century.[97]

The Pāli *Vinaya* relates the circumstances concerning the conversion of Sudatta.[98]

> (1) At that time there was a householder, Anāthapiṇḍika, who was the husband of a younger sister of a great merchant in Rājagaha. Anāthapiṇḍika went to Rājagaha on business. At that time the great merchant of Rājagaha had invited the Buddha and his following of *bhikkhus* to a meal the next day. He ordered his slaves and servants, saying: "Rise early tomorrow and cook gruel, cook food, prepare soups, prepare delicate sweets." Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika thought: "When I have come here before, the merchant, having put aside all his duties, has done nothing but exchange greetings with me. Now, though, he is hurrying around, excitedly ordering the slaves and servants to rise early tomorrow and cook gruel, cook food, prepare soups, prepare delicate sweets. Is this merchant intending to take a bride or a son-in-law? Is he sponsoring an important rite? Has he invited King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha and his army on the morrow?"
>
> (2) Then the great merchant, having given orders to his slaves and servants, approached Anāthapiṇḍika, exchanged words of greeting with him, and sat down to one side. Then Anāthapiṇḍika spoke to the great merchant of Rājagaha, saying: "When I have come here before, you, having put aside all your duties, have done nothing but exchange greetings with me. Now, though, you are hurrying around, excitedly ordering the slaves and servants to rise early tomorrow and cook gruel, cook food, prepare soups, prepare delicate sweets. Are you intending to take a bride or a son-in-law? Are you sponsoring an important rite? Have you invited King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha and his army on the morrow?"
>
> "I am not intending to take a bride or a son-in-law, nor have I invited King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha and his army on the morrow. But I am sponsoring a great rite, for tomorrow I have invited the Buddha and his following of *bhikkhus* to a meal."

"Did you say 'Buddha'?"
"I said 'Buddha.'"
You did say 'Buddha'?"
"I said 'Buddha.'"
You did say 'Buddha'?"
"I said 'Buddha.'"

The wealthy merchant of Sāvatthī, thinking the answer very strange, asked his question three times. Then he commented: "In this world it is difficult even to hear the words 'Buddha, Buddha.' Would it be possible for me to see this Venerable Master, this Perfected One, this Truly Enlightened One?"

The description in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* is very simple:

At one time the Blessed One was staying at the Cold Grove [*sītavana,* cemetery][99] in Rājagaha. On that occasion, the householder Anāthapiṇḍika had arrived in Rājagaha on business and heard that a buddha had appeared in the world. He desired greatly to see the Venerable Master.

The next section is virtually identical to the *Vinaya.* Passages thought to be later additions are set off by single and double asterisks.

[The wealthy merchant of Rājagaha said:] "This is not the right time to go and see the Venerable Master, the Perfected One, the Truly Enlightened One. But tomorrow morning, at the proper time, you shall go to see the Venerable Master, the Perfected One, the Truly Enlightened One."

Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, thinking, "Tomorrow morning, at the proper time, I shall go to see the Venerable Master, the Perfected One, the Truly Enlightened One,"[100] lay down thinking about the Buddha, so much so that he got up three times during the night thinking it was daybreak.

(3) Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika approached the gate of the Cold Grove, and it was opened for him by nonhuman beings [*amanussā*]. As the householder Anāthapiṇḍika came out of the city, the light vanished and all was dark. He was frightened and unable to move for trembling, and his hair stood on end. He decided to go back.

Then the *yakkha* Sīvaka called out, without making himself visible:

"A hundred elephants, a hundred horses, a hundred mule-drawn chariots,
A hundred thousand girls with jeweled earrings in their ears,
They are not worth a sixteenth of a step.
Go forward, householder, go forward,
There is advantage in going forward, but not in retreat."

Then the darkness vanished before the householder Anāthapiṇḍika and light appeared. He was no longer frightened, no longer unable to move for trembling, and his hair no longer stood on end.

*A second time. . . . A third time . . . the light vanished and all was dark. . . . The *yakkha* Sīvaka called out. . . . "There is advantage in going forward, but not in retreat." . . . The darkness vanished. . . . He was no longer frightened. . . .**

(4) Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika went to the Cold Grove. At that time, the Venerable Master had risen early and was pacing up and down outdoors. The Venerable Master saw him coming in the distance and, seeing him, came down from the place where he had been pacing and sat down on the seat prepared for him. Having sat down, the Venerable Master said to Anāthapiṇḍika: "Come, Sudatta." Then Anāthapiṇḍika, realizing that the Venerable Master had called him by name, *was elated with joy and went to where the Master was**[101] and prostrated himself and placed his head on the feet of the Venerable Master and said: "Revered One, is the Venerable Master living at ease?"

The custom of placing one's head on another's feet still exists in South and Southeast Asia. We can be sure it existed when the Buddha was alive, since a very ancient verse refers to people prostrating themselves before the Buddha:[102] "Stretch forth your feet, O hero! / Sabhiya would pay homage."[103] In the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* a verse appears after the conversation, in answer to Sudatta's question, but it has no connection with the story:

Always at ease he lives, the Brahmin,
Who is unstained by desires, cooled, without attachments,
Perfectly free of all hindrances.
He rests at ease:
Having cut off all attachments, he controls the mind's suffering
And has attained tranquillity and peace of mind.[104]

(5) *Then the Venerable Master taught the householder Anāthapiṇḍika by means of a graduated discourse. He spoke to him about alms giv-

ing; ethical rules; heaven; the afflictions, harm, and pollution of the desires; and the benefits of abandoning them. The Venerable Master, knowing that the mind of the householder had become sound, flexible, devoid of the hindrances, uplifted, and clear, taught the teaching praised by the awakened ones [buddhas], that is, [the Four Noble Truths of] suffering, its cause, its extinction, and the path [to its extinction]. Just as a clean cloth free from dirty marks can be perfectly dyed, the householder, sitting here, had obtained the pure and unstained eye that perceives the Truth. "Whatever is subject to the accumulation and arising [of causes and conditions] is also subject to their extinction."

And the householder, having seen the Truth, having attained the Truth, having gained knowledge of the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome all doubts, having rid himself of all delusions, having gained conviction, dependent on no one else for the teachings of the Master, said to the Venerable Master: "It is wonderful, Revered One, wonderful, Revered One. As a person fallen down is set aright, as the hidden is revealed, as the way is shown to one who is astray, or as a lamp is held aloft in the darkness, so that those with eyes may see shapes, the Venerable Master has revealed the Dhamma through a variety of ways. Therefore I take refuge in the Venerable Master. I take refuge in the Dhamma and the community of *bhikkhus*. Venerable Master, receive me as a lay believer. I take refuge from this day to the time of my death.**

Section 5 is a formulaic passage found in many other places in sutras. The logical development of the Sudatta story becomes much clearer if this paragraph is omitted.

"Revered One, may the Venerable Master tomorrow take his meal with me, together with his following of *bhikkhus*." The Venerable Master expressed his consent by his silence. Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, understanding that the Venerable Master had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, bowed respectfully to the Venerable Master, and, passing around with his right side toward him, departed.

(6) The great merchant of Rājagaha heard that the householder Anāthapiṇḍika had invited the community of *bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head the following day. The great merchant of Rājagaha said to the householder: "Householder, I hear that you have invited the community of *bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head tomorrow. You, however, are a

guest. Let me give you the money necessary to prepare a meal for the community of *bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head."

"No, thank you, householder. I have the money necessary to prepare a meal for the community of *bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head."

Then follows the same conversation with the citizen of Rājagaha and with King Bimbisāra.

(7) Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, having passed the night, had prepared sumptuous food, both hard and soft, in the home of the great merchant of Rājagaha, and he had it announced to the Venerable Master: "It is time, Revered One. Your meal is ready." In the early morning the Venerable Master put on his robe, took up his alms bowl, and went to the house of the great merchant of Rājagaha. When he arrived, he sat down in the place prepared for him, together with the community of *bhikkhus*. Then the householder with his own hands served delicious food, both hard and soft, to the community of *bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head until they had had their fill. When [he saw] that the Venerable Master had finished and had washed his bowl and his hands, he sat down to one side and said: "Revered One, may the Venerable Master spend the rainy-season retreat at Sāvatthī with his community of *bhikkhus*."

"Those who have perfected their practice [*tathāgatā*], householder, delight in empty places."

"I understand, Venerable Master. I understand, Well-farer."

Then the Venerable Master taught, instructed, encouraged, and delighted the householder in accordance wtih the Dhamma. He then rose from his seat and departed.

It appears that the expression "those who have perfected their practice" was used in reference to religious leaders in general in the Buddha's time; it does not necessarily refer to Gotama specifically. Such people tended to live in ramshackle abandoned huts during the rainy season. Since hardly any rain falls in India outside the rainy season, they could easily live outdoors for the rest of the year. If we can trust the preceding account of Sudatta, we can conclude that descriptions in Buddhist and Jaina sutras that tell of *bhikkhus* living in great buildings must be comparatively late compositions.

(8) At that time, the householder Anāthapiṇḍika had many friends, many companions, and his word was trusted. Having finished his business in Rājagaha, he set out for Sāvatthī. On the way he instructed people: "Construct parks for the *bhikkhus*, build *vihāras*, make donations. The Buddha has appeared in the world. The Venerable Master, having accepted my invitation, will pass along this road." The people, so urged, constructed parks for the *bhikkhus*, built *vihāras*, and made donations. Then the householder, having arrived in Sāvatthī, looked around [the city], thinking: "Where should a dwelling suitable for the Venerable Master be? It should be neither too far from a town nor too near, it should be convenient for coming and going, it should be accessible for people with all their wishes, it should not be crowded by day or noisy at night and should have few people, it should be undisturbed by people and suitable for meditation."

(9) Then the householder recalled that Prince Jeta's park was neither too far from a town nor too near, was convenient for coming and going, was accessible for people with all their wishes, was not crowded by day or noisy at night and had few people, was undisturbed by people and suitable for meditation. So he went to Prince Jeta and said to him: "Prince, grant me your park, for I would make it into a park for the *bhikkhus*."

"I would not grant it as a park for the *bhikkhus*, even were it covered with gold pieces."

"Prince, let me buy it as a park for the *bhikkhus*."

"Householder, I will not sell it as a park for the *bhikkhus*."

They asked the chief ministers of justice whether it was or was not bought. The ministers decided: "Because, Prince, you set a price, it has been sold as a park for the *bhikkhus*."

Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika filled wagons with gold coins and had them taken to the park and had the Jeta Grove covered with those coins.

This legend about how the Jeta Grove was covered with gold coins was believed from a very early period. A medallion on the balustrade at Bhārhut shows the transaction.

(10) The gold coins taken the first time were only sufficient to cover a small open space near the gate. Therefore the householder instructed his people, saying: "Go back and bring more gold coins, enough to cover this space." Then it occurred to Prince Jeta: "This is no usual

> thing, that the householder would throw away such a large number of gold coins." Therefore he said: "Householder, desist. Do not cover this open space. Give it to me, and I will make it my donation."
>
> Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika thought: "Prince Jeta is eminent and renowned. Surely the faith in the Dhamma and the Vinaya of renowned men like him would be efficacious," and he granted the open space to Prince Jeta.
>
> Then Prince Jeta had a gatehouse built on that open space. The householder Anāthapiṇḍika had a *vihāra* constructed in the Jeta Grove. He had *bhikkhus*' lodgings made, gatehouses made, halls for rituals made, fire halls made, cooking places made, lavatories made, ambulatory places made, ambulatory halls made, wells made, halls at the wells made, steam baths made, bathhouses made, ponds made, and sheds made.

This account suggests that the Buddha was used to spending the rainy season in "empty places," and that Sudatta, aware of the needs of the community, built a *vihāra* for him as a place for the community to reside in the rainy season. Prince Jeta is reported to have first built a gatehouse, probably intending to mark the start of the *vihāra*'s construction. Then Sudatta had other necessary facilities built, as listed in the preceding *Vinaya* description. They would have been very simple, designed to meet the basic needs of the community. One sutra relates that when Sakyamuni was staying at the Great Forest (Mahāvana) in Vesālī there was an infirmary (*gilāna-sālā*) there.[105] At this time, though, life was quite different from that led later in the large monasteries; ancient Buddhist verses describe monastic life as "a group of hermits living together." The *bhikkhus* lived in a fashion similar to that of hermits in the ancient epics.

A later version of the legend of the foundation of the Jetavana monastery, with a certain amount of elaboration, is contained in the *Nidānakathā*:

> At that time, the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, with a train of five hundred carts filled with merchandise, visited the house of a friend, a wealthy merchant in Rājagaha. There he heard that a buddha, a blessed one, had appeared in the world. Very early in the morning he went to the Master, passing through doors opened by the power of the *deva*, and, hearing the teachings, attained the first stage of a sage. On the second day he made a great donation to the community with the Buddha at its head and received the promise of the Master to visit Sāvatthī. Along the forty-five *yojanas* of the route [to Sāvatthī] he built a place for

the *bhikkhus* every *yojana*, at a cost of one hundred thousand [pieces of gold] each. He bought the Jeta Grove [in Sāvatthī] for eighteen *koṭis* of gold pieces [*hiraññā*], covering the space from side to side with the coins. He began work on a new building.[106]

The figures are fanciful, but it is noteworthy that the *Nidānakathā* gives precise sums for the purchase and the various donations, while the original text says only "pieces of gold." The Bhārhut medallion shows the gold as square coins, not ingots.

In the middle [of the space] he built a separate room[107] for him of the Ten Powers [the Buddha].

Around [the Buddha's room] he had erected separate rooms for the eighty chief elders and other residences, such as buildings with single and double walls, buildings decorated with pictures of ducks and quails, long meeting halls, and temporary halls, and lotus ponds, terraces to walk on, places for the night, and places for the day. Thus he built a pleasant *vihāra* on a beautiful site, at a cost of eighteen *koṭis* [of gold].

It is doubtful whether Sudatta actually had all these facilities constructed; modern excavations suggest they were built gradually over a period of time.

He sent a message to him of the Ten Powers to come. The Master, hearing the messenger's words, left Rājagaha accompanied by a great multitude of *bhikkhus* and in due course arrived in Sāvatthī. Then the wealthy merchant made preparations for the dedication ceremony for the *vihāra*, and on the day the Tathāgata was to enter the Jeta Grove, he dressed his son in splendid clothes and went out [to meet the Buddha] together with five hundred youths also splendidly dressed. His son and the retinue of five hundred youths, carrying five hundred banners of cloth of five different colors, walked before him of the Ten Powers. Behind them were Mahāsubhaddā and Cūlasubhaddā, two of the merchant's daughters, together with five hundred young girls carrying flasks full of water. Behind these girls was the merchant's wife, wearing splendid ornaments, in the company of five hundred women carrying vessels full of food. Behind them all was the wealthy merchant himself, wearing new clothes, accompanied by five hundred merchants all wearing new clothes. Thus they appeared before the Blessed One.

> The Blessed One had this retinue of lay followers go ahead, attended by the great multitude of *bhikkhus*, and entered the *vihāra* of the Jeta Grove, lighting the woods with the radiance from his body, like specks of gold dust, showing forth the infinite power and unequaled majesty of a buddha. Then Anāthapiṇḍika asked him: "What, Venerable Master, should I do with this *vihāra*?"
>
> "Merchant, give it to the community of *bhikkhus*, those who are here now and those who are yet to arrive."
>
> And the wealthy merchant, saying: "I agree," took a golden flask and poured water over the hands of him of the Ten Powers, saying: "I donate this Jeta Grove *vihāra* to the community of *bhikkhus*, with the Buddha at its head, and to all those of the four corners who are here now and who are yet to arrive." The Master accepted the donation, expressed his thanks, and expounded the merits of [donating] *vihāras*.
>
> Anāthapiṇḍika began the dedication ceremony of the *vihāra* on the second day. The ceremony marking the dedication of Visākhā's tall building lasted four months,[108] but Anāthapiṇḍika's dedication ceremony lasted nine months and cost eighteen *koṭis* [of gold]. Thus altogether he spent fifty-four *koṭis* of his wealth on this *vihāra* alone.

The *Nidānakathā* goes on to recount that the wealthy merchant had made similar donations in past lives, but perhaps this is a later addition.

Hsüan-tsang recorded details of his visit to Sāvatthī in the seventh century:

> The country of Śrāvastī has a circumference of about six thousand *li*.[109] Its capital is deserted and ruined, and its border is not clear. The ruins of the buildings of the royal palace are about twenty *li* in circumference. Though it is mostly ruined, there are a few people living there. The farming is rich and the climate mild. The people's manners are simple and honest, and they are devoted to learning and love merit. There are several hundred *saṃghārāmas*, but most are in ruins. There are very few priests [the *Fa-hsien-chuan* says "a few dozen"], and they study [the teachings of] the Saṃmatīyas. There are a hundred temples to the *devas*, with many non-Buddhists as followers.[110]

When Fa-hsien visited Sāvatthī at the beginning of the fifth century, he reported that Buddhism was still flourishing there. Buddhism declined and

Hinduism became dominant around the middle of the Gupta dynasty (sixth century).[111] Hsüan-tsang described the Jetavana monastery as follows:

> Five or six *li* south of the city is Jetavana, the park of Anāthapiṇḍada, the *vihāra* that Sudatta, chief minister of King Prasenajit, built for the Buddha. In the past it was a *saṃghārāma,* but now it is in ruins. On the right and left of the eastern gate stone pillars more than seventy feet high have been built.[112] Atop the left pillar is carved a wheel, and atop the right pillar is the carved figure of an ox. Both were erected by King Aśoka.The buildings have all fallen into ruin and only the foundations remain. Only a solitary brick building remains standing; inside is an image of the Buddha. After the Buddha had ascended into the Heaven of the Thirty-Three [Gods] to teach for the sake of his mother, King Prasenajit had this statue carved upon hearing that King Udayana had had a sandalwood statue made.[113]
>
> Sudatta was a man of compassion and deep wisdom. He had amassed great wealth and distributed it freely, giving aid to the poor and working compassionately for lonely old people. People of his time praised his virtue by calling him Feeder of the Lonely [Anāthapiṇḍada]. Hearing of the merits of the Buddha, he conceived a deep veneration for him and vowed to build him a *vihāra.* He asked the Buddha to come to it, and the World-honored One ordered Śāriputra to accompany him. Only the grove of Prince Jeta was [suitable] because of its pleasant and high position. [Sudatta] visited the prince and spoke about the matter in detail. The prince did not take him seriously and said: "You may buy it if you cover [the ground] with gold." Hearing this, Sudatta's worry disappeared. He immediately brought out all the money he had and spread it on the ground as the prince had asked. A small space remained to be covered. The prince asked him to desist and said to [Sudatta]: "The Buddha is like a good field and worth planting good seed. I will build a *vihāra* in the open space."
>
> The World-honored One came to the place and said to Ānanda: "The land of the park Sudatta has bought, and the trees are the donation of Jeta. Both of them, their minds the same, have performed a great deed. From this time forth, let this place be called the Grove of Jeta and the Park of Anāthapiṇḍada."[114]

The Jetavana ruins were excavated between 1987 and 1989 by a joint team from Kansai University in Japan and the Indian government's De-

partment of Archaeology, led by Professor Yoshinori Aboshi of Kansai University. An area of about 6,500 square meters was excavated. A large ablutions tank dating from the Kuṣāṇa period [ca. 50 C.E.–ca. 250] was discovered in the northwestern part of the site and completely excavated. It measures about 24 meters from east to west and about 22 meters from north to south. There are steps leading down into the tank at six places, two each on the north and south sides, and one each on the east and west sides. The bottom slopes from the steps to make ablutions easier, the earliest example of such construction found anywhere in India. Fresh water emerges from underground. A large stupa (Gupta period, 320–ca. 500) and the ruins of a monastery surrounding it were found in the area east of the tank. The stupa was built of piled bricks. It has a square platform base, each side measuring about twenty meters. In the middle of the platform is another square platform, each side measuring about ten meters, in the middle of which was a cylindrical tower. It appears to have held a terra-cotta image of the Buddha. The western section of the site contains a Gupta-period monastery and temple and the ruins of a well for the monastery. In the central section a large brick-paved plaza extending about eighty meters from north to south was uncovered. In this section too are a small temple, votive stupas, and another ablutions tank.[115]

According to a later writing, the Buddha would rise early in the morning, rinse out his mouth, and then remain quietly in his room.[116] When it was time for alms collecting, he would go into a nearby town or village, sometimes alone and sometimes with companions from among the *bhikkhus*. Though alms collection by Buddhist priests has almost disappeared in Sri Lanka, the custom remains in other Southern Buddhist countries, such as Thailand, where priests make their alms rounds at 6:30 or 7:00 in the morning. No doubt in ancient India, as today, people rose and went out early because of the midday heat. When the Buddha went out seeking alms, people would vie with one another, promising food for ten, twenty, or even a hundred *bhikkhus*.

After eating the food that had been offered, the Buddha would teach the people, then rise and return to his dwelling place. There he went straight to his room and washed his feet before exhorting the *bhikkhus* about their practice and instructing them in meditation. The *bhikkhus* would then go into the forest to meditate, some sitting under trees, others on small hills. When he felt so inclined, the Buddha would lie down to rest, lying on his right side "in the manner of a lion." Refreshed, he would rise and gaze over the world. The local people would assemble after

breakfast, dressed in their best clothes and bringing perfumes, flowers, and other offerings. The Buddha would then teach them as befitted the time and occasion.

Next, if he so desired, the Buddha would take a bath. He would drape his upper robe over his right shoulder and go to his room, where he meditated alone. After that *bhikkhus* would come one by one for individual interviews, asking questions about their meditation or requesting instruction. Thus the Buddha spent the first watch of the night.

During the middle watch, it is said, the deities would gather to hear him. During the third watch, tired from sitting so long, he would pace up and down to help his body relax. He would then calm his mind and lie down like a lion. In the final part of the third watch he would rise from his seat and gaze out over the world, seeking to discover those desiring to undertake true religious practice.

This description is based on a commentary by Buddhaghosa, with the more mythical elements removed. It is impossible to know how much this conveys what Gotama actually did, but its probable reliability is suggested by the way Southern Buddhist priests live today.

Sudatta composed the following verse, delighted that the Jetavana *vihāra* had been built: "This is the Jeta Grove, / Where dwells the band of seers.[117] / Here also the Sovereign of the Dhamma [the Buddha] dwells, / Giving rise to my joy."[118] Later this verse was attributed to "Anāthapiṇḍika, son of the *devas*," implying that after his death Sudatta was reborn in a heavenly realm and, as a "son of the *devas*," descended to the Jeta Grove and composed the verse.[119] The legend confirms the widely held belief among early Buddhists that those who made donations to the community would be reborn as deities in a heavenly realm.

In his later years Sudatta's fortunes may have declined. When the Buddha asked: "'Are donations given by your family, householder?' he replied: 'Yes, Revered One, but only coarse rice grains and sour gruel.'"[120] A later source tells how this loss of wealth came about.[121] Anāthapiṇḍika spent fifty-four *koṭis* of his wealth on building the Jetavana *vihāra* and made large donations to the Buddha and the *bhikkhus* every day. However, he was unable to recover eighty *koṭis* he had loaned, and he lost eighty *koṭis* when wealth he had hidden was swept away in a flood. The gate deity (a *yakṣa*), seeing that the storehouse was empty, went to Anāthapiṇḍika and warned him to abandon his lavish giving. The householder was very angry and ordered the deity to leave the gate. She left, taking her children with her, but could not find any place to live. Through the wisdom of Sakka, she

was able to recover the wealth that had been lost in bad loans and in the flood and, returning to the householder in remorse, was permitted to live in the gate again. Thereafter Anāthapiṇḍika's house flourished once more. This legend may contain a small kernel of historical fact.

Through Sudatta's donation, the Buddhist community acquired a base for its future activities. Though Sudatta is not mentioned in the oldest verse strata, his historicity is, I think, undeniable. His devotion as a Buddhist was simply elaborated in later times. In Japan, the Jetavana monastery is best known by a reference to it in the opening lines of the great medieval epic the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike): "The bell of the Gion [Jetavana] temple echoes with the sound of the transience of all things." There were, of course, no bell towers in monasteries in ancient India. This image represents the imaginative thinking of a later time.[122]

That a merchant bought land and donated it to the Saṅgha is a significant revelation about the nature of early Buddhism. First, if Sudatta had already been a great landowner, he would not have needed to purchase the Jeta Grove from Prince Jeta. He would merely have donated a portion of his own land to the Buddha. However, he did not have large landholdings and so had to buy the land necessary. This tells of the rise of powerful merchant houses that had accumulated much wealth, though not land. Second, the ease of the transaction also suggests the considerable spread of a money economy. The support the merchant class gave to the Buddha, and the consequent rapid growth of Buddhism as an organization, suggests the compatibility of Buddhism's attempt to bring about the equality of the four castes by eliminating Brahmin ritual control and Ksatriya military control with the ideas of the emergent merchant class, which wanted such noneconomic controls eliminated.

Worthy of mention here is the story of how the Buddha tended a sick *bhikkhu* no one else would approach, related by Hsüan-tsang.

> Northeast of Anāthapiṇḍada's grove is a stupa. Here the Tathāgata washed [the body of] a sick *bhikṣu*. In the past, when the Tathāgata was in the world, a sick *bhikṣu* was living alone with his suffering. Seeing him, the Tathāgata asked: "Why are you suffering so? Why do you live all alone?" The *bhikṣu* replied: "I am inherently indolent and could not bear to care for those who were sick. Now I am sick, and there is no one to care for me." The Tathāgata felt great compassion for the man and said to him: "Good son, I will care for you." He touched him with his hand, and the man's suffering disappeared immediately. He helped

him outdoors, spread a clean mat for him, washed him, and dressed him in new clothes. Then the Buddha spoke to the *bhikṣu*, saying: "Now you must endeavor and exert yourself." Hearing this, the *bhikṣu* was moved by gratitude and joy filled his body and mind.[123]

The place of the story is clear, so it is realistic. The basis for this legend appears in the Pāli *Vinaya*, though the place where the incident occurred is not given.[124] A certain *bhikkhu* fell ill with dysentery and, rejected by his companions, was lying in his own excrement. Gotama had water brought and a bath made and washed the man himself. He then admonished the *bhikkhus*, saying: "One who would serve me cares for the sick."[125] A similar story, set in the Jetavana monastery,[126] appears in the Chinese translation. A Pāli source also relates that Gotama cared for the elder Pūtigatta Tissa in Sāvatthī when his whole body festered. The account mentions that Tissa eventually died of his illness.[127]

Another sutra relates that an identical incident happened when Gotama was staying at Bamboo Grove Park in Rājagaha.[128] The verse passage states: "Should you revere me or the buddhas of the past, / There is no difference between the merits of making donations to me / And of caring for the sick. / To tend the ill was to serve the Buddha. It is very likely that the Buddha himself tended sick fellows, both at Jetavana and Bamboo Grove Park in Rājagaha.

FOLLOWERS IN SĀVATTHĪ

Gotama had a large number of followers in Sāvatthī. Sudatta's eldest daughter-in-law, named Sujātā,[129] was the younger sister of Visākhā, known as Migāra's mother (Migāramātā).[130] Since Sujātā was not a meek and obedient woman, Sudatta was often troubled, and he asked Gotama to teach her how a true wife should behave. The sutra containing that teaching, extant only in Chinese, is the *Yü-neh-ching*.[131] Her sister Visākhā was perhaps the most important of all the female lay followers of early Buddhism in Sāvatthī. The legends about her are numerous but confused. She was the wife of Puṇṇavaddhana, son of Migāra, a wealthy man of Sāvatthī, and it was through her that the whole household apparently embraced Buddhism.[132]

Numerous people from Sāvatthī followed the Buddha. Their names are listed according to caste and category in tables 7 and 8, while ordained and lay believers from Kosala are listed in table 9.[133]

Table 7. The *Bhikkhus* from Sāvatthī

BHIKKHUS			
BRAHMINS	KSATRIYAS	VAIŚYAS	ŚŪDRAS
Abhaya	Brahmadatta	Ajjuna	Citta Hatthirohaputta
Adhimutta	Nandaka	Atimuttaka	Dasaka
Aggidatta	Sabhiya?	Ātuma	Hattharohaputta
Ahiṃsaka Bharadvāja	Uttiya	Bhadda	Kappata-Kura
Ajina	Vīra	Cakkhupāla	Sopāka
Belaṭṭhakāni		Candana	Suppiya
Belaṭṭhasīsa		Ekudāniya	Yasoja
Brahmadeva		Eraka	
Jenta Purohitaputta		Gaṅgātīriya	
Kassapa		Godatta	
Kātiyāna		Kaṅkha Revata	
Khīlāka		Kumāra Kassapa	
Kulla		Lakuṇṭaka Bhaddiya	
Kula		Mahāsuvaṇṇa	
Kuṇḍadhāna		Mālunkyaputta	
Mahānāma		Migajāla	
Māṇava		Pālika	
Nigrodha		Puṇṇamāsa	
Nita		Posiya	
Pārāpariya		Pūtigatta Tissa	
Pilindavaccha		Rājadatta	
Sabbaka		Rāmaneyyaka	
Sabbamitta		Saṅgāmaji	
Samiddhi		Saṅgharakkhita	
Samitigutta		Sānu	
Saṅkicca		Siṅgālapitā	
Sobhita		Sirivaddha	
Ukkhepakata Vaccha		Subhūti	
Upavāna		Sugandha	
Uttarapāla		Sumaṅgala	
Vakkali			
Valliya			
Vaṅgīsa			
Vijaya			

Note: Two men named Tissa and a wandering mendicant named Vacchagotta are also listed, but their caste is not known.

Table 8. The *Bhikkhunīs* and Lay Followers from Sāvatthī

BHIKKHUNĪS

Brahmins	Ksatriyas	Vaiśyas	Śūdras
Dantīkā	Sumānāvuddha-pabbajitā	Dhammā	Puññā
Guttā		Kisā Gotami	
Muttā		Paṭācārā	
Muttā		Sumaṅgalamātā	
Sakulā (or) Pakulā		Ubbirī	
		Uppalavaññā	

MALE LAY FOLLOWERS

Brahmins	Ksatriyas	Vaiśyas	Śūdras
Cūḷekasātaka		Anitthigandha	
Devahita		Atula	
Dhammika		Buddharakkhita	
Esukārī		Chattapāṇi	
Ganaka Moggāllāna		Cūḷānatha-piṇḍika	
Jānussoṇi		Esidatta	
Pañcaṅgadā-yaka		Garahadinna	
Piṅgalakoccha			
Saṅgārava			
Udaya			
Unnābha			

FEMALE LAY FOLLOWERS

Brahmins	Ksatriyas	Vaiśyas	Śūdras
	Gopikā	Bojjhā	
	Mallikā Devī	Cūḷasubhaddā	
	Mallikā	Kāṇamātar	
	Sakulā		
	Suppavāsā		
	Visākhā		

Note: In addition, there was a woman named Gharaṇi, but her caste is not known.

Table 9. The Followers from Kosala

Brahmins	Ksatriyas	Vaiśyas	Śūdras
BHIKKHUS			
Brahmāli	Kosalavihārin	Anūpama	
Dhammika		Heraññakāni	
Khītaka		Mahākāla	
Mahānāga		Meṇḍasīsa	
Migasīsa		Mudita	
Passika		Sandhita	
Uttara		Sumana	
Vāraṇa		Ugga	
		Usabha	
		Vajjita	
BHIKKHUNĪS			
Uttamā		Anopama	
		Sujātā	
MALE LAY FOLLOWERS			
Vāseṭṭha		Caṇḍa	
		Citta Macchi-kāsaṇḍika	
FEMALE LAY FOLLOWERS			
Dhānañjanī			

The following caste characteristics of the lay and ordained Buddhists from Sāvatthī and Kosala can be discerned.

(1) There were a large number of adherents from the Vaiśya caste ("providers": merchants and farmers). Sāvatthī was a leading mercantile city, and a trade entrepôt. It is not surprising, therefore, that many merchants like Sudatta gave their faith and support to the Buddha. The majority of the Vaishya converts were probably originally from merchant families, but how many were from a farming background is not certain. It is clear from surveys made of votive offerings that in India Buddhism

never struck deep roots in the farming community, and this was to prove its greatest weakness there. We see this tendency from the earliest period of Buddhism.

(2) There were an extremely large number of Brahmins. The upper reaches of the Ganges were a Brahmin stronghold,[134] and it was inevitable, therefore, that the Buddha and early Buddhism came up against them. It was in Sāvatthī that Gotama taught the equality of the four castes, refusing to recognize Brahmin superiority,[135] and entered into debates with Brahmins over the matter.[136] Gotama and his disciples had to appeal to this caste and convert its members.

(3) There were very few men from the Ksatriya caste among the ordained men and women, and no one from any of the royal houses of that caste. That Buddhism's links with Ksatriyas were very weak is clear not only from the sutras but also from donors' inscriptions from Sāñcī, Bhārhut, Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and elsewhere. Why were the links so weak despite the fact that the Buddha himself was from that caste? One answer may be that Buddhism's ideas of nonviolence were contrary to the Ksatriya military spirit and Gotama himself had abandoned military pursuits. Still, this explanation does not get to the root of the matter. While all twenty-four Jaina patriarchs (*trīthaṅkara*) were from the Ksatriya caste, the buddhas of the past in Buddhism were not necessarily so. Buddhism seems to have been a lot more thoroughgoing in its transcending of caste than Jainism.

(4) All the same, some women from royal Ksatriya families were followers of the Buddha. This is evident again from donors' inscriptions at holy places. The tendency is especially pronounced in inscriptions from the Śuṅga dynasty and from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

(5) There were hardly any followers from the Śūdra caste, perhaps because they had little authority in the community and therefore their names were never recorded.

CONFRONTATION WITH OTHER RELIGIONS

The influence of practitioners of other religions (*aññatitthiya*) was also strong, and at times they engaged Gotama's disciples in debate.[137] Gradually Gotama brought many Brahmins around to his way of thinking. We have the instance of a Brahmin woman called Dhanañjānī[138] who converted to his teachings, to be followed soon by her husband.[139] Sakyamuni also received invitations from Brahmins.[140] An important incident was the

conversion of one of Kosala's most important Brahmins, Pokkharasādi (or Pokkharasāti).[141] The *Dīgha-Nikāya* relates: "At that time, the Brahmin Pokkharasādi was living in Ukkaṭṭha. This was a spot teeming with life and a fertile area, producing enough and to spare, a royal domain rich in grasses, trees, and water, as well as in crops that had been gifted to him by King Pasenadi of Kosala."[142] Similar descriptions occur in the case of other important Brahmins.

Pokkharasādi had heard reports of the fame of Gotama. He therefore sent his most trusted student, the youth Ambaṭṭha, to find out whether Gotama's reputation was merited or not. Ambaṭṭha was routed in debate by Gotama and, reporting this on his return, was angrily kicked aside by Pokkharasādi. When Pokkharasādi went himself to meet Gotama, however, he was won over and immediately became a disciple. Later the Brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa, then living in Champa, made mention in his liturgy of the points of greatness of the Buddha that Pokkharasādi had given his trust to him. If this is true, the great Brahmins of the time must have been aware of one another's reputations, learning, and activities. Even if the reference to Pokkharasādi is a later addition, it remains true that the compilers thought that it was natural for Brahmin teachers to have known of one another. Not all Brahmins were overjoyed when their fellows became followers of the Buddha, however.[143]

Gotama was a great religious teacher, fluent and persuasive in his discourses, but he did not always convince his hearers or convert them to his ideas. Though he spoke of his teachings to the Brahmins, they did not invariably respond.[144] When, for example, he spoke to the wandering ascetic Sakuludāyin and his followers, they praised him, saying: "We are overjoyed at the Blessed One's words" (*Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi*), but there is no mention that they became believers.[145] Other sources relate that Sakuludāyin himself wanted to become a disciple of Sakyamuni but his followers objected, saying: "Do not, good Udāyin, having been a teacher, live as a student."[146] Again, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta encouraged Prince Abhaya of Magadha to silence Gotama in debate, but this ploy was unsuccessful and the prince was converted.[147] This occurred some time after the dispute instigated by Devadatta.

Later Buddhist writings and artistic representations praised the Buddha for winning non-Buddhists to his teachings by employing his miraculous and supernatural powers; this perhaps represents a mythologization of Gotama's refuting the arguments of his opponents.[148] Other accounts tell how Sirigutta (Skt., Śrīgupta), a man from either Rājagaha or Sāvatthī

who was a follower of another school of belief, invited the Buddha to his home and tried to kill him with fire and poison. Later he underwent a change of heart and was converted to Buddhism.[149] Since he was of the Vaiśya caste, he was probably a wealthy merchant.

TEMPTATION BY WOMEN

As the Buddhist community grew in popularity, Gotama and his ordained followers were subjected to rumors about their conduct with women. There are a number of accounts about the schemes of members of other religious sects jealous of Buddhism's popularity to discredit both Gotama and his community. One relates that such religious practitioners (*titthiya*) found their profits and reputation falling with Gotama's rise to fame and that they conspired to find a way to bring about his ruin.

There was at that time living in Sāvatthī a female wandering ascetic (*paribbājikā*) named Ciñcamāṇavikā, "of peerless beauty, sublime elegance, radiant as a heavenly being." She happened to visit ascetics of a sect hostile to Buddhism, and they secretly confided their designs to her. "This is a role that I can play," she announced. "Have no more worries!" Just as the people of Sāvatthī were leaving the Jetavana monastery, having heard the Buddha's discourse, she arrived, dressed in deep red and carrying incense and flowers. In the early morning she would pretend to emerge from the Jetavana, coinciding her departure with the early morning arrival of the townspeople coming to greet the Buddha, for all the world as if she had spent the night there. After half a month or a month she announced to people that she had been staying with the Buddha in the "perfumed chamber of the *samaṇa* Gotama," the Buddha's private room in the monastery. Three or four months later she wrapped a length of cloth around her stomach, simulating pregnancy, and wore her red robe, telling everyone that her condition was the fault of "the *samaṇa* Gotama." When eight or nine months had passed, she tied a round piece of wood to her stomach, put on her red robe, and, pretending to be very weary, went to where Gotama was teaching in order to abuse him to his face. "All you know is how to have a good time," she cried. "You don't care the slightest for the child I am carrying." At that, Gotama replied in a great voice: "Woman! Only you and I know whether what you have said is the truth or a lie." "That's right, ascetic," returned Ciñcamāṇavikā. "Since only we alone know, this has happened." Just then the god Sakka caused the belt binding the round piece of wood to come undone and her robe to fly

open in the wind, so her deception was made apparent to all. Berating her shamelessness, they drove her away.[150]

Another incident concerns a female wandering ascetic named Sundarī. She too was persuaded by other ascetics in her group to go to the Jetavana monastery and pretend she was visiting the Buddha. They then killed her, left her corpse in the grounds of the monastery, and started a rumor that she had been killed by the *bhikkhus* after they had raped her. As a result, when the *bhikkhus* went out into the city to seek alms, they were abused for their cruelty. Reporting what had taken place to the Buddha, they were told to set it aside. "This noise, *bhikkhus*, will not last long. It will last no more than seven days. When seven days have passed, it will vanish." It was as he had predicted. Once the truth of what had happened became known, the rumor stopped.[151]

It is of great interest that the Buddha's reaction to such very human episodes should have been recorded. It is very likely that incidents of the kind actually took place and that the Buddhist Saṅgha grew amid such trials.

The *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* attests that such tales were still considered factual at the time that Hsüan-tsang made his pilgrimage to India:

> About eight hundred paces south of the pit into which Kōkālika fell is a large and deep pit. This is the place where the Brahmin woman Ciñcā fell alive into hell for slandering the Tathāgata. The Buddha was teaching the principles of the Law for the sake of human and heavenly beings when a follower of heretical teachings, observing from a distance the figure of the World-honored One surrounded by a great multitude who honored and revered him, thought to herself: "One way or another, this very day I will bring shame upon Gotama and puncture his reputation so that my teacher alone may enjoy a great reputation." Thereupon she bound a wooden bowl to her stomach and went to Anāthapiṇḍika's park crying out in a loud voice among the people: "This man who is preaching to you has had illicit intercourse with me, and the child I bear in my womb is of the Śākya clan." Of the heretics there was not one who did not believe her, but all those of firm faith knew it was a slander. At that time Śakra, king of the *devas,* wishing to remove all doubt from people's [minds], changed his form to that of a white rat and gnawed through the tie that bound the wooden bowl. The resultant sound was very loud and reverberated among the great multitude. All those who saw what had happened were filled with great

joy [for they knew the truth of the matter]. One among the crowd picked up the fallen bowl and pointed to the woman, saying: "Is this your child?" At that instant the ground opened and she fell down to the Avīci hell, where she received retribution.

These three pits are unfathomably deep; even when the long rains of summer and autumn fill the ditches and ponds, not a single drop of water remains in those deep pits.[152]

Hsüan-tsang also recorded the slander of Sundarī:

> Behind the *saṃghārāma*, not far away, is the place where Brahmin heretics killed a prostitute and blamed [the murder on] the Buddha. The Tathāgata possessed the ten powers and the four kinds of fearlessness and was perfectly wise, honored in the human and *deva* realms, his teachings revered by *arhats* and sages. At that time the heretics spoke among themselves, saying: "We must devise a ruse so that we can slander him before the multitude." Accordingly, they bribed the prostitute to go and hear the Buddha preach, so that people knew she was there, and then secretly killed her and buried her body beside a tree. Then, pretending anger, they reported the matter to the king. The king ordered an investigation, and the woman's body was found in the Jeta Grove. Then the heretics cried out together in loud voices: "That great *śramaṇa* Gotama is always praised as one who is forbearing and keeps the precepts, yet he has had intercourse with this woman and has killed her to stop her talking. What kinds of precepts and forbearance are adultery and murder?" Just then the *devas* appeared in the sky and chanted: "This is the slander of evil heretics."[153]

VARIOUS TEACHING ACTIVITIES

Magadha was no less important than Kosala in the rise of Buddhism. The conversion of Magadha's king, Bimbisāra, was a great support for the emerging religion. Even after his assassination, and despite the significant political changes that ensued, the new king, Ajātasattu, gave his faith to the Buddha and frequently sought his instruction. His advisor Jīvaka is well known for his close relationship with the Buddha.[154]

Later biographies of the Buddha record other conversions:[155] 1) Sakyamuni went to Kosambī (present-day Kosam, near Allahabad), capital of

the kingdom of Vaṃsā, where he converted one of the consorts of King Udena; eventually the king was also converted and expelled followers of other religious sects.[156] As a result Kosambī became one of the most thriving centers of Buddhism in the early period. 2) King Pasenadi of Kosala was converted. 3) Gotama's stepmother, Mahāpajāpatī, requested ordination. Gotama hesitated to grant her request but finally allowed her to be ordained, under certain conditions, after the intercession of Ānanda. This was the beginning of the order of *bhikkhunīs*. 4) The villainous bandit Aṅgulimāla was converted.[157] 5) Five hundred fishermen living along the Vaggumudā River, which flowed through the region where the Vajji tribe lived, were converted. They all gave up their occupation and became *bhikkhus*, though they continued living along the river.[158] 6) According to the Mahāsaṃghika *Vinaya*, Gotama converted five hundred bandits. This is probably the incident described in the nineteenth fascicle of the Chinese translation, the *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü*:[159]

> A certain *bhikṣu* was traveling in the kingdom of Śrāvastī on his way to Vaiśālī when he was attacked by bandits. The king sent out his troops, and they arrested five hundred bandits, on whom they placed garlands of rust-colored brown flowers. Beating drums and ringing bells, they brought them to the crossroads, where they were to be executed. The bandits wept and moaned. Hearing them, Śākyamuni asked: "*Bhikṣus*, why is it I can hear such great weeping and moaning?" The *bhikṣus* replied: "Venerable Master, those five hundred bandits are to be executed at the king's order. That is why they are crying." The Buddha ordered Ānanda to go to the king and say to him: "You are the king. How can one who should be compassionate toward his people and consider them his children kill five hundred men at one time?" Ānanda went to the king as he had been instructed and passed on Śākyamuni's words as they had been uttered. The king replied: "Venerable Ānanda, I am very well aware of that. Killing even one person brings great retribution; how much more will that be if I kill five hundred! Yet these bandits have destroyed villages and robbed people. If, however, the Venerable Master will promise that they will never again commit such crimes, I will spare their lives and set them free."
>
> Ānanda returned to Śākyamuni and reported the king's words. Then Śākyamuni instructed Ānanda to go again to the king and say: "O King, just release them. I will make sure that they cease being bandits

> from this day forth." [Ānanda, however, did not immediately return to the king] after receiving Śākyamuni's instructions but went to the execution ground and told the executioner: "Do not kill these criminals immediately, for the World-honored One has already brought them their release." He then turned to the bandits and asked them: "Will you take ordination as *bhikṣus*?" The bandits replied: "Venerable One, if we had already been *bhikṣus*, we would not have met such suffering as this. We beg you, tell us how we can become ordained as *bhikṣus*."
>
> [After hearing them] Ānanda went to the king and said: "The World-honored One has instructed me to speak to you and assure you that the men will cease being bandits from this day."[160] The king then sent word to the prison warden, saying: "Their lives will be spared. Do not, however, release them from their bonds yet. Send them to the Venerable Master, and the Buddha himself will release them."[161]
>
> At that time Śākyamuni was seated in an open space considering releasing the bandits. The bandits, seeing him from afar as they approached, found their bonds spontaneously released. They bowed their heads at the Buddha's feet and made obeisance to him, then withdrew and sat to one side. The Buddha, seeing the residual karma from the previous life within them, spoke to them about giving alms, keeping the precepts, the rewards and retributions of actions, and the Four Noble Truths, so that they immediately attained the first stage [of the sage]. Then Śākyamuni asked them: "Do you wish to receive ordination as *bhikṣus*?" They replied: "Venerable Master, if we had already been *bhikṣus*, we would not have met such suffering as this. Release us from our suffering, we beg you, and ordain us as *bhikṣus*." Then Śākyamuni said, "Come, *bhikṣus*," and at once the robes of the five hundred bandits were transformed into the triple robe of the *bhikṣu*, alms bowls appeared in their hands, and their miens took on great dignity.

The *Vinaya* forbids bandits ordination and entry to the Saṅgha, for as the community grew, order had to be more rigorously maintained. As the above episode shows, though, a great religious figure like Gotama was able to embrace all, including evildoers and criminals. Hsüan-tsang believed the incident to have been factual and wrote about the place where it was thought to have taken place, which he called Obtaining-Sight Forest.[162]

> Three or four *li* northwest of the *saṃghārāma* we came to the forest called Obtaining-Sight. Here is where the Tathāgata walked, and where

the *arhats* entered deep meditation. There are inscriptions at all these places, or else stupas. A long while ago, this kingdom had five hundred bandits who went from town to village plundering and looting. King Prasenajit captured them, had their eyes gouged out, and left them in the midst of a thick forest. In their great pain the bandits called upon the Buddha['s name], seeking his compassion. At that time the Tathāgata was in the Jetavana monastery and, hearing the cries of suffering [from afar], aroused compassion. He caused a gentle breeze to blow, bringing medicines from the Snow Mountains, which filled up the bandits' eye sockets. Immediately they recovered their sight and saw the World-honored One standing before them. Aspiring to enlightenment, they rejoiced and prostrated themselves before [the Buddha]. Then, throwing away their sticks, they went on their way. [This forest] came into being from those sticks, which took root there.[163]

According to the *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* the Buddha next converted Sāgata, son of a wealthy man of Kosambī named Fu-t'u (Bodha?).[164] Sāgata's family fortunes had declined and he had become a vagrant when Ānanda discovered him and took him to Gotama. Sāgata prostrated himself before the Buddha and withdrew to one side. When the Buddha shared half of his food with him, he wept and immediately took ordination under Gotama.[165]

Gotama's social influence was due in great part to the fact that he was supported by rulers and powerful Brahmins. Soṇadaṇḍa and Kūṭadanta, both Brahmins and owners of large manors, made the following comments about him:[166]

Truly, the king of Magadha, Seniya Bimbisāra, with his children, his wives, his attendants, and his courtiers, has taken refuge in the *samaṇa* Gotama.

Truly, the king of Kosala, Pasenadi, with his children, his wives, his attendants, and his courtiers, has taken refuge in the *samaṇa* Gotama.

The Brahmin Pokkharasādi, with his children, his wives, his servants, and his intimates, has taken refuge in the *samaṇa* Gotama.

Truly, the *samaṇa* Gotama is honored, thought highly of, respected, venerated, and esteemed by the king of Magadha, Seniya Bimbisāra.

Truly, the *samaṇa* Gotama is honored, thought highly of, respected, venerated, and esteemed by the king of Kosala, Pasenadi.

Truly, the *samaṇa* Gotama is honored, thought highly of, respected, venerated, and esteemed by the Brahmin Pokkharasādi.[167]

Later biographies of the Buddha declare that Gotama was active between Vaṅga in the east and Kosambī, Mathurā, and even Gandhāra in the west.[168] This, however, is doubtful. His activities probably centered on Gayā, Rājagaha, Patna, Kusināra, and Kapilavatthu and extended west to Bārānaṣī, Sāvatthī, and Kosambī. He is said to have converted a cowherd (*gopa*) named Dhanya in swamplands near the Mahī River.[169] "Here are no mosquitoes or snakes; the cattle wander eating the grass that grows in the swampy land. / Even if rain falls, they will put up with it."[170] He also taught in the vicinity of Mithilā.[171] Even the ancient texts disagree regarding the area of the Buddha's teaching activities. Legend says that he taught in the "six great cities" (Campā, Sāvatthī, Vesālī, Rājagaha, Bārānaṣī, and Kapilavatthu) or the "eight great cities" (the former six plus Sāketa and Kosambī).[172]

Though a vast amount has been written about the life of the Buddha, most accounts are ornate in style and make no reference to scriptural or commentary sources. We cannot rely on them for our purposes. Kern, however, has made an attempt to discuss the Buddha's life based to a certain extent on textual authority, and though his conclusions cannot be fully accepted, his main points are worth paraphrasing here.[173] My own comments are in parentheses.

During the third rainy-season retreat, the Buddha delivered the people from a frightful pestilence that desolated Vaiśālī. The Buddha spent the next three retreats in the Bamboo Grove, north of Rājagṛha, but for the fifth he stayed in the Gabled Hall (Kūṭāgāra) in the Great Forest (Mahāvana), near Vaiśālī. There he settled a dispute over water rights to the Rohiṇī River between the Śākyas and the Koḷiyas by miraculous means. Soon after this incident, his father Śuddhodana fell gravely ill, and he flew through the sky to meet with him and preach to him. Śuddhodana attained the highest stage of *arhat*.[174] After his death his widow, Gautamī, asked to be admitted to the Saṃgha as a *bhikṣuṇī*. (I deal with this further in the thirteenth and fourteenth volumes of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* [Selected works of Hajime Nakamura]).

The Buddha spent the sixth rainy season at Śrāvastī, moving to Rājagṛha toward the end of the retreat. While he was staying at the Bamboo Grove, he converted Bimbisāra's consort, Khemā.[175] Next he went to Śrāvastī and converted King Prasenajit, the six non-Buddhist teachers, and numerous others after displaying his miraculous powers before them. After this he ascended to the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, where he

remained for three months. He descended to this world, to a place near Sāṃkāśya, by a triple ladder made by Viśvakarman, the architect of the universe in Indian mythology.[176] He then moved from Sāṃkāśya to the Jetavana monastery in Śrāvastī.

The eighth rainy-season retreat took place at Crocodile Hill (Śiṃśumāra-giri) inside the Deer Park of the Bhesakalāvana in the country of Bharga. After that he went again to Śrāvastī. According to a Southern Buddhist tradition, he passed the ninth retreat at the Ghositārāma in Kauśāmbī.[177] At that time dissension erupted within the community. For the eleventh retreat he stayed near Rājagṛha. It was at this time that he spoke with the Brahmin Bhāradvāja, who was plowing his field, about the meaning of plowing and sowing.[178] During the twelfth rainy season he stayed near Verañjā. After the rains ended, he is said to have visited various places and traveled as far as Soreyya, near Takṣaśilā (present-day Taxila).[179] This is unlikely. If he had gone to the great trade and culture hub of Taxila, in northwestern India, he would have come into contact with the cultures of Iran and Central Asia. Although recent scholarship has acknowledged the possibility of contacts between the Greek world and India in the centuries before Alexander, and the Buddha is even considered to have been influenced indirectly by Greek culture, the older texts do not mention any visit to Soreyya; the city is mentioned only as Hsü-li[180] in the *Shan-chien-lü p'i-p'o-sha* and in the *Samantapāsādikā*.[181] There is considerable doubt, therefore, that the Buddha ever traveled that far.

The thirteenth retreat was spent at Śrāvastī and Cālikā, and the fourteenth at the Jetavana monastery. That year Śākyamuni visited Kapilavastu again. Staying at the Banyan Garden there, he was subjected to a severe insult by his father-in-law, Suprabuddha.[182] He returned to the Jetavana monastery and then went on to a place called Āḷavī, where he converted a cruel *yakṣa*.[183] The twentieth retreat was at the Jeta Grove. This was the year Ānanda was chosen as the Buddha's personal attendant and the robber and murderer Aṅgulimāla was converted. After this it becomes difficult to assign events to particular years. When the Buddha was seventy-two years old, Bimbisāra was killed and Ajātaśatru took the throne. In the seventh year of Ajātaśatru's reign, the Sakyas were massacred. (For this event, see pp. 379–84.)

Kern assigns specific dates to these incidents, based not on the older texts but apparently on later South Asian and Tibetan texts.

Gotama himself spoke of his wandering life as follows: "(455) Neither

Brahmin, nor king's son, nor Vaishya, nor anything else am I. / Well knowing the clans of the common people, / I wander the world in deep reflection, possessing nothing. / (456) Wearing the robe, I wander, homeless, / Hair shaved, tranquil of mind, uncontaminated by any person."[184] "(487) The munificent Gotama who wears a yellow robe [and] wanders houseless."[185] These verses suggest two things, that Gotama was completely liberated from the caste system and that he had the appearance of a *samaṇa*, shaven-headed and wearing simple robes.[186]

Brahmin Students in the South

The *Suttanipāta* tells of the conversion of a Brahmin named Bāvari, a man versed in the *Vedas* who left Kosala for the south (Dakkhiṇāpatha) and while there fell into depression as a result of a curse that his head would split into seven pieces.[187] A female deity[188] took pity on him and advised him:[189]

> (991) "In times past there went out from Kapilavatthu a leader of the world [a buddha], descendant of King Okkāka [Ikṣvāku] and son of the Sakyas [Sakyaputta], who makes radiant the world.
> (992) "Indeed, Brahmin, he is the perfectly enlightened one [*saṃbuddha*], who has arrived at the ultimate of all things. He has attained all knowledge of the supernormal and all powers, and has vision that penetrates all things.[190] He has attained the extinction of all things; he has removed all delusions and is liberated.[191]
> (993) "That Buddha, the Blessed One, the one with vision, teaches the Dhamma to the world. Go to him and ask him. He will explain it to you."
> (994) Hearing the word "perfectly enlightened," Bāvari rejoiced. His grief diminished,[192] and he was overjoyed.
> (995) Bāvari, with mind elated, rejoicing, excited, eagerly asked the female deity: "In what village, in what town, in what district is the lord of the world? We will go there and pay homage to the Buddha, supreme among men."
> (996) "In Sāvatthī, capital of the country of Kosala, is the Conqueror, the one of great wisdom and great intelligence. That son of the Sakyas is without any burden, undefiled. That bull among men has knowledge of head splitting.

The phrase "one who has knowlege of head splitting" appears often in the *Upaniṣads;* it refers to the belief that the head of someone who says or does something improper will split. For example, the philosopher Yajñavalkya admonished the woman Gārugī for asking endless questions about ultimate things: "Gārugī, do not question so much; your head will split."[193] It was said too that the head of one who could not explain the Truth would fall to the ground,[194] as would that of one who would not go to hear the Truth.[195] The Upaniṣadic references attest to the antiquity of the verse.

> (997) Then he addressed his students, Brahmins who had mastered the [Vedic] mantras:[196] "Come, students. I would speak to you. Listen to my words.
> (998) "He who rarely appears in the world has now appeared and is famed as the perfectly enlightened one. Go quickly to Sāvatthī and see this one who is supreme of men."

The Brahmins then asked how they might recognize the Buddha.

> (999) "How, [Master] Brahmin, will we be able to know when we see him that he is the Buddha? Tell us how we can know that, for we do not know."

Bāvari explained how they would know that the person they met in Sāvatthī was the Buddha.

> (1000) "The marks of a perfect man have come down to us in the mantras [Vedas]; thirty-two are described in order, one by one.
> (1001) "For one on whose limbs are those thirty-two marks of a perfect man, only two ways are open, there is no third.
> (1002) "If he remains a householder as a wheel-rolling king, he will subdue the earth and rule it not with punishments and weapons but according to the Dhamma.[197]
> (1003) "If he leaves his home and goes into homelessness, he will open that which is concealed and become a supremely enlightened one, an *arahat.*
> (1004) "Ask him in your mind only [not in speech] about my birth[198] and clan, any special marks on my body, the [Vedic] mantras[199] [I know], my other students, and heads and head splitting.
> (1005) "If he is the Buddha, who can see without obstruction, he will reply with his voice to the questions in your mind."

(1006) Hearing Bāvari's words, sixteen Brahmin students—Ajita, and Tissa-Metteyya, and Puṇṇaka, and Mettagū,
(1007) Dhotaka, and Upasīva, and Nanda, and Hemaka, and both Todeyya and Kappa, and the wise Jatukaṇṇin,
(1008) Bhadrāvudha, and Udaya, and the Brahmin Posāla, and the intelligent Mogharāja, and the great seer Piṅgiya—
(1009) All of them, leading their own groups, well known throughout the world, meditators, delighting in meditation, completely tranquil, having planted good karmic roots in past existences.

The idea that a group comprises sixteen people was well established in Brahmanism before the rise of Buddhism.[200] Another possibility is that the sixteen names were deliberately grouped together to conform to Brahmanic custom. Another point of interest is that the students are called "meditators" (*jhāyin*), not *yogin;* the latter term seems to have come into general currency only at a later period. The Nanda in the list is probably not the same person as Sakyamuni's half-brother.[201]

(1010) With their hair bound and wearing deerskins, they all made obeisance to Bāvari, and having circled him to the right in respect,[202] they set out for the north,
(1011) First to [the capital] Patiṭṭhāna of Muḷaka, then to the old [capital] Māhissati, and to Ujjenī, Gonaddha, Vedisa, and to the place called Vanasa,[203]
(1012) And to Kosambī, to Sāketa, and to Sāvatthī,[204] best of cities,[205] and then to Setavya, Kapilavatthu, and the palace in Kusinārā,
(1013) And to the delightful city Pāvā, Vesālī, [Rājagaha] the capital of Magadha, and the Pāsāṇaka shrine, delightful and lovely.[206]

As far as can be ascertained today, the route given here is geographically accurate. Again we have a list of sixteen cities visited.

(1014) As a thirsty man seeks cool water, as a merchant seeks great profit, as a person suffering from heat seeks the shade, they quickly climbed the mountain [where the Buddha was].
(1015) The Blessed One was at that time being venerated by the *bhikkhus* as he taught them the Dhamma, roaring like a lion in a grove.[207]
(1016) Ajita saw the enlightened one [the Buddha] as a brilliantly shining sun, as a moon come to fullness on the fifteenth day.
(1017) Having seen the complete set of marks on the Master's body,

> [Ajita], joyful and standing to one side, asked the questions in his mind: (1018) "Tell me the birth [of my master Bāvari].[208] Tell me [Bāvari's] clan together with [his] special marks. Tell me his mastery of the mantras.[209] How many people does that Brahmin teach?"

Ajita was testing the Buddha for the supernormal power to penetrate all knowledge. The Buddha replied:

> (1019) "His age is one hundred twenty years. His name is Bāvari. He has three special marks on his body. He has mastered the inner principles of the three *Vedas*.[210]
> (1020) "He teaches five hundred [students] about the marks of a great being, about the traditions, together with the etymologies and the rituals. He has mastered the ultimate of his own teaching."[211]

This list tells us what Brahmins of the time studied and taught.

> (1021) [Ajita said:] "Supreme being who has done away with all attachment, tell me in detail the nature of Bāvari's special marks. Do not leave us in any doubt."
> (1022) [The Master said:] "He can cover his face with his tongue.[212] There is a tuft of soft white hair between his eyebrows.[213] His male organ is hidden.[214] Know thus, young student."

These are three of the thirty-two marks of a buddha. The precise nature of the thirty-two marks was not considered in the earliest period of Buddhism but evolved gradually over time. Of particular interest is the fact that a Brahmin practitioner should have had such marks. There is no mention of them in Vedic literature; popular opinion of the time may have held that great Brahmin teachers possessed certain distinguishing marks. It seems certain that the idea that a great being possesses thirty-two distinguishing marks was popularly held outside Buddhism. Thus, before the thirty-two marks of a buddha, we can assume there were the thirty-two marks of a Brahmin. The three mentioned in the verse just quoted were perhaps those considered most important from earliest times.[215]

> (1023) Not hearing the questions asked[216] but hearing [the Buddha's] reply, all the people grew excited, venerated the Buddha with the palms of their hands pressed together, and thought:
> (1024) "What deity, Brahmā or Sujā's husband, Indra, asked those

questions in his mind? And to whom did the [the Venerable Master] reply?"
(1025) [Ajita asked:] "Bāvari asked about heads and head splitting. Explain them to us, Blessed One. Dispel all our doubt, Seer."
(1026) [Gotama Buddha replied:] "Know that ignorance[217] is the head. Knowledge joined to faith, mindfulness, concentration,[218] resolution, and effort causes the head to split and fall."

Verses 1025 and 1026 represent a Buddhist reinterpretation of the Upaniṣadic concept discussed above. Similar expressions can occasionally be found in Buddhist texts of the earliest period, for example in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya:* "[Rahū said:] 'Let my head split and break into seven pieces, / Never let me attain happiness while I live.'"[219] The *Dhammapada* has: "Though thoughts arise in the mind of a stupid man, they are ultimately to his disadvantage. Those thoughts destroy his happiness and split his head."[220]

With Buddhism's rise to popularity, however, such warnings became unnecessary, and later Buddhist texts make no reference to head splitting. People were influenced far more by such propositions as "Good results in good, evil results in evil."

(1027) Then with great excitement and joy the student[221] put his deerskin over one shoulder[222] and prostrated himself at the feet [of the Venerable Master].[223]
(1028) [Ajita said:] "My friend, the Brahmin Bāvari, with his students, in gladness and joy prostrates himself at your feet, you with vision."
(1029) [Gotama replied:] "May the Brahmin Bāvari and his students all be happy. May you too be happy, young student, and live a long life.
(1030) "If Bāvari, or you, or any person has any doubts, ask whatever you desire in your mind."
(1031) Having received permission from the perfectly enlightened one, Ajita placed the palms of his hands together and sat down and asked the Tathāgata the first question.

The questions of Ajita and the other Brahmin students, and the Buddha's answers to them, compose the section of the *Suttanipāta* called the "Pārāyana-vagga" (Chapter on Going to the Far Shore), a purely philosophical discussion that does not need further attention here. The conclusion states that all Bāvari's students were converted by the Buddha.

(1127) Being asked, the enlightened one answered their questions according to the truth. By answering their questions, the sage satisfied the Brahmins.

(1128) They, satisfied with the Buddha, the one with vision, kinsman of the sun, followed the pure practice under the one of excellent wisdom.

We find here another example of group conversion, similar to that of Sañjaya's students following the lead of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. From a sociological point of view, mass conversion was a decisive factor in the rise of Buddhism.

The Mythical Tradition of Teaching

Gotama remained for long periods at the Jetavana monastery but from time to time traveled around. Some of these teaching journeys have come down to us in the form of legends. One tells us that while in Saṃkāśya he ascended to the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods and gave a discourse to Indra.[224] Indra was the most important deity in the *Ṛg Veda*, and perhaps in the Saṃkāśya region there were still Indra worshipers, so the legend may reflect the fact that he preached to those people. This legend is depicted in a Bhārhut relief, which suggests that it must be very early.[225]

Between Kosala and Magadha was a place called Āḷavī, where legend holds that Sakyamuni converted the *yakṣa*.[226] This *yakṣa* may symbolize aboriginal peoples that lived in the area who were led away from their primitive superstitions by Gotama's teaching.[227]

Events in the Later Years

There are few events that can be accurately dated to the Buddha's later years. What is known follows.

THE MEETING WITH KING PASENADI

While Gotama was staying in the Sakya village of Medaḷumpa, King Pasenadi of Kosala arrived in the district on some business and visited Sakyamuni in a park (*ārāma*) there.[228] The old king was in despair over the

political and moral situation of his day and wanted to experience the tranquillity of the life of the Saṅgha.

> Kings quarrel with kings, royal families quarrel with royal families, Brahmins quarrel with Brahmins, householders quarrel with householders, mothers quarrel with children, children quarrel with mothers, fathers quarrel with children, children quarrel with fathers, brothers quarrel with brothers, brothers quarrel with sisters, sisters quarrel with brothers, sisters quarrel with sisters, and friends quarrel with friends. Here, however, I see all the *bhikkhus* living in harmony, joyfully, not quarreling, blending like milk and water, and regarding one another with the eye of affection.

This is a cry from the heart of the most powerful man in the land. Pasenadi took great pleasure in discussions with Gotama. His words on his departure reflect his deep affection for Gotama: "Venerable One, the Blessed One is of the *katthiya* caste and I too am of the *katthiya* caste. The Blessed One is a Kosalan and I too am a Kosalan. The Blessed One is eighty years of age and I too am eighty years of age.[229] . . . Therefore I should show the Venerable Master the highest esteem and display my friendship. I must depart now, for there is much to be done." So saying, he rose from his seat and left. Though one man was an ordained practitioner and the other a lay follower, both were of the same caste, from the same country, born around the same time, and looking now toward the end of their days. They felt the deep bonds of affection born of a life shared in many ways, though fated to many partings.

This was without doubt the last meeting between the two men. Gotama soon departed for Vulture Peak in Rājagaha, whence he set out on his final journey.

THE ANNIHILATION OF THE SAKYAS

The most momentous event in Gotama's later years (or perhaps after his death) was the annihilation of the Sakya clan by the army of the Kosalan king Viḍūḍabha.[230] Viḍūḍabha appears in the Pāli texts only as Pasenadi's son and a general (*senāpati*), a powerful figure close to the king.[231]

A late tradition holds that Viḍūḍabha's mother was the daughter of the Sakya noble Mahānāma and a slave woman offered in marriage by the Sakyas to Pasenadi. When the son later visited his Sakya relatives, he

was held in contempt for his mother's low caste. Angry at the deception (he had been led to believe she was of a higher caste), he sent his army against the clan and killed all its members. This framework is common to a number of legends about the incident and may represent the facts about what occurred.[232]

A version in Chinese translation says that Viḍūḍabha attacked Kapilavatthu with an army of four divisions (elephants, war chariots, horsemen, and foot soldiers). Gotama went to meet him and sat down under a dead tree to await him. Noticing him, Viḍūḍabha asked: "When there are so many other trees verdant and flourishing, why are you seated under a dead one?" Gotama replied: "The shade of one's kin is superior to that of outsiders." Thereupon Viḍūḍabha thought it would be wrong to attack Kapilavatthu and withdrew his army. Later he went again to conquer Kapilavatthu and the same thing happened. The third time Moggallāna suggested "covering Kapilavatthu with an iron cage," but the Buddha dissuaded him and said: "Today the karmic consequences are ripe and must be accepted," and did not interfere. As a result Viḍūḍabha massacred the whole clan.[233] A number of legends state that Sāriputta and Mahānāma tried desperately to postpone the tragedy.

If such a massacre did indeed occur, it must have been when the Buddha was already an old man. However, none of the biographies of the Buddha treat the incident as an event during his lifetime, and neither the Pāli scriptures nor the *Vinaya* mentions it. Only a single Chinese translation (based on a Sanskrit original) mentions it as occurring in the lifetime of the Buddha. Perhaps people in later times imagined what the Buddha would have done if such a massacre had taken place during his lifetime and thus the legend was born. If so, it follows that the massacre took place after the Buddha's death.

A prose section of the *Nidānakathā* says that Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, decided to make a Sakya woman his chief wife and sent messengers to Kapilavatthu, saying: "I wish to establish blood ties with you; give me one of your daughters as a wife."[234] On hearing the proposal the Sakyas conferred among themselves, saying: "We live under the authority of the king of Kosala; if we refuse to give him a Sakya woman as wife we will fall prey to his great anger. However, if we do send a Sakya woman to him, our lineage (*kulavaṃsa*) will be ruined. What are we to do?" Mahānāma volunteered his own daughter Vāsabha Khattiyā, born of the slave woman Nāgamuṇḍā, suggesting that they declare she was of the *khattiya* caste. Thereupon she was taken to Sāvatthī and became the principal

wife of the king. Soon she gave birth to a prince, who was Viḍūḍabha. When he was sixteen he went to his mother's homeland and was treated disdainfully because of his mother's low caste. He discovered the cause when a female servant washing the seat he had occupied in the Meeting Hall with a mixture of milk and water muttered insultingly: "This is where the son of Vāsabhakhattiyā, the slave woman, sat." Hearing her derogatory remark, the prince thought: "Go ahead and wash the place where I sat with milk and water! When I become king, I will wash the seat with the blood of your throat!" When Viḍūḍabha returned to Kosala, the king was informed of the deception and the prince's mother's low caste. He lost all his respect for mother and son and only gave them allowances appropriate to slaves.

A short while later Gotama called on the king and said to him: "The Sakyas have done wrong, great king. If they gave a woman, they should have given one of their own blood (*samajātikā*). But I say this to you, Vāsabhakhattiyā is a king's daughter and was consecrated in the house of a *khattiya* king. Viḍūḍabha, too, was begotten by a *khattiya* king. Wise men of old have said: 'What does a mother's clan [*gotta*] matter? The father's clan is the measure [*pamāṇa*].'" Then he told the king the Kaṭṭhahāri birth story. Hearing it, the king was very pleased and restored mother and son to their former status, saying: "The father's clan is the measure."

After Viḍūḍabha became king, he recalled his resentment and, determined to destroy every member of the Sakya clan, set out with a large army. That day the Master, looking out over the world at dawn, knew that his relatives' clan was to be destroyed and thought: "I must help my kin." After going out early on his alms round, receiving offerings, and returning to his perfumed chamber, he lay down like a lion. When evening came, having passed through the air, he sat down near Kapilavatthu, at the foot of a tree that gave little shade. Very close by, on the border of Viḍūḍabha's territory, was a huge banyan tree with dense foliage.

Seeing the Master, Viḍūḍabha approached and saluted him, saying: "Venerable One, why are you sitting in this heat at the foot of a tree that gives little shade? Please sit beneath the huge banyan tree with dense foliage over there."

Gotama replied: "Leave me, great king. The shade of my kin keeps me cool." Hearing that, the king thought: "The Master has come here to protect his kin." He saluted the Master and then turned around and returned to Sāvatthī. The Master also returned to the Jetavana monastery.

Again the king recalled his resentment and went out for the second

time; seeing the Master there, he returned. A third time he went out and, seeing the Master there, again returned.[235] However, when he went out for the fourth time, the Master observed the former deeds of the Sakyas and saw that it was impossible to eradicate the results of their evil action like casting poison in the river, and he did not appear a fourth time. King Viḍūḍabha then killed all members of the Sakya clan, beginning with babies still sucking the breast, and washed the seat with the blood of their throats before returning.

On the day Gotama had gone to Kapilavatthu for the third time and returned, he was resting when the *bhikkhus* spoke of his virtue among themselves, saying: "The Master only had to show himself to cause the king to return; thus he saved his kin from the danger of death. In this way has he worked for his clansmen."

Modern people might be inclined to think that making efforts three times but not a fourth is illogical. However, the Buddha's contemporaries knew him as a great being who could have saved his clan if he had wished; they thus explained his restraint as the inevitable result of karma.

This tale mentions Gotama only slightly; if he had actually been at the slaughter of the Sakyas, the *Jātaka* would have described his actions more vividly, as it did Viḍūḍabha's. In this tale Gotama is a very shadowy figure, strongly suggesting that his presence in the legend owes much to the imagination of later times.

The legend also appears in fascicle 6 of the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* as follows:

> South of the stupa erected where the Buddha accepted Viśākhā's offer to build a *vihāra* is the place where King Virūḍhaka, having raised an army to destroy the Śākyas, turned his troops around on seeing the Buddha. After King Virūḍhaka succeeded to the throne, he remembered his anger at the shame previously visited upon him, and raised an army and moved a great force forward. The troops fell in, and, his orders having been transmitted, he was ready to depart. At that time a *bhikṣu*, hearing of this, reported it to the Buddha. The World-honored One sat himself beneath a withered tree. King Virūḍhaka, seeing the World-honored One from a distance, dismounted from his horse and paid his respects to him. Then, stepping back, he asked: "There are many verdant trees, replete with leaves and branches; why are you not sitting beneath them, rather than beneath this withered tree with rotten roots?" The World-honored One replied: "My family is [like] the branches and leaves; it is now in danger, so what shade is left to me?"

The king said: "The World-honored One is [my] relative; [since there is no need to attack], we will withdraw." Then, regarding the *arhat* with feeling, he turned his army and returned to his country.

Beside [the place where] the army turned back there is a stupa. It marks the place where the Śākya women were all killed. Having beaten the Śākyas and achieved victory, King Virūḍhaka selected five hundred young Śākya women to enter his inner quarters. The women were filled with hate and said they would never submit, deriding the king for his base birth. Hearing this, the king was filled with rage and ordered that they all be killed. At the king's orders, the executioners cut the sinews of the arms and legs of the women and threw the women in a ditch. Then all the women in their pain called upon [the name of] the Buddha. The World-honored One perceived their pain and suffering and asked a *bhikṣu* to take his robe and [hurry] to the women to teach them the profound and subtle Dharma, that is, when bound by the fetters of the five desires, beings are reborn in the three lowest states, but when all ties are abandoned, rebirth is not prolonged. Hearing the Buddha's words, the women were released from their defilements and attained the pure Eye of the Law [insight into the essence of all things], and, dying, they were all reborn in the heavenly realm. Then Indra, taking [the form of] a Brahmin, collected their bones and made a funeral pyre. People of later times maintained this record.

Beside the stupa of the Śākya [women] is a large lake that has dried up. Here King Virūḍhaka fell bodily into hell. After the World-honored One had seen the Śākya women, he returned to the Anāthapiṇḍada Grove and told the *bhikṣus:* "In seven days King Virūḍhaka will burn in fire." Hearing the Buddha's prediction, the king was filled with great fear. On the seventh day, it was peaceful and still no harm had come to him. Rejoicing, he ordered his women to the shores of the lake, where he ate and made merry with them. Still anxious about a fire breaking out, he took a boat out onto the clear water. Just then, as he was floating among waves, flame spurted up, engulfing the boat, and the king sank down to the [lowest] Avīci hell to suffer unremitting torment.[236]

The legend includes two doctrinal points: first, that it is impossible to escape the consequences of collective residual karma. There must have been many fine individuals among the Śākyas, but they could do little to resist the collective fate of the clan. The only thing one can do is to strive to ensure that no such event occurs again. Second, when such a cruel

event occurs and nothing can be done about it, the only attitude an individual can assume is one of composure. The Buddha worked on a broad front to keep the king's violent actions in check.[237]

Even the most devout Buddhists have felt concern that Gotama could have remained a spectator in the face of war. When his own clan was threatened with extinction, he prevented the army's advance twice but allowed the army to pass by the third time. Why, they ask, did he not throw himself down in front of the advancing forces even if it meant risking his own life? My own interpretation is that because the system of state control was weak in ancient India, farmers and merchants could pursue their own occupations while soldiers engaged in war. They were allowed to do as they liked, while people who thought more deeply gathered in communities (*saṅgha*) striving to bring the ideal life into being. Anything else was beyond their power. They sought a spiritual state removed from the wickedness of the world, which is why they could maintain a detached attitude toward worldly matters.

Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttara-Nikāya*
AV	*Atharva-Veda*
AvŚ	*Avadāna-Śataka*
Āy	*Āyārāṅga-sūtra*, erster Śrutaskandha, Text, Analyse und Glossar von Walther Schubring (*AKM*, hrsg. von Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XI Band, Nr. 4, Leipzig, 1910).
Bhag. G.	*Bhagavad Gītā*
Bṛhad. Up.	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*
Chalmers Sn	Lord Chalmers. *Buddha's Teachings, Being the Sutta-Nipāta or Discourse-Collection.* Ed. in the original Pāli text with an English version. Harvard Oriental Series 37. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932.
Chānd. Up.	*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*
CPS	Ernst Waldschmidt, ed., *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra, Eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.* Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 2. Teil I, 1952.
CuN	*Culla-Niddesa*
Dhp.	*Dhammapada*
Divyāv.	*Divyāvadāna*. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, ed., *The Divyâvadâna: A collection of early Buddhist legends.* Cambridge: The University Press, 1886.
DN	*Dīgha-Nikāya*
Fausböll Sn	V. Fausböll, tr. *The Sutta-Nipāta.* Vol. 10 of SBE. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1881.
Geiger SN	W. Geiger. *Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Die in Gruppen geordnete Sammlung,* vol. 1. München: Benares Verlag, 1930.
Itiv.	*Itivuttaka*

Notes

Note: *T.* stands for *Taishō Shinshū Daizō-kyō* (a compilation of sacred Buddhist works popularly known as *Taishō Tripiṭaka*), ed. Junjirō Takakusu et al., 55 vols., Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1924–29. The first number after *T.* is the volume number. The second number is the page number. Letters indicate the column.

Introduction: Methods of Investigation

1. Moriz Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2 (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1933), 151–56.

2. For example, H. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1896), 12–46, relates the life of the Buddha according to the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. 1, 47 ff.).

3. Yūshō Tokuuji, "Bukkyō ni okeru jimpen setsu ni tsuite" (On miracles in Buddhism), *Shūkyō kenkyū*, n.s., 3, no. 4 (1926): 26 ff.

4. The *Mahāvastu* in particular praises the life of Śākyamuni and exhibits a trend toward Mahāyāna in that it speaks of the concepts of *saṃbhogakāya* ("reward body") and *praṇidhāna* ("original vow"). Yoshitaka Hisano, "Daiji no chii to Setsushussebu no Budda-kan" (The position of the *Mahāvastu* and the Lokottaravādin idea of the Buddha), *Shūkyō kenkyū*, n.s., 4, no. 2 (1927): 131–42, and no. 3 (1927): 136–46.

5. The Sanskrit version of the *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* was discovered at Gilgit and published by Raniero Gnoli. Department of Archaeology of Pakistan, Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu. Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins*, ed. Raniero Gnoli with the assistance of T. Venkatacharya (Rome: IsMEO, 1977–78; *SOR*, XLIX, 1, 2).

The *Śayanāsanavastu* and *Adhikaraṇavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* were mentioned only briefly in the third fascicle of the *Sa-p'o-to-pu-p'i-ni-mo-te-le-ch'ieh* (*T.* 23:582); the complete versions of those texts never found their way to China. Those were discovered at Gilgit and published by Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu. Being the 15th and 16th Sections of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins* (Rome: IsMEO, 1978).

These detailed texts contain much relating to the Buddha legend. Both Sanskrit texts are extremely important, not only for the study of the Buddha legend but also for examining Gotama Buddha as a historical figure.

6. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* (*T.* 24:99–144).

7. *DN*, no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, p. 151).

8. *DN*, no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, p. 151), p. 52.

9. The *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* is an important document for the study of the life of Śākyamuni. Ernst Waldschmidt, ed., *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra: Eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.* Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 2, Teil I, 1952. For further information, see Takao Maruyama, "Shishūkyō Catuṣpariṣatsūtra oyobi Kompon setsuissaiubu binaya shukkeji, hasōji no butsuden to sono tokushitsu" (The life of the Buddha and its characteristics revealed in the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* and the *Pravrajyāvastu* and *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 10, no. 2 (March 1962): 204–7.

10. The episodes depicted at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have been identified in the light of documentary evidence. See Hideo Kimura, "Bungakuteki tachiba yori mitaru Nāgārujunakonda no chōkoku bijutsu" (Sculptural art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa seen from a literary viewpoint), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 9, no. 2 (March 1962): 7–12.

11. Erich Frauwallner, "The Historical Data We Possess on the Person and the Doctrine of the Buddha," *East and West* 3, no. 4 (January 1957): 309–12.

12. Hermann Oldenberg, *Aus dem alten Indien* (Berlin: Gebruder Paetel, 1910), 46.

13. I discuss the conflict with Devadatta further in my *Genshi Bukkyō no Seiritsu* (Formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

14. For the development and composition process of traditional biographies of the Buddha, see Zennō Ishigami, "Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta Butsuden ni tsuite– toku ni jūyō jiken ni gentei shite" (The biography of the Buddha in the "Sagāthavagga" of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, limited to the main events), *Sankō bunka kenkyūjo nempō* 3 (1970): 41–62.

15. Survey by Osamu Takata, "Bārufutto no Bukkyō setsuwazu" (Buddhist stories depicted in bas-relief on the stupa railings of Bhārhut), *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 242 (1965): 101–22. See also P. H. Pott, "Some Scenes from the Buddha's Life in Stone," *Adyar Library Bulletin* (Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras 20, India) 20: 310–17.

16. Relief from Amarāvatī, second century C.E., Archaeological Museum, Amarāvatī (Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 4-39).

17. For example, the sculptures from Mathurā, second century C.E.; Lucknow Museum (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 4-41). On the left side of the relief of the preaching Buddha (Lahore Museum C-109) are twelve scenes, each depicting naked figures wrestling. In the relief showing several scenes from the Buddha's life (from Nālandā, ninth–tenth century C.E., Archaeological Museum, Nālandā, no. 10793), surrounding a seated Buddha figure whose hand points to the ground, there are scenes depicting (from the bottom right) the Buddha's birth, his visit to the heaven of the thirty-three deities, and his teaching. The pedestal portrays the miracle at Śrāvastī, and above the head is a depiction of the Buddha's death.

18. Relief from Sārnāth, fifth century; Indian Museum, Calcutta (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. C-3, 7-2). There is also an example of a grouping of five scenes (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 7-4).

19. Examples include a fifth-century Gupta-period relief (*Indo, Nishi Ajia* [India and West Asia], vol. 13 of *Genshoku sekai no bijutsu* [Art of the world in full color; Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1973], no. 53; Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], no. 4; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], no. 13, p. 62); a fifth-century relief in the Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth (Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 1 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 184; Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō*, pl. 49); a ninth- to tenth-century Pāla dynasty relief from Nālandā (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 9 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], no. 85; Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 7-1, 7-3; Alfred Foucher, *La vie du Bouddha, d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde* [Paris: Payot, 1949], p. 374). For more on the depiction of the eight episodes of the Buddha's life, see Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* (Illustrated encyclopedia of Buddhist terms; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1988), pp. 582, 593 (frontispiece V).

20. Other series of friezes illustrating episodes in Śākyamuni's life or with other buddhas that have been found in India include: from Mathurā, third century, Lucknow Museum (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 4-41; Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 70; Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 8); from Mathurā, Kuṣāṇa period, Archaeological Museum, Mathurā (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 9); from Rājghat, Kuṣāṇa period, Archaeological Museum, Mathurā (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 10); from Sārnāth, fifth century, National Museum of India, New Delhi (Yama-

moto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 119); balustrade reliefs, from Bhārhut, early first century B.C.E., Indian Museum, Calcutta (Teruo Ueno, ed., *Karukatta bijutsukan* [Indian Museum, Calcutta], vol. 32 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1970], Introduction; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 36); *toraṇa* (gateway) at Sāñcī, first century B.C.E. (Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō,* pl. 17, 20, 21; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 18, 23, 36; Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1971], pl. 71, 72); and g) bronze sculpture from Kurkihar, Bihar, which depicts seven important events (*WOB,* pl. II-1).

Other sculptures depicting the important events include: from Amarāvatī, Government Museum, Madras (*WOB,* pl. II-2; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 92); from Sārnāth, fifth century, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 0-3; *WOB,* pl. II-3); from Sārnāth, fifth century, National Museum of India, New Delhi (*WOB,* pl. II-4); "Illustrations from the Buddha's Life from Nālandā," ninth century (*WOB,* pl. II-5); "Illustrations from the Buddha's Life from Bengal," tenth century, Boston Museum (*WOB,* pl. II-6); "Paintings from Nepal," eighteenth century (*WOB,* pl. II-7); and Illustrations from the Buddha's Life from Cave 275, Tun-huang (Saiiki Bunka Kenkyūkai, ed., *Chūō Ajia Bukkyō bijutsu* [Buddhist art of Central Asia], vol. 5 of *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* [Study of the cultures in the western regions; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1962], pl. 370; cf. pl. 563). There is also a pictorial representation of the life of the Buddha in the Dambulla rock temple in Sri Lanka (Kyōshō Hayashima and Shōji Itō, *Seiron no Butto* [Buddhist cities of Ceylon], vol. 9 of *Sekai no seiiki* [Sanctuaries of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979], p. 113). For details of similar works from other countries, see Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten,* p. 583.

21. Kentoku Hori did an excellent study comparing the artistic remains with the events of the Buddha's life, entitled *Bijutsujō no Shaka* (Sakyamuni in art; Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1910). Of more recent works, the most detailed in relating the Buddha's life through archaeological finds and field photography is Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai.* The second chapter (pp. 81–196) is of particular relevance. Another valuable work is *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* (The life of Sakyamuni in the fine arts) by Takashi Koezuka (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979). A further study is *Budda no shōgai* (Life of the Buddha), Iwanami Shashin Bunko 181 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956), which examines the Buddha's life through archaeological remains and works of art. A detailed, more recent work is Ratan Parimoo, *Life of Buddha in Indian Sculpture, Astha-maha-pratiharya, an Iconological Analysis* (New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1982), reviewed by Jacques Rangasamy, *JRAS* 2 (1983): 315–16.

22. The remainder of this section is taken from Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni Miru Shakuson no Shōgai.*

23. This section is adapted from my *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 12–13. Refer to this work for details

of studies dealing with the Indian social background. The topic is covered fully in my *Indoshi I* (History of India, vol. 1), vol. 5 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997).

CHAPTER 1: BIRTH

1. *Fo* (仏) and *fo-t'o* (仏陀).

2. *Chüeh-che* (覚者) and *ta-chüeh* (大覚).

3. The state of becoming aware of the actuality of the empirical world is expressed by the gerund *buddhva* (V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar, critically ed., *The Mahābhārata* [Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927], XII, 253, 25; T. R. Krishnacharya and T. R. Vyasacharya, eds., *Mahābhāratam* [Bombay: Nirnayasagar Press, 1906–10], XII, 261, 25).

4. Even in Early Buddhism there existed the idea of the seven buddhas of the past and of Maitreya, the buddha of the future. Mahāyāna Buddhism taught the existence of multiple buddhas, such as Amitābha/Amitāyus, Akṣobhya, and Vairocana (Mahāvairocana).

5. The name *Gotama Buddha* appears in *Therag.*, 91.

6. An example of the compound *Shih-chia* (釈迦; Jpn., *Shaka*) being used to identify Sakyamuni appears as early as the fifth-century Chinese Buddhist priest Chi-tsang's *Pai-lun-su* (*T.* 42:244b).

7. *Sakyakule jāto Buddho* (*Therig.*, 185); *Sakkakule jāto Sambuddho* (*Therig.*, 192). In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, *Śākiya;* for example, *Mahāvastu,* vol. 1, 43, ll. 1f. The earliest account of the history of the Sakyas is contained in two works by the fifth-century commentator Buddhaghosa (*Sv.*, 258 62; *Pj.*, 352–56). Other materials concerning the Sakyas are: Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1 (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), 1 39; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 1–2 (*T.* 24:99a–107b). The following works are quoted, with a few additions, in Bernhard Breloer's "Die Śākya," *ZDMG,* Neue Folge, 19 (1940): 268–94; William Woodville Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order* (London: Trübner, 1884), 11; Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism in Its Modern Development* (London: 1853; 2d ed. 1880), 133; Samuel Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha* (London: Trubner, 1875), 30; and Bigandet, *Legend of the Burmese Buddha,* 3d ed., 11. Wilhelm Geiger has organized and arranged the above material in his translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mahāvaṃsa, or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon* [Colombo: The Ceylon Government Information Department, 1950], 273–75 [appendix A]). Cf. Albrecht Friedrich Weber, *Indische Studien,* vol. 5 (Berlin: F. Dummler, 1850–63; Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1865–98), 412–37. For Japanese research in this area, see Chizen Akanuma, ed., *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), 566–68. On the Sakyas, see *Ogihara Unrai Bunshū* (Collection of Unrai Ogihara's essays; Tokyo:

Taishō Daigaku Bukkyōgaku Ogihara Unrai Kinen Kenkyūkai, 1938), 99ff.

8. In 1898, William Claxton Péppe discovered and excavated a mound at Piprāhwā. In it he found a reliquary with an inscription to the effect that it contained the relics of the World-honored One, the Buddha, born of the Sakyas. Scholars have widely accepted its authenticity (I discuss this in the second volume of this book).

9. "flank of the Himayala": *Sn.,* 422.

10. "Son of the Sakyas": *Sakyaputta* (*Sn.,* 991). Northern Europeans also use the suffix *-son* in surnames (e.g., Mendelssohn, Anderson, Henderson).

11. Akanuma, in *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* 568, cites the occurrence of the expression only in the *Mahāvastu,* vol. 1, 57, and *AvŚ,* 35. The term *Sakyamuni* also appears in *Sn.,* 225, however.

12. *AV,* XIV, 39, 9; *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa,* XIII, 3, 12; *Śat. Br.,* XIII, 5, 4, 5. Cf. Arthur Anthony Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects,* vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1912), 75; H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India,* 6th ed. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1953), 100-101.

13. "Kan-che-wang": 甘蔗王.

14. See *Harivaṃśa,* 545ff. Cf. Moriz Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* vol. 1 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 444.

15. Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 74.

16. Tetsujirō Inoue had already claimed that the Sakyas were not Aryan in his *Shaka shuzokuron* (On origins of the Sakyas; Tokyo: Tetsugaku Shoin, 1897). See Junkichi Imanishi, "Sōseki to Inoue Tetsujirō no *Indo Tetsugakushi* Kōgi" (Lectures on *History of Indian Philosophy* by Sōseki Natsume and Tetsujirō Inoue), *Matsugaoka bunko kenkyū nempō,* no. 4 (1990): 79.

17. Information from a lecture given by G. T. Bowles.

18. Concerning the clan name (*gotta*) of Sakyamuni, see Damadar Dharmanand Kosambi, "Brahmin Clans," *JAOS* 73, no. 4 (1953): 205.

19. *DN,* no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta,* 1, 16 (vol. 1, pp. 92-93).

20. An unusual interpretation is that the name derives from *śākhā* ("branch"), making *Sakya* mean "those who live under the branches." This popular etymological explanation led to the statement in the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* (*T.* 3:655) that "The Śākya lived under densely leaved branches of big trees. For this reason they are called Śākhya [Pāli, Sākhiya]" (*T.* 3:675c).

21. Concerning the conflict over water between the residents of Kapilavatthu and the Koḷiyas, see *Jātaka,* vol. 5, 412–14; *Dhp.,* ed. Fausböll, 351; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* 307.

22. *Dhp. Aṭṭhakathā,* vol. 3, p. 254. See Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), 6.

23. *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 13: *A-mo-chou-ching* (*T.* 1:82c–83a).

24. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101a–b).

25. *DN,* no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta,* 1, 12 (vol. 1, pp. 90–91). Refer also to *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 1:82c).

26. The Chinese equivalent (*Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 13: *A-mo-chou-ching*) says, "Kṣatriyas, Brahmins, Gṛhapati, and Śūdras" (*T.* 1:82c). The appearance of *Gṛhapati* rather than *Vaiśya* indicates an older form.

27. *DN,* no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta,* 1, 15 (vol. 1, pp. 91–92).

28. *DN,* no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta,* 1, 13 (vol. 1, p. 91).

29. Bernhard Breloer discusses the Sakyan republican form of government in detail, comparing it with Greek descriptions of ancient Indian republics ("Die Śākya," 268–312).

30. *MN,* no. 53, *Sekha-sutta,* vol. 3, pp. 353ff. In the equivalent sutra in Chinese translation (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 36 [*T.* 2:316a]), *santhāgāra* is translated as *chiang-t'ang* (講堂; "lecture hall").

31. *DN,* no. 33, *Saṅgīti-suttanta* (vol. 3, p. 207). In the equivalent Chinese translation (*Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 8: *Chung-chi-ching* [*T.* 1:49bff.]), there is no mention of a hall.

32. *Bhaddasāla-jātaka* (*Jātaka,* no. 465 [vol. 4, 144f.]). Here, also, the hall is termed *santhāgāra.*

33. I shall discuss this fact later.

34. *āṇāpavattiṭṭhāna* (*Jātaka,* vol. 4, p. 145).

35. "Upright in nature": the original reads *ujuṃ janapado,* but the quotation of the same passage in the commentaries says *ujū janapado.* I follow the latter version (*Sn.,* 422).

36. For the topography of the Sakya lands, see Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* [The Buddha: His life, his order, his doctrine; Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881], 113–15.

37. *DN,* no. 27, *Aggañña-suttanta,* 8 (vol. 3, pp. 83–84). See also *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 6: *Hsiao-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:37b).

38. Thomas R. Trautmann, "Consanguineous Marriage in Pali Literature," *JAOS* 93 (1973): 158–80.

39. M. B. Emeneau, "Was There Cross-Cousin Marriage among the Śākyas?" *JAOS* 59 (1939): 220–26. For later research, see Trautmann, "Consanguineous Marriage."

40. Emeneau, "Was There Cross-Cousin Marriage?" 220–21. Such a marriage custom was obligatory among the Nayadi of Malabar.

41. Breloer gives these examples in refuting Emeneau's argument ("Die Śākya," 268–94, especially 273).

42. See Emeneau, "Die Śākya," 268–94.

43. *mātigottaṃ nāma kiṃ karissati, pitigottaṃ eva pamāṇan'ti porāṇakapaṇḍitā . . .* (*Jātaka,* vol. 4, p. 148).

44. *Bhagavato hi dve asītisahassasaṃkhā Sakya-Koḷiyā rājāno ñātayo, te attano attano sampattiyā nibaddhabhattaṃ dātuṃ ussahanti* (*Pj.,* 140).

45. Ādiccabandhu (*Sn.*, 54, 540, 915, 1128; *DN*, no. 21, *Sakkapañha-suttanta*, vol. 2, p. 287G; *SN*, vol. 1, p. 192G, vol. 3, p. 142G; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 17G, 74G; *Therag.*, 1237). Buddha Ādiccabandhu (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 186G; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 54G; *Therag.*, 158, 1023, 1212). Cakkhumat Ādiccabandhu (*AN*, vol. 4, p. 228G; *Therag.*, 417, 1258). Ādiccā nāma gottena (*Sn.*, 424). "*Jih-chung*": 日種.

46. *MBh*, I, 65, 10ff.; Edward Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Strassburg: Trubner, 1915), p. 198.

47. Information provided by Dr. Lokesh Chandra. The word *sūryavaṃśa* appears in Sanskrit dictionaries, but *sūryavaṃśī*, the Hindi form, does not. The feminine adjective (modifier) is *sūryavaṃśakā*, and the masculine noun, *sūryavaṃśa meṃ utpanna puruṣa*.

48. *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, III, 30 (vol. 2, p. 52).

49. H. Grassmann offers the following interpretation of *gotama:* "gotama.m. [von gó], Eigenname eines Sängers, und im pl. Bezeichnung seiner Nachkommen" (*Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1976], col. 411). According to this dictionary, the form *Gautama* cannot be found in the *Ṛg Veda*. Cf. *RV*, I, 79, 10.

50. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. 1, pp. 234–35, 240–41.

51. John Brough, *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), pp. 32–33, 103–10.

52. Brough, *Early Brahmanical System*, p. xvii; *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1894–95), iii, 342.

53. *DN*, II, p. 52.

54. *PW*, s.v. *Gotama*.

55. Use of the suffix *-tama* after a noun to indicate the superlative is already apparent in the *Ṛg Veda* (*RV*, 491, 7 = VI, 50, 7); *mātṛtama*, a., Superlat. des vorigen [mātṛ], mütterlichst (Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 1032).

56. Ānanda, Sakyamuni's cousin and attendant, was also called Gotama, and Mahāpajāpatī, his aunt and foster mother, was called Gotamī (a female member of the Gotama clan).

57. *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101a–b).

58. *Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, p. 348.

59. *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 30 (*T.* 1:148c). *Ta-lou-t'an-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 1:309a). *Ch'i-shih-ching*, fasc. 10 (*T.* 1:363a). *Ch'i-shih-yin-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:418a).

60. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:672a). *Chung-hsü-mo-ho-ti-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:933c).

61. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:779a). *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 24:101a).

62. *Chang-so-chih-lun*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 32:231a).

63. I. B. Horner, "The Buddha's Co-Natal," in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A memorial volume in honor of Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap*, ed. A. K. Narain (Delhi: B. R. Pub. Corp., 1979), pp. 115–20.

64. "Wei-lin-t'o-lo": 微隣陀羅.

65. Śuddhodana in Sanskrit (Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* [New Haven: Yale University, 1953], p. 531). According to the rule of *sandhi* in Sanskrit, it should be Śuddhaudana, but this form does not appear, probably owing to the fact that the form Suddhodana was already established among Prākrit-speaking Buddhists, so Sanskrit-speaking Buddhists took the form as it was and merely Sanskritized it as Śuddhodana. *Śuddha* means "pure, sufficient, unadulterated, undiluted." In Sanskrit literature, *śuddhasnāna* means to wash with water, using no perfumed oils or sandalwood. When the husband is away, the wife washes in water alone, not using perfumed oils (Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta*, 88).

66. "Ching-fan-wang": 浄飯王.

67. *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, vol. 2, pp. 7, 52. Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XXVI, 13. Rhys Davids believed that *rājan* was a title much like *esquire* or an honorary title like *consul* or *archon* (*Early Buddhism* [London: Constable and Co., 1910], p. 27). Hermann Oldenberg thought that Suddhodana was no more than a noble and a great landowner (*Buddha*, p. 13. Auflage, hrg. von Helmuth von Glasenapp [Stuttgart: Erschienen im cotta Verlag, 1959], p. 118).

68. *Therag.*, 534; *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, III, 30 (vol. 2, p. 52). Māyā gave birth to Gotama (*Therīg.*, 192). Māyā was called Gotamī (*Therag.*, 535).

69. "Bliss": *tidivasmi modati*, *Therag.*, 534.

70. *DN*, vol. 2, pp. 7, 52.

71. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, p. 613ff. This name appears only in the *Jātaka* (the *Nidānakathā* in particular) and the *Dīpavaṃsa*, III, 47; XIX, 18. For an explanation of the name, see Yenshō Kanakura, *Indo kodai seishinshi* (A history of ancient spirituality in India; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1939), p. 291.

72. *Khattiyo jātiyā khattiya-kule uppanno* (*DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, III, 30 [vol. 2, p. 51]).

73. *DN*, no. 4, *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*, 6 (vol. 1, p. 115).

74. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900c); Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (1884; Delhi: Orient Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), pp. 13–14 (adapted).

75. The T'ang-dynasty-period *li* was of two sizes, small and large. The small *li* was equivalent to 454.4 m, and the large one, 545.5 m. The former measurement was employed in the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* (Kiroku Adachi, *Hokkenden* [Record of Fa-hsien; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1940], p. 8). The Japanese *li* is approximately 3.9273 km.

76. *Sn.*, 991.

77. In later literature, Kapilapura (*Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 91); *kapilāvayaṃ . . . devanayaraṃ iva Kapila puram uttamam . . .* (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 21); *Kapilāhvaye ṛṣivadanasmiṃ* (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, p. 43; = *ṛṣipatane*; cf. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v.). All forms preserve the name Kapila.

78. *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, 1, 14 (vol. 1, p. 91).

79. *Pj.*, p. 353.

80. *Pj.*, p. 353. *Śakyānām kumāra utpanno 'nuhimavatpārśve nadyā Bhāgīrathyās tīre Kapilasyarṣer āśramapadasya nātidūre* (*CPS*, p. 324). See also *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:134c).

81. The Ganges is referred to as the Bhāgīrathī (*Jātaka*, vol. 5, v. 291).

82. Cf. Kuśinagarī.

83. Cf. *Sn.*, 1012.

84. *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, I, 12 (vol. 2, pp. 7, 52).

85. Modern maps of Nepal show a district called Kapilabastu (in Nepali the Sanskrit *va* becomes *ba*) in Lumbinī Province. Tilaurâ Kôt is a magnificent ruined site on the outskirts of the town of Taulihawā, and is presumed to be the ruins of Kapilavatthu. On this assumption, Rissho University sent a team of archaeologists to Nepal in November 1967. The excavation has been concluded and a report published (see note 91). Preliminary investigations showed that the names of the cities surrounding the site correspond to the names of the cities around Kapilavatthu that are mentioned in the canonical writings of early Buddhism, and an Aśokan pillar can be found in the vicinity. Further, the Tilaurâ Kôt remains are almost identical to the descriptions found in Fa-hsien's and Hsüan-tsang's travel diaries. The ruins measure 365 meters east to west and they are surrounded by a moat. Authorities in the department of archaeology at Tribhvan University in Katmandu also conjecture that Taulihawā is the ancient Kapilavatthu.

86. 27.37 degrees north and 83.8 degrees east (Vincent Arthur Smith, "The Piprāhwā stūpa, containing relics of Buddha," *JRAS* [1898]: 580). A detailed report appears in Babu Purnachandra Mukherji and Vincent Arthur Smith, "Antiquities in the Tarâi," *Nepâl. Archaeol. S.*, Rep. Imperial Series, vol. 26, 1901. Also, consult documents about Kapilavatthu mentioned by Hermann Oldenberg in *Buddha*, 9th ed., p. 111, note 1, and Tsūshō Byōdō's "Kabirajō oyobi Bisharijō ni tsuite" (Kapilavatthu and Vesālī), *Buttan nisen-gohyakunen kinen gakkai kiyō* (1935), 33 ff.

87. Fa-hsien, *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861b). Translated by James Legge as *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), p. 68 (adapted).

88. Information from Ram Niwas Pandey, lecturer in archaeology at Tribhvan University.

89. Zuiryū Nakamura, Tsuneharu Kubo, and Hideichi Sakazume, eds., *Fortified Village in Terai Excavated in 1967 1977*, vol. 2 of *Tilaurâ Kôt: The Rissho University Nepal Archaeological Research Report* (Tokyo: Rissho University, 1978).

90. From a report in *The Bukkyō Times* by Rissho University Professor Hideichi Sakazume, "Kapilajōshi o saguru" (Exploring the site of Kapilavastu), March 15, 1978, p. 3.

91. For the various questions concerning the site of Kapilavatthu, see Zuiryū

Nakamura, "Pipurahawā hakkutsu no konjaku to mondaiten" (History and points of issue of the excavations at Piprāhwā), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 25, no. 2 (March 1977): 110–17. Nakamura, however, avoids a firm conclusion.

92. Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, Ryōjun Satō, *Budda no sekai* (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980), pp. 140–44, pl. 2–11. The items are shown in color photographs. An earlier report was made by Tokuo Fukuda in "Pipurawā no shari yōki" (The Piprāhwā reliquary), *Daihōrin* (April 1981): 188–93. This contains color photographs of the larger and smaller reliquaries found at Piprāhwā and the relics inside them. These are different from the reliquaries that Peppé unearthed in the nineteenth century.

93. Nepal Puratattva Vībhaga, *Tilaurakot: The Ancient City of Kapilavastu* (Katmandu: Buddha Jayanti Celebrations Committee [2520], 1976).

94. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861a–b). See also Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, pp. 64–67.

95. Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, new enlarged ed. (Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975), p. 349.

96. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900c); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 13–14 (amended).

97. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:901a); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 14–15 (amended).

98. Rāmagāma: The Buddha's relics were divided into eight portions, and one of the places receiving one of those eight was "Lo-mo-ch'ieh-kou" 羅摩伽國 (*Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4: *Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:30a]). The Pāli version (*DN*, no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, VI, 24 [vol. 2, p. 165]) gives Rāmagāmakā Koliyā.

99. A recent theory suggests that the Buddha's home was somewhere near Lumbinī, perhaps the hamlet of Kapileswara in Orissa, based on similarities in the inscription on the Aśokan pillar discovered at Lumbinī. See Chakradhar Mahapatra, *The Real Birthplace of Buddha* (Cuttack: Grantha Mandir, 1977). The author seems to be a native of Orissa. It is nevertheless difficult to disprove the other theories.

100. In Japan most accounts of Gotama's birth are based on the traditional biographies translated into Chinese (for details, see the bibliography of this volume), whereas in the West they mainly derive from the *Jātaka* (vol. 1, pp. 47 ff.), translated into English in Henry Clarke Warren's *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), pp. 38–48. The most detailed critical discussion of birth legends is found in Ernst Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1908), p. 236. He discusses the various birth legends in detail, taking Indian ideas of transmigration into account, but inexplicably ignores the verse introductions of the *Suttanipāta*. Other works on this subject include Robert Chalmers, "The *Madhura Sutta* concerning Caste," *JRAS* (1894): 341–66; R. Chalmers, "The Nativity of the Buddha," *JRAS* (1895): 751–71; Alfred Foucher, *La vie du Bouddha, d'après les textes et les monuments*

de l'Inde [Paris: Payot, 1949], pp. 23–69; Wilhelm Printz, "Buddha's Geburt," *ZDMG* 79 (1925): 119ff.; Alfred Foucher, "On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity," in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 46 (1934); reviewed by Anand Kentish Coomaraswamy, *JAOS* 55 (1935): 323–25.

101. *Sn.*, 955.

102. Legends concerning the Buddha's dwelling in the Tusita heaven are found in the *Jātaka* (vol. 1, p. 48, l. 12); *Lalitavistara* (p. 14, l. 12); *Mahāvastu* (vol. 1, p. 337, l. 11); Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu* (part 1, pp. 39–43); Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 39; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:676c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:540c–41a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:483a–88b); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:473b); and *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:623a–24a).

Artistic representations of the same subject include: "The Bodhisatta in the Tusita heaven," third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. II-8); third century, from Amarāvatī, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*Indo, Nishi Ajia* [India and West Asia], vol. 13 of *Genshoku sekai no bijutsu* [Art of the world in full color; Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1970], pl. 28; Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 243). The seated figure of the Bodhisatta in the Tusita heaven dates from the mature period of Gandhāran sculpture; he sits on a lotus pedestal (Padmāsana). From Sikri, Lahore Museum (John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960], p. 5, fig. 74). From Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-9; Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Borobuḍur rises; Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], pp. 67–72).

103. *Therag.*, 534.

104. *Therag.*, 968.

105. See Tsūshō Byōdō, "Shoki butsuden bunken ni okeru Bosatsu no seken kansatsu setsuwa ni tsuite" (Concerning religious tales of the Bodhisattva's descent to the world in early Buddhist biographical literature), *Shūkyō kenkyū*, n.s., 13, no. 1 (1936): 70–82.

106. Legends of the dream: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 40–41; *Buddhacarita*, I, 20; *Lalitavistara*, p. 63, l. 13; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 15; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:548c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:624a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:683b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:491a–b); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463b).

Commentary about the dream: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, l. 23; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 40–41; *Lalitavistara*, p. 64, l. 16; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:683c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:549a–b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:491c); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463b–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:473b); and *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:624b).

The legend of the Buddha entering his mother's womb: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, l. 2; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 42; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:489a); and *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:547c–48a).

The legend of the Buddha taking the form of a white elephant is found in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 40–41; *Lalitavistara*, p. 43, l. 11; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 8; *Buddhacarita*, I, 19, 20; E. H. Johnston, *The Saundarananda*, Panjab University Oriental Publications no. 14 (Oxford University Press, 1932; reprint, Tokyo Rinsen Book Co., 1972), II, 50; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107b–c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:488b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:545c–46a); and *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:462b–63b). The form of the white elephant does not, however, appear in reliefs at Borobuḍur depicting the life of the Buddha.

107. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 50–52.

108. *Indo, Nishi Ajia*, no. 21. Similar works of art include those from the beginning of the first century B.C.E. found at Bhārhut and now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 6; Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1971], pl. 62; *WOB*, pl. II-14; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 31; Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* (Art of India), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 280; *Nagarj.*, p. 94, pl. X); from Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. II-15); from Amarāvatī, third century, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 2; Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 242); from Taxila, Kuṣāṇa period, first–second century (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 9 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], pl. 75); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 6); panel, second–third century, in the Lahore Museum (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-4); from Amarāvatī, second century, now in the Government Museum, Madras (*WOB*, pl. II-11); from Sārnāth, fifth century (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan*, pl. 80; Nakamura et al., *Buddha no sekai*, pl. 2-105; K. S. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India and Early Andhra History* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1981), p. 3); eleventh century, Ānanda Temple, Burma (*WOB*, pl. 10, 12, 13); Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-17; Kengo Tō, *Tonkō e no michi* [The way to Tun-huang; Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1978], p. 118; and Ujitani, *Yomigaeru*, p. 73).

Interpetation of the dream: from Amarāvatī, second century, British Museum (*WOB*, pl. 21); and Borobuḍur, eighth century (*WOB*, pl. 20; *Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 7).

109. Jirō Sugiyama, *Indo no bijutsu* (Indian art), vol. 4 of *Gurando sekai bijutsu* (Great art of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976), no. 41.

110. "Complete": The original says *yathā sumpūrṇayūnaḥ*, but Hsüan-tsang in his translation (*A-p'i-ta-mo chü-she-lun* [*T.* 29:45c]) interpreted it as *yathā sumpūrṇo*

yūnaḥ. The latter seems to be the smoother interpretation, so I have followed that here. "Marks of perfection": refer to the *Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*, fasc. 70 (*T.* 27:361b).

111. "King Kṛkin": He is the father of Kāśyapa, the last of the Buddhas of the past. Concerning the ten subjects of dreams, see Anton Schiefner, "Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çakjamuni's des Begründers des Buddhatums," in *Mem. presentés à l'Acad. Impér. d. Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*, T. VI, 1851: S. 59, and footnotes on pp. 534–36 of the eleventh volume of the commentary section of the Japanese translation of the Chinese canon (*Kokuyaku Daizōkyō*).

112. *Abhidharmakośa* (P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, 1st ed. [Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1967], p. 123, l. 25ff.). *A-p'i-ta-mo chü-she-lun*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 29:45c).

113. *Abhidharmakośa* (Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, p. 128, ll. 26 27). *A-p'i-ta-mo chü-she-lun*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 29:47b).

114. Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta*, 2.

115. *ZIM*, vol. 1, p. 160.

116. *Sakyāna gāme janapade Lumbhineyye*, probably meaning "in an area belonging to Lumbinī." *Sn.*, 683.

117. Jules Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Asoka* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950), pp. 27f.

118. The Asokan pillar, Lumbinī (*WOB*, pl. 18, 19).

119. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861b); Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 67 (amended).

120. Hsüan-tsang's account uses the Chinese character for "grove," so the area must have been comparatively well forested in his time.

121. "Two streams of water bursting from heaven, having the power of heat and cold, fell down upon the peerless one's benign head" (*Buddhacarita*, I, 16, trans. E. B. Cowell in *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, vol. 49 of SBE [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894]), p. 5.

122. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:902a–b); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 24–25 (amended).

123. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:901b).

124. See, for example, *WOB*, p. 123, pl. 1.

125. My information concerning Lumbinī comes from Mr. Vāstava of Tribhvan University. He was previously an inspector in the Terai region and often visited Lumbinī's middle school.

126. From a report made by Chihiro Mizutani after a visit to Lumbinī in 1977.

127. The Asokan pillar at Lumbinī has been featured extensively in a number of books (for example, *WOB*, pl. 18, 19); therefore I have not dealt with it in detail here.

128. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861b); Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 67), and *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* (*T.* 51:902a); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, p. 25). Hsüan-

tsang, however, says that beside the horse pillar was a small stream called the "river of oil."

129. *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching* (*T.* 3:625a).

130. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 52. The legend of Māyā's excursion to Lumbinī Garden: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 52, l. 8; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 44; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107c–108a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:493b); *Kuo-c'hü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:625a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:685c–86a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:552a).

Artistic representations: "Māyā setting out for Lumbinī," eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. II-22; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 481); "King Suddhodana visiting Māyā," second century, Amarāvatī (*WOB,* pl. II-18); eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. II-19); "Interpretation of Māyā's dream," second century, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 3); second century, from Amarāvatī, British Museum (*WOB,* pl. II-21); eighth century, Borobuḍur, (*WOB,* pl. II-20); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 7).

131. Those related in the seventh degree of kinship in both ascending and descending lines (*Manu-smṛti,* V, 60).

132. *Manu-smṛti,* V, 61–62; G. Bühler, trans., *The Laws of Manu,* vol. 25 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1886; Reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, 1964), pp. 178 (amended).

133. Breloer, "Die Śākya," pp. 268–72.

134. *"Idha Tathāgato jāto" ti, Ānanda, saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ* (MPS, *DN,* no. 16, V, 8 [vol. 2, p. 140]).

135. Concerning the limitless sacrifice at Kapilavatthu, see Gnoli, *Saṅghabheda-vastu,* part 1, pp. 43–44; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:107c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:549b). Refer also to *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463c).

136. Legends relating to the birth: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 52; *Sn.,* p. 128; *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta,* I, 24–30 [vol. 2, pp. 14–15]; *MN,* no. 89, *Dhammacetiya-sutta,* vol. 3, pp. 122–23; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 44–46; *Visuddhimagga,* 694; *Lalitavistara,* p. 93, l. 8; *Buddhacarita,* I, 34; *Divyāv.,* p. 389; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 21; Karl Eugen Neumann, trans., vol. 3 of *Reden Gotamo Buddhos, aus der Längeren Sammlung Dīghanikāyo des Pāli-Kanons,* 8 vols. (Munich: R. Piper, 1907, 1912, 1918), p. 249; *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 1: *Ta-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:4b–c); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 24:108a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:552c–53b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:494a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:626c–27a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:686c–87a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:1a–b); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:901a); *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861a).

Depictions in art: "Birth of Prince Siddhārtha" second century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, National Museum of India, New Delhi. "Birth and the Seven

Steps" (including those that do not actually show the seven steps): Buddha kā prākaṭya (N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archeological Museum, 1966], pl. 49). "Walking the seven steps" (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 11); second century, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 21); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 4; Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 65); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 237).

Other panels show Māyā holding the branch of the *asoka* tree, with the prince being born from her right side and soon taking seven steps: from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 7); second–third century, from Sikri, Lahore Museum (*Gandāraten,* II-5); third–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. II-24; Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* [Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911], p. 66; Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India,* p. 5); first–second century, from Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan,* p. 161, no. 52; *Indo, Nishi Ajia,* no. 13); third–fourth century, from Gandhāra (*West Berlin,* pl. 2); third-fourth century, from Gandhāra, Patna Museum (*WOB,* pl. II-25); from Sahri Bahlol, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 4); from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 5). "The Birth," fourth–fifth century, from Takht-i-Bahī, Peshawar Museum (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri Shashinshū—Gandāra* (Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 40). "Seven steps": second–third century, Lahore Museum (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, II-6); second century, from Amarāvatī (*ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 90); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, National Museum of India, New Delhi (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 8); Ikṣvāku dynasty, third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan,* p. 161, no. 52; *Indo, Nishi Ajia,* no. 13); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 334; *WOB,* pl. 23); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 8); fifth century, wall painting, Cave 2, Ajantā (*WOB,* pl. II-1; Osamu Takata, *Ajanta—sekkutsu jiin to hekiga* [Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971], pl. 114; Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India,* p. 65); eleventh century, from Nālandā, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. II-26); eleventh century, from Nālandā (*East and West* [IsMEO] 7, no. 4 [January 1957]: 311). "The Buddha's Birth illustrated in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra,*" Calcutta, in the collection of S. K. Saraswati (*WOB,* p. II-11).

Some sculptures have not been defaced, and the faces of Māyā and her attendants are vividly portrayed. Pāla dynasty, tenth century, from Bengal (*The Cleveland Museum of Art,* USA. 59-349); eighteenth century, Tibetan thaṅ-ka, Musée Guimet (*WOB,* pl. II-27); "Birth of the Buddha" (Tō, *Tonkō e no michi,* p. 97). "The Buddha's Birth"? Kuṣāṇa dynasty, second century, from Mathurā, Government Museum, Mathurā (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan,* pl. 39).

Relief depicting the the birth of Sakyamuni in the Māyā temple at Lumbinī (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 2-15). A similar relief can be found at Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* pp. 80–81). Statues of the newly born Buddha with his right hand pointing at the sky and his left hand pointing at the ground (when the Buddha uttered the words "I alone am the lord of heaven and earth"): latter part of the Nara period (710–94), Tōdai-ji (Nara, Nara Prefecture) and Zensui-ji (Shiga Prefecture). Statue of Māyā: seventh century, originally at Hōryū-ji, now in the Tokyo National Museum. Here, a small Sakyamuni, his hands raised above his head with the palms together, emerges, the top half of his body only, from his mother's right sleeve.

"The Birth of Kanthaka and Chandaka" second–third century, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 13; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 9). "Consecrating with water" (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 10); Mardan Group, around second century, Peshawar Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 41). "The dragon deities pouring streams of hot and cold water over Prince Siddhattha's head" (Tō, *Tonkō e no michi,* p. 96). "The dragon kings Nanda and Upananda venerating the standing Sakyamuni, washing him after his birth" second–third century, Government Museum, Mathurā, H.2 (J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archeological Museum at Mathura* [Allahabad: Government Press, United Provinces, 1910], p. 126).

A discussion of depictions of the Buddha's birth: Foucher, "On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity," 323–25. For a discussion of the Buddha's birth, see Printz, "Buddha's Geburt," 119ff.

137. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 52.

138. It is said that Sakyamuni was born from the queen's side (e.g., *Buddhacarita,* I, 9; *Ta-wu-liang-shou-ching* [*T.* 12:265]). This has been depicted in art; a typical example is the statue in the Māyā Devī temple at Lumbinī.

139. *Ṛg Veda,* X, 90, 11–12.

140. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 52–53.

141. Regarding the dragons (*nāga*) in the Buddha legend, see Yūshō Miyasaka, "Butsuden ni mieru nāga ni tsuite—Indo kodaishi no ichidanmen" (The Nāga in the Buddha legend—one aspect of ancient Indian history), *Chisan gakuhō,* nos. 12, 13 (1964): 145–63. Also by the same author, "Nāga sūhai to buzokuteki mikkyō—Nāga kenkyū yoteki" (Nāga worship and tribal esotericism—Gleanings from Nāga research), in *Indo kotenron,* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1983), pp. 134–36. Tesshin Kadokawa, "Butsuden ni okeru ryūō kambutsu ni tsuite" (Consecration of the Buddha by the dragon kings in Buddhist legend), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 16, no. 1 (December 1967): 118–19. For the use of the word *nāga* in Buddhist writings, see Akira Sadakata, "Butten ni okeru nāga" (The Nāga in Buddhist sutras), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 20, no. 1 (December 1971): 443–48. Also see "Elefant," "Schlange" in *Paul Thieme Kleine Schriften,* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Frantz Steiner Verlag Gmbh, 1971), pp. 443, 513.

142. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 28 (*T.* 2:703bff.).

143. Keimu Tsuda, "Shakuson no gōtan to kanjō ni arawaretaru fumetsu no kannen" (The idea of deathlessness as it appears in the birth of Śākyamuni and the consecration), *Shūkyō kenkyū*, n.s., 4, no. 2 (1927): 71ff.

144. First century B.C.E. (Sugiyama, *Indo no bijutsu*, no. 26). Other examples: "Birth and consecration," beginning of second century, Peshawar Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 20; Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 7-5; *Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 10). "The dragon deities pouring streams of hot and cold water over the prince" (Tō, *Tonkō e no michi*, p. 96). "The dragon kings Nanda and Upananda venerating the standing Sakyamuni, washing him after his birth," second–third century, Government Museum, Mathurā, H.2 (Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum*, p. 126). "The dragon kings venerating the newborn Buddha," Kuṣāṇa dynasty (R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum and Art, A Comprehensive Pictorial Guide Book*, 2d ed. [Mathurā: Government Museum, 1976], fig. 25).

For interpretations of these legends, see Tesshin Kadokawa, "Butsuden ni okeru ryūō kambutsu ni tsuite," pp. 118–19.

145. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 53.

146. This legend does not appear in the most ancient Buddhist writings, but it does appear in later Chinese translations. For example, in the *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, translated by Chih Ch'ien, early third century: "On the evening of the eighth day of the fourth month, when the morning star appeared in the sky, [he was] born from the right side [of his mother] and fell down on the ground, immediately took seven steps and stopped, raising his right hand and saying, 'In all of heaven and earth, I alone am to be honored. The three realms are all suffering: how can there be any ease?' At this time the earth made a great shaking and within the palace all was radiant" (*T.* 3:473c). See also other writings focusing on the life of the Buddha, such as *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, *P'u-yao-ching*, and *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*.

The intent of such legendary material was to suggest that Gotama Buddha was endowed from birth with a mysterious wisdom. The purport of "seven steps" is related to the ancient Indian reverence for the number seven (for example, the Seven Sages, the Seven Buddhas). The legend certainly exerted an influence in China. (Hiroshi Kōzen, "Naze shichiho ka" (Why Seven Steps?), *Chikuma* [November 1967]: 2–6). The Chinese poet Ts'ao Chih (192–232) composed a poem while walking seven steps, and there is a famous poem entitled "Verse of the Seven Steps."

147. Tesshin Kadokawa, "Butsuden ni okeru tanjōge no keisei katei" (Processes in the formation of the birth verse found in Buddha legends), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 15, no. 2 (March 1967): 140–41.

148. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 52.

149. *MN*, no. 123, *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta*. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 8:

Wei-ts'eng-yu-fa-ching (*T.* 1:469c–71c). For a cogent explanation of the meaning of this sutra in terms of Buddha biography, see, for example, Kōgen Mizuno, "Shakuson no gōtan ni kansuru densetsu no nazo" (Mysteries in the legends concerning the birth of Śākyamuni), *Daisekai* (March 1957).

150. For an examination of the various theories of the Buddha's dates, see Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2 (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1933), 597–601; Hakuju Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* (Studies in Indian philosophy), vol. 2 (1965; reprint, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), pp. 1–113; Hajime Nakamura, *Indoshi II* (History of India, vol. 2), vol. 6 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997), pp. 581–619. Also see Junjirō Takakusu, "Buttan nisen-gohyakunen" (Twenty-five hundred years after the Buddha's birth) and Fumio Masutani, "Shakuson gōtan nisen-gohyakunen nendai chōsa hōkoku" (Report on the research of the dating of the 2,500 years after the birth of Śākyamuni), both in Buttan Nisen-gohyakunen Kinen Gakkai, ed., *Bukkyōgaku no Shomondai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935), pp. 275–96.

More recently, Heinz Bechert has suggested that the Northern tradition is more reasonable concerning the dates of the Buddha, although André Bareau accepts the Southern tradition. Bechert himself, however, does not reach a final conclusion. (Presentation by Bechert at the International Symposium on Jaina Canonical and Narrative Literature, Strasbourg, June 16–19, 1981.) Also see Bechert's "The Problem of the Determination of the Date of the Historical Buddha," *WZKS* 33 (1989): 93–120. Recent Japanese research on the subject includes Ryūshō Hikata, "Shakamuni no seizon nendai" (The dates of Śākyamuni), *Nihon gakushiin kiyō* 36, no. 3 (March 1980): 187–202.

Studies that predate modern research include the discussion about the Buddha's birth and death dates in Kyokuga Saheki's (1828–91) *Yuishikiron meisho zakki* (Miscellaneous notes on the famous phrases in the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*), vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1888), sections 1, 31. This is based on Chinese works such as *Chou-shu-i-chi* (周書異記). For the various dates for the Buddha's death suggested in China, Korea, and Japan, and for an explanation of their historical significance, see Hubert Durt, "Butsumetsu nendai saikō—Kan Kan Wa shiryō o chūshin to shite" (Reconsidering the dating of the Buddha's death — centering on Chinese, Korean, and Japanese materials), *Nihon Bukkyōgakkai nempō* 53 (1908): 21–34.

151. Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. 2, pp. 5ff. Inoue and Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden*, pp. 263ff. Hermann Beckh, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. 1 (Berlin: G. J. Göschen, 1916), p. 78. Hermann Jacobi believes that the Buddha died in 484 B.C.E. (See Yenshō Kanakura, *Indo Kodai Seishinshi* (A history of ancient spirituality in India; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1936), pp. 338ff.

152. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 597–601.

153. Mentioned in *Ch'u-san-tsang-chi-chi*, fasc. 11 (*T.* 55:82c); *Li-tai san-pao-chi*, fasc. 11 (*T.* 49:95c); *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao-lu*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 55:535c); *Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 49:544a).

154. *Li-tai-san-pao-chi* (*T.* 49:22).

155. *Shan-chien-lü p'i-p'o-sha* (*T.* 24:673).

156. Masutani, "Shakuson gōtan nisen-gohyakunen nendai chōsa hōkoku," pp. 284–96.

157. *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao-lu*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 55:536a).

158. *Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 49:544a).

159. *Chang-so-chih-lun* (*T.* 32:231b).

160. Gen'ichi Yamazaki, "Upaguputa densetsu kō–Pushirusukii setsu no shōkai o chūshin ni" (The legend of Upagupta—a review of Przyluski's interpretation), in *Tōyōshi ronsō: Enoki hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū* (Studies in Asian history dedicated to Prof. Dr. Enoki on his sixtieth birthday; Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1975), pp. 476–80. For details, refer to Gen'ichi Yamazaki, *Ashōka-ō to sono jidai* (King Aśoka and his time; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1982). His reexamination of the year of the Buddha's death is found on pp. 257–82.

161. *Tsa a-han-ching; Divyāv.*, p. 368, pass.

162. The *Shih-pao-pu-lun* gives: "One hundred sixteen years after the death of the Buddha, there was a city called Pāṭaliputta. King Asoka, king of Jambudīpa, keeping order over the land. At that time, the great *saṅgha* was divided into sects, and the Dharma was diversified" (*T.* 49:18a). The *Pu-chih-i-lun* gives: "After the Buddha Bhagavant's death, a full one hundred years, it was like the bright sun being hidden behind Mount Asta. After a hundred years and sixteen more, there was a great country called Pāṭaliputta. The king's name was Asoka, king of Jambudīpa. His great white umbrella covered the land. During that time, the *saṅgha* fragmented" (*T.* 49:20a).

163. Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*.

164. Karl Julius Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV, 2 (Berlin, 1927).

165. Eugen Hultzsch, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 1, *The Inscriptions of Asoka*, new rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. xxxi, xxxvi.

166. See Hajime Nakamura, *Indoshi II*, 581–619. Some scholars doubt that such a large number of works could have been composed in such a small amount of time if King Aśoka were crowned around a hundred years after the Buddha's death. I maintain that the prose sections of the early Buddhist scriptures were compiled after the time of King Aśoka.

167. Hajime Nakamura, "Mauriya ōchō no nendai ni tsuite" (The dating of the Mauryan dynasty), *Tōhōgaku* 10 (1955): 115–42. I discuss the points raised in this article in detail in my *Indoshi II*.

168. For the date of the Buddha's birth, see Makoto Zemba, "Indo koreki to Bukkyō tenmonreki" (The ancient Indian calendar and the Buddhist astronomical calendar), in *Nakano kyōju koki kinen rombunshū* (A collection of works in com-

memoration of Professor Nakano's seventieth birthday; Wakayama: Kōyasan University, 1960), 213–18. For legends transmitted to Japan, see the related topics in Shinkō Mochizuki, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* (Mochizuki's encylopedia of Buddhism), 10 vols. (Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1932–63).

169. Mochizuki, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, 2126ff.

170. *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching:* "On the evening of the eighth day of the fourth month, when the bright star is appearing" (*T.* 3:473c). *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan* (*T.* 4:1a). No mention is made of the time in the Sanskrit original. This may be an addition made by the translator, Dharmakṣema (385 433).

171. I discuss this point in more detail in the second volume of this book.

172. *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 1:30a–b):

> On the eighth day, the Tathāgata was born; on the eighth day, the Buddha renounced the world; on the eighth day, the Buddha attained enlightenment; on the eighth day [he] passed into extinction; on the eighth day was born the most honored of two-legged beings [the Buddha]; on the eighth day [he] came out of the sanctuary of austerities; on the eighth day [he] attained the supreme Way; on the eighth day [he] entered the realm of nirvana. In the second month, the Tathāgata was born; in the second month, the Buddha renounced the world; in the second month, the Buddha attained enlightenment; on the eighth day [he] passed into extinction; in the second month was born the most honored of two-legged beings [the Buddha]; in the second month [he] came out of the sanctuary of austerities; in the second month [he] attained the supreme Way; on the eighth day [he] entered the realm of nirvana.

I discuss the dates of Sakyamuni in my *Indoshi II*, vol. 6 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997). Recent research includes W. Pachaw, "A Study of the Dotted Record," *JAOS* 85 (September 1965): 342–49. Theories on this subject from scholars around the world have been collected in Heinz Bechert, ed., *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*, part 1, Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung 4, I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991). This collection is the report of the symposium on Buddhist research conducted by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, April 11–18, 1988, and also includes papers by some who did not attend the symposium.

173. Suddhodana's visit: Archaeological Museum, Amarāvatī (*WOB*, pl. 18): eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. 19). The return and ablutions: Third–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. 28); "A small privy, with two people cleaning outside" (Tō, *Tonkō e no michi*, p. 96); "Return to Kapilavastu" (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 12).

174. A sage (*isi*) named Asita was the court priest (*purohita*) of Suddhodana's father, Sīhahanu. He acted as teacher of arts (*sippācariya*) for Suddhodana before his accession, after which time he became court priest (*Pj.*, p. 479). The legend of

Asita prophesying the Buddha's future when he was born at Kapilavatthu: *Sn.*, III, 11; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 54, l. 32; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 49–57; *Buddha-carita,* I, 54; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fascs. 2, 3 (*T.* 24:108a–10b); *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 1: *Ta-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:4c–5a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:627a–28a); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:473c–74a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463c–65a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:556b–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 3:693c–98b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:496a–b).

Artistic expressions of the legend include: "Asita's prophecy," second–third century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 10); second century, from Amarāvatī, British Museum (*WOB,* pl. II-29); second–third century, from Naogram, Lahore Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 142); Borobuḍur, relief (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 32); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. II-30; *Nagarj.,* pl. XVII); eleventh century, Ānanda Temple in Pagan, Myanmar (*WOB,* pl. II-31); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB* pl. II-32; *Nagarj.,* pl. XXV, p. 160); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 13).

175. *Sn.,* 679. "Thirty Deities": the group of the thirty deities (*tidisa-gana*). Buddhaghosa notes that this refers to the Thirty-three Deities (*tidisagaṇa* = *Tāvatiṃsa; Pj.,* p. 484). In a note in his translation of the *Dīgha-Nikāya,* T. W. Rhys Davids translates *Tāvatiṃsa* as "the gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three" (*Dialogues of the Buddha,* part 2, 4th ed., vol. 3 of Sacred Books of the Buddhists [London: Pali Text Society, 1959], 103, 104, note 2). In the *Mahāpari-nirvāṇa-sūtra* (p. 190) it says *tridaśe pratiṣṭhitā,* which the Chinese version (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih,* fasc. 36 [*T.* 24:387a]) translates as *San-shih-san-t'ien* (三十三天; "Thirty-three deities"). Most Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures give either *San-shih-san-t'ien* or *Tao-li-t'ien* (忉利天; a phonetic translation of *Tāvatiṃsa*). Later Abhidhamma commentaries indicated that a total of thirty-three deities lived on the summit of Mount Sumeru, in the second heaven of the realm of desire; they comprised Indra (the most powerful deity in the *Ṛg Veda*) and eight deities in each of the directions. See *AN,* vol. 3, p. 339; *Sv.,* vol. 1, p. 310; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 1, p. 262.

176. *Sn.,* 680, 681.

177. *Sn.,* 682. "Quickly": *khippa.* Other recensions have the adverbial form *khippaṃ,* and this is how I interpret it.

178. "In the grove of the sages" (*Isivhaye vane*) refers to Sārnāth on the outskirts of Bārāṇasī. Today it is grassy, but at the time it must have been wooded and therefore called *vana* (grove). "Turn the wheel [of the Dharma]" refers to the Buddha's preaching activities.

179. *Sn.,* 683–87. "Overwhelming rapture welled up"; *alattha pītiṃ* = *pītiṃ labhi* (*Pj.,* p. 487).

180. *Sn.,* 688. A parasol is the symbol of regal authority. Buddhaghosa (*Pj.,* p. 487) glosses it "divine white parasol" (*dibbasetacchatta*). "Fluttered up and down": *vītipatantī ti sarīraṃ vījamānā, patanuppatanaṃ karonti* (*Pj.,* p. 487).

181. *Asita* means "black," as does *Kaṇha*. *Śrī*, the Sanskrit form of Hindī *siri*, is the usual honorific title employed in India. The equivalent of the Sanskrit form, as in *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, is often used even today. *Asitavhayassā* (v. 686): *ti Asitanāmassa dutiyena nāmena Kaṇhadevalassa isino. . . . Kaṇhasirivhyaho* (v. 689): *ti kaṇhasaddena ca siri-saddena ca avhayamāno, taṃ kira Sirikaṇho ti pi avhayanti, āmantenti, ālapantī ti vuttaṃ hoti* (*Pj.*, p. 487). "Matted locks" (*jaṭi*) is regularly translated into Chinese as *lo-chi* (螺髻) or *lo-fa* (螺髮), "spiral hair," because this style of hair tied in a tuft looks like the protuberance of a spiral shell. Such hair can be seen on Indian ascetics even today.

182. "He, the one . . . mantras"; *so lakkhaṇamantapāragū ti lakkhaṇānañ ca vedānañ ca pāragato* (*Pj.*, ad v. 690). The chief task of the Brahmins of the time would have been the ability to prophesy according to distinctive marks and the mastery of the *Vedas*.

183. "Which is supremely purified" is equal in meaning to nirvana. The expression is used because everything included in nirvana is absolutely purified.

184. "Holy life" refers to the Buddha's teachings (*brahmacariyaṃ ti sāsanaṃ* [*Pj.*, p. 489]). This means that his teachings are actual practice.

185. *Sn.*, 689–97. "Holy man": *tādin*. For my reasoning behind this interpretation, see my *Vēdānta tetsugaku no hatten* (The development of Vedanta philosophy; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1955), 500, 501. Early Jainism employed *tāin*.

186. For the *cakkavattin* and the thirty-two signs, see *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-suttanta*, I, 5 (vol. 1, pp. 88–89).

187. It already appears in the *Ssu-fen-lü* (*T.* 22:779b–c).

188. *Sn.*, 698. "Realm of the supreme sages": *moneyyaseṭṭha* = *ñāṇuttama* = *maggañāṇa*, the highest of pure practices.

189. *Sn.*, 699, 700.

190. The oldest of the prose versions of the birth legend is the *Acchariyabbhuta-dhamma-sutta* (*MN*, no. 123, vol. 3, pp. 118–24). For a detailed examination of this point, see Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, pp. 103–43.

191. *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, *DN*, no. 14, I, 29 (vol. 2, p. 15).

192. Verses similar to this one exist only in Chinese translations of works composed at a later period; they have not been found in Sanskrit or Pāli texts. For example, see *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 1: *Ta-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:4c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:687b); *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 20 (*T.* 24:298a); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:902a).

193. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 6, 1, cf. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 7, 2; *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 9, 27; *Chānd. Up.*, V, 12, 2, cf. *Chānd. Up.*, I, 3, 26. Under their influence, Buddhism also threatened that the head would split (*Sn.*, 1025, 1026; *Dhp.*, 72). Also, "the head will break into seven fragments" (*SN*, "Sagāthavagga," II, 1, 9, 6; vol. 1, p. 50). Also refer to notes in my Japanese translation of the *Suttanipāta* (*Budda no kotoba* [The words of the Buddha; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], 415–17).

194. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 54–55.

195. "Silken": The original text says *duṣya*, which I interpret as *dūṣya*. This sec-

tion corresponds to a passage in the seventh fascicle of the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* (*T.* 3:685bff.), though there are considerable differences in the content. The *Mahāvastu* version is easier to understand.

196. *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, pp. 18–19.

197. *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 20.

198. *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 22.

199. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:687b).

200. *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 23.

201. "Right side": in Chinese translation *yu-hsieh* (右脇; "right side"); in the original, *pārśvāt* ("side"). Considering generally accepted ideas among Indians, however, without doubt we can translate it as "right side."

202. Translated into Chinese as *kuan-ting* (灌頂; "sprinking water on the head [in consecration])."

203. "*T'ien-tze*": 天子.

204. The expression *arthaḥ sidhyati,* meaning "to achieve one's purpose," is very common.

205. "Hsi-t'o t'ai-tzu": 悉陀太子.

206. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 55–56.

207. *Jātaka,* p. 57.

CHAPTER 2: YOUTH

1. For example, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Nidānakathā.* For accounts of the Buddha's childhood and youth, see the various Chinese translations of Buddha lives in the bibliography of this book and the *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 54f. Frequently quoted is Henry Clarke Warren's translation of the appropriate section in the latter, *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), 48–56. Other materials for reference include Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1 (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), pp. 57–61; Salomon Lefmann, ed., *Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha* (Halle a S.: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902 8), VIIIf.; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:110b–11c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:627c–28a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:703b–5b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:559a–60b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:498a–99a).

2. *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 49, 52); *Buddhacarita,* II, 18. "When seven full days had passed since the prince was born, his mother's life ended" (*Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 [*T.* 3:627c]).

3. *Buddhacarita,* II, 19. "Then the younger sister of the mother, Mahāpajāpatī, nursed the prince, like his own mother, with no difference at all" (*Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 1 [*T.* 3:627c]). Mahāpajāpatī: *Mahā* is part of the name

itself, not an honorific title. Similarly, the element *ācarya* in the name Śaṅkarācārya is not an honorific title but part of the name.

4. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 50 (*T.* 2:821–22); *Ta-ai-tao pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 2:867–69); *Fo-mu pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 2:869–70).

5. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 57.

6. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 57.

7. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 59–60.

8. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 57–58.

9. Ikṣvāku dynasty, third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978], p. 161, no. 52).

10. Legends concerning the prince's education: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 57; *Buddhacarita*, II, 18–19; *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:495a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:627c–28a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3: 556a–b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:4b); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b–c).

11. *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b–c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:627c).

12. Lefmann, *Lalitavistara*, pp. 124–26. Dharmarakṣa's 308 C.E. Chinese translation of this, *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:498a), translates *Viśvāmitra* as *hsüan-yu* (選友; "chosen friend") and *lipiśālā* as *shu-t'ang* (書堂; "writing hall"). The *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:703b), translates the latter as *hsüeh-t'ang* (学堂; "hall of learning"). The *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:559), called *Viśvāmitra po-shih* (博士; "learned person") and the school *hsüeh-t'ang*.

13. *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 3:465b).

14. Pa-t'o-lo-ni: 跋陀羅尼 (*T.* 3:628a).

15. Going to school: fourth century, from Gandhāra. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (*WOB*, pl. II-36); second–fourth century, from Gandhāra. Peshawar Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-37); eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-38; Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], p. 85); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 14, 15).

16. Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* (Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], no. 13.

17. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:704a).

18. Descriptions relating to his meditation experiences when young: *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:560b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:629a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:705b–7a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:499a–c).

19. *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, p. 246).

20. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 58.

21. *AN*, III, 38 (vol. 1, p. 145). *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 29 (117): *Jou-juan-ching*

(*T.* 1:607c–8a); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 2:608). The Pāli version does not mention where the words were spoken. A similar story is told of the life of Vipassin Buddha (*DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* [vol. 2, p. 21]).

22. *Atisitvā,* derived from *atisarati,* "to overlook, ignore" (V. Treubner, Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, and Hans Hendriksen, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary,* vol. 1 [Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1924–48], p. 91).

23. *AN,* III, 38 (vol. 1, pp. 145–46). The Chinese translation uses the expressions *lao-fa* (老法; "law of old age"), *ping-fa* (病法; "law of sickness"), and *ssu-fa* (死法; "law of death"), which we can interpret as "It is my fate that I am also destined to grow old, to fall ill, to die, and I cannot escape that fate."

24. *AN,* vol. 1, pp. 146–47.

25. *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta, MN,* no. 14 (vol. 1, p. 92).

26. *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta, MN,* no. 14 (vol. 1, p. 92). *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 25 (100): *K'u-ying-ching* (*T.* 1:586–88).

27. *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 29 (117): *Jou-juan-ching* (*T.* 1:607c–8a).

28. *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 2:608b–c).

29. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101b–2a). This text tells of the prince setting out from the eastern, southern, and western gates, but not from the northern. It only says that "he turned his chariot around and returned" (*T.* 22:101c). See also *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:502c–3a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 3:719c–25b).

30. The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (*MN,* no. 26 [vol. 1, pp. 160–75]) tells, in the form of a discourse given by the Buddha to his followers, of his reflections up until the time of his renunciation, his practice under Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, his meditation and enlightenment at Uruvelā, what led to his decision to preach the Law, and his first discourse at Deer Park. See also the Chinese version, *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:775–78).

31. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN,* no. 26 (vol. 1, p. 163). *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204) (*T.* 1:776a–b). A similar reflection occurs in the *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta, MN,* no. 14 (vol. 1, p. 91), and *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 25 (100): *K'u-yin-ching* (*T.* 1:586bff.)

32. *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, pp. 21–22).

33. *Buddhacarita,* III, 26–62. The earliest reference to this episode in the Pāli texts is in the *Vimānavatthu* 81. (H. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* [Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881], p. 114.)

34. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 58–59.

35. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 59.

36. For example, *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:466b–67c), etc.

37. Legends concerning "The Excursion from the Four Gates": *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta,* II, 3 (vol. 2, p. 23); *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 58, l. 31; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 65–75; *Buddhacarita,* III, 26–65; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:101b–2a); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:112c–14a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-*

ching, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:466b–67c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b–75a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:629c–30b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 14 (*T.* 3:719c–20c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:570a–c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:502c–3c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:5c–6c).

38. From Sāñcī (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 9); sixth century, from Ajantā (*WOB*, pl. 44); "Seeing the old man": eighth century, from Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-45; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 94); "Seeing the sick man": eighth century, from Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-46; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 95); "Seeing the corpse": eighth century, from Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-47; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 95); "Seeing the *bhikkhu*": eighth century, from Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-48; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 96); "The prince's excursion": (Daijō Tokiwa and Tadashi Sekino, *Chūgoku Bunka Shiseki* [Historical sites of Chinese culture], vol. 1 [Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1975], p. 3).

39. "The newly married couple observing birth, old age, sickness, and death in the human being": from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 21).

40. Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 75–76; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:114a). The subject in Buddhist art: latter half of second century, from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum (Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 41); third–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (*WOB*, pl. 33; *Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 20); eleventh century, Ānanda Temple, Pagan, Myanmar (*WOB*, pl. 34, 35; Kengo Tō, *Tonkō e no michi* [The way to Tun-huang; Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1978], p. 96; Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, *Budda no sekai* [Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], p. 472); "Watching the farm laborers under the tree": Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 86).

41. *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:475a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:629b).

42. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 58.

43. Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 781–82. *Yasodharā* means "lady who preserves honor" or "lady of honor." The Chinese transliterates it as Yeh-shu-t'o-lo (耶輸陀羅). The name Yaśodharā is also recorded in Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 82f.

44. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 119.

45. *AN*, vol. 1, p. 25.

46. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, p. 84.

47. P. L. Vaidya, ed., *Lalitavistara*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, vol. 1 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1958), pp. 100–6; R. Mitra, ed., *Lalita Vistara, or, Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākya Suñha*, Bibliotheca Indica 15 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853–77), pp. 162f.; Lefmann, *Lalitavistara*, pp. 142f. Hermann Beckh says that the *Lalitavistara* gives Yaśovatī (*Der Buddhismus*, vol. 1 [Berlin: Sammlung Göschen, 1916], p. 82.) *Buddhacarita*, II, 46. "At that time a Sakya, Daṇḍapāṇi, had an

infant girl. Her name was Yasodharā. [Her] figure was seemly, a rare [person] in the world" (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 3 [*T.* 24:111c]).

48. In the *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:465b), Ch'iu-i (裘夷); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:472c–73a), Ch'u-i (瞿夷; Gopī? Gopikā?); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:502a), Chu-i (俱夷). This legend was widely known in Japan. In Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji monogatari* (Tale of the Genji), fasc. 4, is the phrase, "[I] wish that I had the insight of Prince Kui [Ch., Ch'u-i], who instinctively knew the truth about his birth." Tokuhei Yamagishi commented on this as follows:

> Prince Kui was Śākyamuni's legitimate son, known as Rāhula. He was so called because his mother's name was Kui [Gopī]. The *Genchūsaihishō* [a commentary on the *Genji monogatari*, originally compiled in the thirteenth century by Minamoto no Chikayuki] says: "Rāhula was the son of Kui." Kui was Siddhārtha's principal wife. Chapter five of the *Jikkinshō* [the thirteenth-century collection of tales with moral lessons for the young], in the part concerning Emperor Ankō [r. 453–56], says: "The Tathāgata Śākyamuni married Kui [Gopī], and did not lessen his aspiration for enlightenment." . . . All Blue-Covered manuscripts, including Yoshida and Hokuni manuscripts, besides the source book [for Yamagishi's edition, i.e., the Sanjōnishi manuscript], give Prince Zengyō, but Emperor Goyōzei and Kujō manuscripts add [*kana* beside Chinese characters] which read "Kuī." The identity of "Zengyō" is not clear, but it could refer to Subhadra, that is, Zenken [Ch., Shan-chien] (*Genji monogatari*, edited and annotated by Tokuhei Yamagishi, vol. 17 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* [Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962], p. 497, additional n. 265).

However, the sutras referred to above all say that Subhadra was the father of Gopī.

49. G. P. Malalasekera, ed., *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Luzac & Co., 1960), vol. 2, pp. 741–44. References to her are all gathered under the entry "Rāhulamātā."

50. "At that time the Bodhisatta had three wives. Migajā, Gopikā, and Yasodharā. Yasodharā was the principal [wife]. Each of the three wives had 20,000 female attendants" (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 3 [*T.* 24:114b]). See Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, p. 423.

51. "When the prince had reached seventeen, the king furnished [him] with a consort" (*T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 3:475a]). The Chinese character *wei* (為) should here be read as the dative. This character can be interpreted as "à cause de cela, pour cette raison" (Stanislas Julien, *Syntax nouvelle de la langue chinoise*, vol. 1 [Paris: Libraire de Maisonneuve, 1869], p. 120.)

52. Legends regarding the selection of a bride: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 58, l. 11; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 62, 64, 78. Reports that Sakyamuni had a number of wives: *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:111c–12c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-*

ching, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:707a–8c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:561a–b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:500a–c). Refer also to note 1 in this chapter.

Legends about the marriage: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 62, 64, 78; *Buddhacarita,* II, 26–33; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:111c–12c, 114b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 3:712c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:564c–65a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:502a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:629b); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:463b–c).

Artistic representations of the betrothal: from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 18); second–third century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 18, 20). Marriage to Yasodharā: second–third century, from Gandhāra, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 19). Depiction of the wedding ceremony between the Bodhisatta and Yasodharā with the hands of the couple joined and held over a flame. Water pitchers are beside the fire: from Gandhāra (*WOB,* pl. II-40). The wedding ceremony: *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 19; also shown at Borobuḍur (eighth century). Brahmins anointing with water (*WOB,* pl. 41). The bride accompanied by the court priest meeting the prince: Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 18; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* pp. 87–88, 91).

53. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 24:149b–150a).

54. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 60, l. 20; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 2, pp. 30–32; *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:5a).

55. *Rāhulajāto, bandhanaṃ jātaṃ ti* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 60).

56. *Buddhacarita,* II, 46.

57. *Sn.,* 465, 498.

58. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 60.

59. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 58.

60. Legends relating to the archery competition: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 58, l. 24; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 62–64; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:112b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:564b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:628c–29a); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 3:710b–11a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:501c–2a).

The archery competition in art: eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. II-39); from Peshawar (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 91; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 16; Tō, *Tonkō e no michi,* p. 97). Suddhodana greeting the victorious Prince Siddhattha: from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 17).

61. The legend of the wrestling match: *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:111b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 3:711c–12a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:564a–b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:501c). The wrestling match in art: Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* p. 472.

62. The legend of subduing the elephant: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 57; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 24:111a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 13 (*T.* 3:712a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:628b–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying*

pen-ch'i-ching, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474b); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:465c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:562b–c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:501a).

63. *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102a).

64. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 61.

65. Legends relating to the slovenly attitudes of the sleeping women: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 61, l. 13; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 81–82; *Lalitavistara*, p. 251; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 159; *Buddhacarita*, V, 44–65; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:115a–c); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:467b–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:474c–75c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:632a–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 3:728c–29b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:573b–74a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:504c–5a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:6c–7b).

The pleasures of the palace in art: second century, from Gandhāra, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 21). Entertainment at the palace the night before the renunciation, the sleeping court women: first half of third century, from Jamrūd, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 30); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 66); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. 43; Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 119); Amarāvatī (*WOB*, pl. 49); eighth century, Borobuḍur, showing three palaces (*WOB*, pl. 42; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 22 et seq.).

66. The significance of the Buddha's renunciation in terms of modern existential philosophy is discussed by Yoshinori Takeuchi in "Budda no shutsudō" (Buddha's renunciation of the secular world), *Tetsugaku kikan*, no. 4 (1947): 94–124. Takeuchi discusses the Buddha's search for the Way from the viewpoint of comparative religions in "Gudō jidai no Budda" (The Buddha when seeking the Way), *Tetsugaku kenkyū* 34, no. 2 (1950): 1–17 and 37, no. 10 (1955): 1–17.

67. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:776b). See also the verse quoted below in the text.

68. The following scriptures state that Gotama renounced the world at the age of nineteen: *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:467c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:475b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:632b); *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 25:80c). Those that favor the age of twenty-nine are discussed in Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), p. 205 et seq. Following are citations on this issue.

Indic sources: "When I was twenty-nine, Subhadda, I left home to seek the good. Now more than fifty years have passed, Subhadda, since I renounced the world" (*Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, V, 27). The Sanskrit text is identical:

ekonatriṃśo vayasā Subhadra

yat prāvrajaṃ kiṃ kuśalaṃ gaveṣī/
pañcāśad varṣāṇi samādhikāni
yataścāhaṃ pravrajitaḥ Subhadra//

(*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, 40, 29; Ernst Waldschmidt, ed., *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950–51], p. 376).

Chinese sources: "In the past I left home, and [after] twelve years I attained the Way and achieved buddhahood. I began preaching and teaching the Law, and fifty years have passed since I abandoned my home" (*Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 1:187c]). The passage from this Chinese translation of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* indicates, however, that Gotama would have left home at nineteen, since he died at eighty. "Forty-nine years have passed since I began converting and teaching" (*Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 1:171c]). "When I was twenty-nine I renounced the world and sought the Way of good, Subhadda. Fifty years have passed since I attained buddhahood" (*Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4: *Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:25b]). "When I was twenty-nine I renounced the world to seek that which was good. And for fifty-odd years I undertook the practice of discipline, meditation, and wisdom, pursuing only the right principle without having my mind distracted" (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 38 [*T.* 24:396c]). "Thereupon at twenty-nine I abandoned my throne and left the palace. For six years I undertook ascetic practice, and then I attained perfect enlightenment" (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 20 [*T.* 24:299a]). "When I was twenty-nine I renounced the world and learned the Way. At thirty-six, under the *bodhi* tree, I contemplated the ultimate basis of the Noble Eightfold Path and attained perfect and complete enlightenment" (*Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, fasc. 2 [*T.* 1:204a]). The assumption inherent here that Gotama practiced austerities for seven years agrees with the "seven years of austerities" of ancient *gāthās* in the Pāli canon. Comparatively ancient scriptures say that the Buddha renounced the world at twenty-nine: "At the prime age of twenty-nine . . . [I], with a perfect mind, abandoned home, [entered] homelessness, and studied the Way" (*Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* [*T.* 1:776b]). "When the crown prince was twenty-nine, he firmly determined to renounce the world and study the Way. On the very day [he] renounced the world, [he] attained buddhahood that same evening" (*Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 13 [*T.* 2:609c]). The assertion that Gotama attained buddhahood as soon as he renounced the world is worthy of note. This does not reflect the idea of sudden enlightenment but indicates the ordinary practice at the time of calling all who had renounced the world to seek the Way "buddha," as seen in the such texts as the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*. "The Buddha renounced the world at twenty-nine and attained the Way at thirty-five" (*Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching*, fasc. 4 [*T.* 4:146c–47a]). The period between the Buddha's renunciation and enlightenment is also described in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (*MN*, no. 36 [vol. 2, pp. 237–51]), of which there is no Chinese equivalent. The episode is known in the West especially through the *Nidānakathā*. See Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 56–71.

69. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN,* no. 26 (vol. 1, p. 163). *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:776b). Cf. *Mahāsaccaka-sutta, MN,* no. 36 (vol. 1, p. 240). "At that time, the Bodhisatta gradually grew in magnificence, endowed with various powers. In a quiet place, he thought,

> "When I observe the world, there is suffering everywhere. There is birth, there is old age, there is sickness, there is death, there is dying in this [world] and then rebirth in another. Because of the body, suffering is never-ending. How can such a life of suffering be exhausted?" At that time the Bodhisatta was in his youth. His hair was reddish blue, and his facial attributes were special. When he was in his prime, he did not have a desire for pleasure in his mind; his father and mother lamented and cried, not wanting him to renounce the world and study the Way. But the Bodhisatta went against his parents' [wishes] and cut off his own hair and beard, put on the robe [of a *samaṇa*], and abandoned his home to enter into homelessness (*Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 [*T.* 22:779c]).

70. *Soṇadaṇḍa-suttanta, DN,* no. 4 (vol. 1, p. 115). *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 (22): *Chung-te-ching* (*T.* 1:95a).

71. *Kūṭadanta-suttanta, DN,* no. 5 (vol. 1, pp. 131–32).

72. Legends of the renunciation are found in *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 61, l. 31; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 84–91; *Lalitavistara,* p. 277; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 141; *Buddhacarita,* V, 65–87; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:115c–17b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:574c–76a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:505b–6a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 17 (*T.* 3:730b–33b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:9b–10c).

The renunciation in art: Leaving the city, the sleeping palace women: first half of third century, Gandhāra, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 30; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 22); third century, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Terukazu Akiyama, ed., *Gime Tōyō Bijutsukan* [Guimet Museum], vol. 14 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], pl. 6); Amarāvatī (*WOB,* pl. II-49); third century, from Haḍḍa (Akiyama, *Gime Tōyō Bijutsukan,* pl. 56); eighth century, Borobuḍur, with three palaces shown (*WOB,* pl. 42; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* pp. 97–98). Life in the palace (upper panel), renunciation (lower panel): second century, from Jamrūd, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri shashinshū— Gandara* [Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 43). Birth, renunciation, leaving the palace: second–third century, Peshawar, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-7). Life in the palace, renunciation: second–third century, Jamrūd, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-8). Flight from the palace: end of first century B.C.E., Sāñcī, Stupa 1, east gateway, front face (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 11; *WOB,* pl. II-50); third century, Amarāvatī,

British Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-51; Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 1 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 169; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 89, 91); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. II-52; Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 335); third century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. II-53; Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 1, pl. 161; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], p. 60, no. 7; Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* [Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'ei-kaku, 1911], p. 96); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, nos. 22, 23; *Wonder*, pl. XXXV); Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 99); wall painting, eighth century, Khocho (*West Berlin*, pl. 92).

73. Walter Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1954), p. 121.

74. "The good": *Kusala*. Cf. *kiṃkusalagavesī* (*MN*, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, no. 26 [vol. 1, pp. 163, 165, 166]).

75. *DN*, no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, V, 27 (vol. 2, p. 151G).

76. *Na tāvad Buddhā bhagavanto parinirvāyanti yāvad yuvarājā anabhiṣikto bhavati* (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, p. 63, l. 3).

77. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 66G.

78. "Nonaction": *akiriyā*. The term probably refers to the idea that there is neither reward nor punishment in the future.

79. *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta*, *DN*, no. 2, 17–18 (vol. 1, pp. 52–53).

80. *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta*, *DN*, no. 2, 23–24 (vol. 1, p. 55).

81. *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta*, *DN*, no. 2, 26–27 (vol. 1, p. 56).

82. The *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, the oldest scripture that introduces non-Buddhist philosophies and their teachers (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 66 G; *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 49 [*T.* 2:359c–60a]), mentions Pūraṇa Kassapa and Pakudha Kaccāyana and their practices, but Ajita's name does not appear.

83. Also called *nekkhamma*. For the meaning of this word and of *abhinikkhamma*, see Genjun H. Sasaki, "The Historical Evolution of the Concept of Negation: *Nekkhamma* and *Naiṣkarmya*," *JAOS* 83, no. 4 (1963): 477–84.

84. *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, p. 52).

85. *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102a–b).

86. The *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:634a), says: "The attendant Channa, trying to dissuade Prince Siddhattha from renouncing the world, made a final plea, but the prince reasoned with him as follows: 'Do not say such things. All things in the world are made to part; none remain together unchanging forever. On the seventh day after my birth my mother died. Even mother and child are parted by death. How much more unrelated people. Do not follow me. Return to the palace with my horse, Kanthaka, which I rode here.' The prince thus urged [Channa] repeatedly, but Channa was reluctant to leave."

87. Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* (London: Trübner, 1871), pp. 486ff.

88. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 1, p. 103.

89. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 61–64.

90. The legend of cutting the hair: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 64, l. 28; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 91, 93; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 195; *Buddhacarita*, VI; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:117b–c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3: 576a–c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:633b); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:475c–76a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:468a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 18 (*T.* 3:735a–b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:506a–b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:10b–c).

Cutting the hair in art: eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-55; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 100); Tibetan banner, seventeenth century, Musée Guimet (*WOB*, pl. II-56); Ikṣvāku dynasty, third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Machida, *Nyūderī bijutsukan*, no. 5). One version of the legend relates that Gotama parted from Kanthaka and cut his hair and beard upon entering the grove of the ascetics. Indra received the hair and beard with a heavenly robe, leaving not even a strand, and ascending to the Heaven of the Thirty-three enshrined it in the Vejayanta Palace. Indra and others venerating Gotama's hair at Vejayanta Palace: second century B.C.E., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. II-57). Gods holding up the Buddha's head ornaments: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, National Museum, New Delhi (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 241; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 31). Carrying Gotama's hair (*Nagarj.*, p. 114, pl. XVI). The Bodhisatta receiving a *bhikkhu*'s robe: eighth century, Borobudur (*WOB*, pl. II-58). Parting with Kanthaka: second–fourth century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-54). The groom and horse returning from the palace: Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 29). Gotama bidding farewell to his groom and horse (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 24; Tō, *Tonkō e no michi*, pp. 97, 119).

91. Chandaka's return in literature: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 91; *Buddhacarita*, VIII; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:117c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:577a–78a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:633b–34a); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:475c–76a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 18 (*T.* 3:735b–37c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:506b–7b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 4:10c–12b).

Artistic depiction of the events surrounding Gotama leaving the palace: Kuṣāṇa dynasty, Gandhāra, Fujii Yūrinkan (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 72). Giving the jewels to Channa and changing robes: Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. II-54). The return of Kanthaka and Channa: relief, Archaeological Museum of Swat (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, p. 473); second century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 29).

92. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 64–65.

93. *Vimānavatthu,* 81, vv. 15–22, p. 74. This legend continues to have an important meaning in the Southern Buddhist tradition. In Myanmar, when a man becomes a *bhikkhu,* he is dressed in beautiful silk robes like a prince and is seated in a decorated vehicle, which is pulled through the streets. This is based on the legend of Gotama abandoning the pleasures of this world to enter the homeless state.

CHAPTER 3: SEEKING THE WAY

1. *Buddhacarita,* VIII, 86.

2. *Buddhacarita,* IX, 8.

3. The legend of the meeting with the hermit Bhārgava: Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1 (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), pp. 93–94; *Buddhacarita,* IX, 1–72; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:118b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:634b–c), fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:636b–37a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 20 (*T.* 3:745a–47b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 4:12b, 13c–14a).

4. *Pj.,* pp. 383–84. Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), p. 481.

5. *Sn.,* 416, 417.

6. Hajime Nakamura, *Indoshi I* (History of India, vol. 1), vol. 5 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997), 409–13.

7. The city of Rājagaha was walled, like Chinese cities. In Korea, by contrast, castles were mountain strongholds, used for refuge in emergencies by both the military and the common people. A rare example of a Korean type of castle in Japan can be seen near Dazaifu, on northern Kyūshū. Most Japanese castles were for the defense of the military and were closed to commoners.

8. Hsüan-tsang called the old city "Shang-ya kung-tien" (上茅宮殿) and "Chü-she-chieh-lo-pu-lo-ch'eng" (矩奢揭羅補羅城) (Skt., Kuśāgrapura; Pāli, Kusaggapura).

9. Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), pp. 271–72.

10. According to the *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan,* the new city was built by Ajātasattu. For a discussion of Rājagaha, see Chikyō Yamamoto, "Seichi Ōshajō" (Sacred Place, Rājagṛha), *Mikkyō bunka,* no. 56 (August 1961): 42–52.

11. Akanuma, *Shakuson,* p. 272.

12. In the *Tsa a-han-ching* and other texts the name of this mountain was transliterated into Chinese as *Ch'i-she-chüeh shan* (耆闍崛山). Buddhaghosa says that Vulture Peak was so named because a vulture lived on its summit or because a rock on the summit resembled a vulture (*Sv.,* vol. 2, p. 516). Stratified large rocks reminiscent of the outspread wings of a vulture constitute the summit today.

13. Hermann Jacobi, ed., *Pariśiṣṭaparvan,* pp. 42, 45–46 (according to Hermann Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras,* vol. 22 of SBE [Oxford: The University Press, 1884;

Reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, 1964], p. xiv, n. 1). The Greeks called Palimbothra (Pāṭaliputta) the greatest city in India (*megistē polis* [*Arrianos*, X, 5]; *polis megistē Indōn* [*Arrianos*, II, 9]).

14. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta,* King Ajātasattu had a castle built in the town of Pāṭaligāma as a defense against the Vajji (Skt., Vṛji) tribe. Jaina and Hindu sources say that Pāṭaliputra (also called Kusumapura) was built by King Udāyin (or Udāyibhadda) as his capital (Jaina: *Pariśiṣṭaparvan,* ed. Jacobi, VI, 34, 175–80; Hindu: *Gārgī-Saṃhitā, Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* [ed. Kern], 36; *Vāyu-Purāṇa*). The Hindu sources say that he built it in the fourth year of his reign (Hemacandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India,* 6th ed. [Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1923], 217).

15. *Puruttama* (*Therag.*, 622).

16. *Pabbajjā-sutta* (*Sn.*, 405–24). This section also appears in É. Senart, ed., *Le Mahâvastu,* vol. 2 ([Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1882–97], p. 198); a comparative study of the passages in the two works has been made by Ernst Windisch (*Māra und Buddha* [Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895], 245 50). Virtually the same passage also appears in the *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:779–80) and in the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:118–19). An abridged version is found in the *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102b–c). There is a need for comparative study of these passages and a Jaina scripture (J. Charpentier, ed., *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra,* 20 [Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryekeri, Aktie bolage, 1922]).

17. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, v. 405 ff.

18. An information board at the site states: "This area enclosed by a slick stone wall with corner bastions may mark the prison in which King Bimbisāra was confined by his son Ajātaśatru. In one of the stone cells inside was found an iron manacle."

19. Recorded as *hathakaḍī bhilī hai.*

20. The sign there refers to them as the "Bhaṇḍār Caves," and states: "The two caves are possibly Jaina monuments of 3rd–4th centuries A.D. as indicated by the Sanskrit inscription on the left wall of the entrance to the western cave and by Jaina carvings in the eastern cave. A Vishṇu image of the Gupta Period [ca. 320–ca. 550] was also found in the collapsed [ ]sis of the roof of the eastern cave."

21. Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* (Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples), vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* (Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968), no. 61.

22. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:921b–c); after Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (1884; Delhi: Orient Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), 155 56 (amended).

23. Research is necessary to compare the conversation in the "Renunciation of the World" section with the account in the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra,* 20. The Pāli for "renunciation of the world" is *pabbajjā,* literally, "going forth." The fact that

Jaina scriptures relate a similar procedure indicates that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra acted in accordance with the religious customs of the time in renouncing the world.

24. *Sn.*, 405–8. It is said that these verses were spoken by Ānanda, the Buddha's beloved disciple and attendant (*Pj.*, p. 308). Although this is a very ancient verse section, the expression "completely endowed with excellent marks" indicates that idealization and deification of the Buddha were already occurring. See also verses 1019, 1021, and 1022.

25. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism* (London: Constable and Co., 1910; reprint, Delhi: Bharatiya Publishing House, 1976), p. 32, n.

26. "[His] stooping and stretching, looking up and down, and walking, all were [his] schools. [He] looks before [him], proceeding straight ahead, not looking left or right" (*Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 [*T.* 22:779c]).

27. *Sn.*, 409–11. The "king's messengers" would have been spies. Their role, somewhat similar to that of the Japanese *oniwaban*, was described by Megasthenes in the section on caste in *Tā Indika.*

28. *Āy.*, I, 8, 1, 4.

29. *Manu-smṛti*, VI, 68.

30. *Sn.*, 412–13.

31. Mount Paṇḍava was one of the five mountains that surrounded Rājagaha.

32. *Sn.*, 414–16.

33. *Sn.*, 417–18.

34. The original reads: *nisajja rāja sammodi katham sāraṇiyaṃ tato / kathaṃ so vītisāretvā imam atthaṃ abhāsatha / /*. Similar expressions are often found in the Pāli scriptures, for example: *Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sāraṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā* (MPS, I, 29; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 88).

35. *Sn.*, 419–21.

36. Accounts of the meeting with Bimbisāra: *Sn.*, III; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 65, l. 29; *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 22; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 94–96; *Divyāv.*, pp. 392–93; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 198, vol. 3, p. 441; *Buddhacarita*, X–XI; *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:783b–c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:118b–19a); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:476b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:637a–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 23–24 (*T.* 3:758b–64c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:579c–80a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:509b–10a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:19a–22b). There are no known artistic representations of the event in India. We have only an eighth-century depiction from Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-60).

37. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780a–b).

38. "Those": the direction from which he has come (*Pj.*, p. 385). "Upright": the original reads *ugum janapado*, whereas the passage quoted in the commentary has *ujū janapado*. I have followed the latter reading, as does Chalmers.

39. *Sn.*, 422.

40. *Sn.*, 423.

41. "By lineage 'the Kinsmen of the Sun'" (*Chalmers Sn.*, p. 101).

42. See *Sn.*, 1098.

43. *Sn.*, 424.

44. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 65–66.

45. The following also appears in *Therag.*, 818–41.

46. In ancient India, even before the time of the Buddha, students addressed their masters as *bhagavan*. See, for example, *Chānd. Up.*, IV, 5, 1, etc.; *MBh*, XII, 242, v. 23. The term is translated into Chinese as *shih-tsun* (世尊; "world-honored one").

47. A *samaṇa*, one who practices (the Way).

48. *Sn.*, 548–54.

49. *Sn.*, 551.

50. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 66–67.

51. Accounts of the visit to Āḷāra: *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, *MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, pp. 160ff.); *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 237ff., esp. p. 240); *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta*, *MN*, no. 85 (vol. 2, pp. 91ff., esp. p. 93); Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 97–98; *Lalitavistara*, p. 319; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, p. 195; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 15–80; *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:776b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:119b); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:469b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:637c–38b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 21–22 (*T.* 3:751c–57b).

A stone relief depicting Gotama's visit to Āḷāra Kālāma exists at the Ānanda Temple at Pagan, Myanmar (*WOB*, pl. II-61). Another work of art on this theme is "Visiting a Brahmin sage": early second century, Peshawar Museum (Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 23; Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 4-40; *Sehrai Peshawar*, nos. 26, 46).

52. *Buddhacarita*, VII, 54. Kālāma was his family name (Skt., *gotra;* Pāli, *gotta*).

53. *Udrakasyāśramaṃ yayau* (*Buddhacarita*, XII, 84).

54. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:578c–80a).

55. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, *MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, pp. 163ff.); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:776b–c). The episode also appears in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 240ff.); *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta*, *MN*, no. 85 (vol. 2, pp. 91ff., esp. p. 93); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780b).

56. This is generally translated in Chinese as *wu-so-yu-ch'u* (無所有処), but the *Ssu-fen-lü* (fasc. 31) translates it as *pu-yung-ch'u-ting* (不用処定).

57. MPS, *DN*, no. 16 (vol. 2, pp. 130ff.); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 2–4: *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:11a–30b).

58. Accounts of the visit to Uddaka: *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, *MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, pp. 160f.); *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 237ff., esp. p. 240); *Bodhi-*

rājakumāra-sutta, MN, no. 85 (vol. 2, pp. 91ff., esp. p. 93); *Uddako, SN,* XXXV, 103 (vol. 4, pp. 83–84); *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 28 (114): *Yu-t'o-lo-ching* (*T.* 1:603a–b), where Uddaka's philosophy is described; *Pāsādika-suttanta, DN,* no. 29, esp. vol. 3, p. 126; *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 12 (13): *Ch'ing-ching-ching* (*T.* 1:74a), where Yü-t'ou-lan-tzu (Uddaka Rāmaputta) is mentioned; *AN,* IV, 187 (vol. 2, esp. p. 180), where King Eḷeyya, together with six of his ministers, is said to have followed the Samaṇa Rāmaputta. (Buddhaghosa's commentary identifies the *samaṇa* with Uddaka Rāmaputta [see Akanuma, *Shakuson,* p. 37]); Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 98; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:29b); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580a–b). Depictions in art include "Visiting Uddaka Rāmaputta": Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Borobuḍur rises; Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], p. 104.

59. H. C. Norman, ed., *The Commentary on the Dhammapada,* vol. 1 (London: Luzac & Co., 1970), p. 85; *Buddhacarita,* XII, 83ff.

60. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580b).

61. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta, MN,* no. 26 (vol. 1, pp. 165ff.); *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:776b–c). The visits to Āḷāra and Uddaka also appear in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta, MN,* no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 240ff.); *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta, MN,* no. 85 (vol. 2, pp. 91ff., esp. p. 93).

62. *Yüan-li-k'ung-an-ching-ch'u:* 遠離空安靖処 (*Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:776b–c).

63. "The beautiful city of the Kosalas" refers to Sāvatthī. The commentary (*Pj.,* p. 580) gives *nagara* for *pura,* the original word for "city." "The southern country" is Dakkhiṇāpatha. This refers to the modern Deccan, a corruption of the Sanskrit *dakṣiṇā,* "south." This verse (*Sn.,* 976) appears in the introductory section of the "Pārāyana-vagga" and seems to have been added later. No commentary is found in the *Culla-Nidesa,* and the verse does not appear anywhere in Chinese translation. For further discussion, see Kōgen Mizuno's note to his Japanese translation of the *Sutta-nipāta* (*Kyōshū,* in *Nanden Daizōkyō* [The Southern Tripiṭaka], vol. 24 [Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1939], pp. 386–88).

64. See, for example, *Utt.,* XXV, 28. *Ākiñcañña* ("nothingness"), according to the commentary, means to be without possessions or accoutrements (*ākiṃcan-abhāvaṃ, pariggahū-pakaraṇavivekam ti vuttaṃ hoti; Pj.,* p. 580).

65. *Bṛhad. Up.,* III, 5, 1; IV, 4, 22.

66. "Not dependent [on others]" means, according to Buddhaghosa, "not depending on [other] people, not depending on the teachings" (*anissito = puggalaṃ vā dhammaṃ vā anālīno; Pj.,* p. 593). Religion is usually believed to concern, and indeed to encourage, acceptance of and reliance on the teaching of the others; here, though, dependence on the authority of another person or on a doctrine is denied, an approach that has something in common with the spirit of iconoclasm.

67. *Sn.,* 1069–70. "Dispel doubts" (*virato kathāhi*) follows Buddhaghosa's inter-

pretation (*kathāhī ti kathaṃkathāhi; Pj.*, p. 593). If his commentary is not followed, the phrase could be translated as "abstain from all arguments."

68. See *CuN.*, pp. 128ff. Chalmers translates this as "the Plane of Naught" (p. 235, v. 976). Dānapāla, in his Chinese translation of the *Āryaprajñāpāramitā-saṃgrahakārikā* (*Fo-mu pan-jo po-lo-mi-to yüan-chi-yao-i-lun* [*T.* 25: 913b), renders *na . . . kathaṃcana* in verse 41 as *he-shuo-yu* (何所有). See Hakuju Ui, *Jinna chosaku no kenkyū* (Study on Dignāga's writings; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), p. 309.

69. *Rattindivaṃ nibbānaṃ vibhūtaṃ katvā passa* (*Pj.*, p. 593). This could also be translated as "Make nirvana something to be destroyed."

70. *Sn.*, 1071–72. "Release from perception" (*saññāvimokkha*), according to the commentary, means the concentration of the abode of nothingness, the highest of the seven *samāpattis* (*ākiñcaññ' āyatana-samāpatti vimokkho; CuN.* [Siam ed.], p. 132). Buddhaghosa regarded this as identical to the Brahma realm (*sattasu saññāvimokkhesu uttame ākiñcaññāyatane . . . so puggalo tattha ākiñcaññāyatana-brahmaloke avigacchamāno tiṭṭhe; Pj.*, p. 594). It is also linguistically possible to translate the expression as "release where only perceptions exist." Fausböll translates it as "being delivered in the highest deliverance by knowledge." This interpretation is clearly divergent from Sarvāstivādin and general Mahāyāna doctrine. According to the teachings of these schools, the Brahma realm is part of the realm of form, and the abodes of the infinity of consciousness and of nothingness are part of the formless realm. This divergence indicates that neither Buddhaghosa nor the Sarvāstivādins transmitted the earliest Buddhist thought in its original form. It is reasonable to believe that perception does not exist in the abode of nothingness. Therefore I feel it acceptable to translate the term as "release from perception." Cf. *Chalmers Sn.*, p. 253, "Who from Perceptions wins entire Deliverance."

71. Cf. *Sn.*, 950; *Dhp.*, 367.

72. *Sn.*, 861.

73. According to a text of the Northern transmission, Uddaka Rāmaputta practiced the concentration of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception (*Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 7 [*T.* 3:580a]). Other texts say that he taught the concentration of perception and nonperception, which is the same as the former (*P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 [*T.* 3:510b]), or that Āḷāra Kālāma attained the fourth concentration, but there is virtually no difference in meaning (*Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 4:23b–c]).

74. *Kathaṃsametassa* (= *kathaṃpaṭipannassa; Pj.*, p. 553).

75. *Sn.*, 873, 874. According to the commentary (*MahN.*, pp. 279–80), "one who has ordinary perceptions" refers to an ordinary, ignorant person; "one who has wrong perceptions" refers to an insane person; "one who is without perceptions" refers to a person who has entered the concentration of the total extinction of the mind and its workings; and "one who has made the perceptions disappear" refers to a person who has attained the four formless concentrations. This interpretation, however, seems to be based on later doctrine. See also *Sn.*, 1037.

Diffuse consciousness" (*papañcasaṁkhyā*) is, according to the commentary (*MahN.*, p. 280), cravings (*taṇhā*), wrong views (*diṭṭhi*), and pride (*māna*). The commentary interprets verse 916 as "*avijjādayo kilesā papañcasaṃkhāya mūlaṃ*" (*Pj.*, p. 562). Chinese translations of the later period translated *papañca* as *hsi-lun* (戲論; "meaningless arguments"). In this passage the term may be interpreted according to Indian general usage. In *Sn.*, 916, however, the same term is used in a Buddhist sense.

76. *Anejo*.

77. *Vibhūta-rūpasaññissa* (= *samatikkantarūpa-saññissa; Pj.*, p. 600).

78. The original text has *viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo*, and the Chinese translation, *shih-chu* (識住). The commentary (*CuN.*, pp. 226–27) gives two hierarchical systems of phases of consciousness, *cattasso viññāṇa-ṭṭhitiyo* (establishment of consicousness in form, feeling, perception, and mental constituents) and *satta viññāṇa-ṭṭhitiyo* (establishment of consciousness in the realm of human beings and in parts of the realms of *devas* and the four adverse destinations of rebirth: the first of the Brahma heavens in the first *jhāna* realm, the third heaven in the second *jhāna* realm, the third heaven in the third *jhāna* realm, the heaven of the infinity of space, the heaven of the infinity of consciousness, and the heaven of nothingness).

79. *Ākiñcaññasambhavaṃ ñatvā ti ākiñcaññāyatana-janakaṃ kammābhisaṃkhāraṃ ñatvā* (*Pj.*, p. 601).

80. *Sn.*, 1112–15.

81. *Vedana:* "sensation" (*Fausböll Sn.*, p. 207); "feeling" (*Chalmers Sn.*, p. 263); "Empfindung wenn Man nicht mehr schmeckt" (*Neumann Sn.*, p. 389).

82. *Viññāṇaṃ uparujjhati:* "To dissipate the heritage of mind" (*Chalmers Sn.*, p. 263); "consciousness ceases" (*Fausböll Sn.*, p. 207).

83. *Sn.*, 1110–11.

84. Cf. *Sn.*, 1037.

85. *Sn.*, 734–35.

86. *Sn.*, 1119. The same passage appears in the *Dhammapada*, 170. The king of death is *maccurāja*, a demon. From the root *mṛ* ("die") come such words as *mṛtyu*, *maccu* ("death") and *māra* ("demon," that is, "one who kills"). "The king of death cannot see" means to be unvanquished by the king of death.

87. This point is dealt with in more detail in the discussion of early Buddhist thought. (See my *Genshi Bukkyō no shisō II* [The philosophy of early Buddhism, vol. 2], vol. 16 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* [Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Shunjūsha, 1994.)

88. *Buddhacarita*, XII, 15f.

89. The Chinese translated this as *yung-pen* (癰本; "the root of abscess").

90. The Chinese translation has *yü-ai* (愛欲; "the craving of the realm of desire"), *she-ai* (色欲; "the craving of the realm of form"), and *wu-she-ai* (無色欲; "the craving of the formless realm").

91. *SN*, XXXV, 103 (vol. 4, pp. 83 84).

92. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 28 (114): *Yu-t'o-lo-ching* (*T.* 1:603a–b).

93. *Khuram eva sandhāya.* The Chinese translation says: "His son, citing the words of ordinary ignorant people, uses a metaphor."

94. *DN*, no. 29, *Pāsādika-suttanta* (vol. 3, pp. 126–27); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 12: *Ch'ing-ching-ching* (*T.* 1:74a).

95. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 42–43.

96. Hajime Nakamura, "A Process of the Origination of Buddhist Meditations in Connection with the Life of the Buddha," in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A Homage Volume to the Memory of Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap*, ed. A. K. Narain (Delhi: B. R. Publishing House, 1979), pp. 269–77. Yoshinori Takeuchi stresses that the process of the search for Truth should be studied from the viewpoint of comparative religion in "Gudō jidai no Budda" (The Buddha when seeking the Way), *Tetsugaku kenkyū* 34, no. 2 (1950): 1–17; *Tetsugaku kenkyū* 37, no. 410 (1955): 1–17.

97. *Gaṇḍa*, but *grantha* in the commentary.

98. *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, XXIII.

99. *AN*, IV, 187 (vol. 2, p. 180).

100. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, p. 37.

101. Legends concerning the five Sakyas: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 67, l. 4; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 87–90; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 99; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:119c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:637a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:768b–c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24b).

102. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 56, 57, ll. 1–2.

103. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 56, l. 19 through p. 57, l. 2. Cf. p. 56, l. 6f.

104. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 57, l. 3.

105. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580a–b).

106. Descriptions of the six years of ascetic practices: *MN*, vol. 2, pp. 80, 245; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 16; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 67, l. 9; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 100 101; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 88–97; *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780c–81a); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 24:120a–c); *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 20 (*T.* 24:299a), "for six years he undertook ascetic practices and then gained enlightenment"; *Hsing-ch'i-hsing-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 4:164b), "the ascetic practices lasted six years"; *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:638b 39a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:511a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:469c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580a–82b), "When the Bodhisatta practiced austerities for six years"; *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 24 (*T.* 3:764c–72a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24b). The six years of ascetic practices are also mentioned in texts that refer to Gotama's age at the time of his enlightenment.

107. A complete figure of Gotama the ascetic is in the Lahore Museum: latter half of second century, from Sikri (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 34; Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō

Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 76; *WOB*, pl. II-63; Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 2 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 315). A partial statue is in the Peshawar Museum: second–third century, from Gandhāra (*WOB*, pl. II-12; *Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 25). Another statue is in the West Berlin State Museum: fifth–sixth century, from Gandhāra (*West Berlin*, pl. 4). The Lahore Museum statue has deep-sunk eyes, a sunken chest, sharply defined shoulder blades and ribs over which the veins can be seen, and a deeply concave belly. The dreadful realism of the portrayal indicates the influence of Hellenistic sculpture (Jirō Sugiyama, *Indo no bijutsu* [Indian art], vol. 4 of *Gurando sekai bijutsu* [Great art of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976], no. 32). A fifteenth-century statue of Sakyamuni the ascetic in the Great Treasure House of Hōryū-ji, Nara Prefecture, evokes no such feeling of dread, though the ribs protrude; Sakyamuni sits calmly, his right leg pulled up, and looks straight ahead, emitting a feeling of warmth (*Shōtoku*, no. 74 [October 25, 1977], frontispiece; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 106).

108. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 67.

109. *Uru* means "wide," but the plural form, *urū*, means "sands" or "soil." *Velā* means "shore." *Uruvelā ti mahāvelā, mahāvālikarāsi' ti attho. Atha vā urū ti vālikā vuccati, velāti maryādā. velātikkamanahetu āhatā uru Uruvelā ti evam ettha attho datthabbo* (Hermann Kopp, ed., *Manorathapūraṇī*, vol. 3 [London: Luzac & Co., 1966], p. 23). Akanuma discusses the origin of the name in *Shakuson*, p. 160. Another possible derivation of *velā* is *vilva*, "bel tree" (*Aegle marmelos*). The *Lalitavistara* interprets Uruvelā as "place rich in bel trees." Even today the area is noted for its profusion of bel trees. The *Lalitavistara* transcribes Uruvelā as Uruvilva, and the *Mahāvaṃsa* as Uruvelaya. A variant of the name remains in the modern village of Urel. Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, rev. ed. (Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975), 457; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi or the Great Temple* (London: W. H. Allen, 1892), quoted in Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* [Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881], p. 125, n. 2).

110. The translation "Elephant's Head Peak" was probably based on the fact that Magadhī, like other Prākrits, changed the Sanskrit *y* into *j* (Heinrich Lüders, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urcanons [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954], section 148, p. 115). In Sanskrit *gaja* means "elephant"; thus the translation may have intended to make the Magadhī name fit the Sanskrit. According to later commentaries, the mountain was so named because its shape resembled an "elephant's head" (*gajāśīrṣa*).

111. Rhys Davids and Stede cite mentions of *tapovana* in the *Visuddhimagga*, 58, 79, 342 (*Pali-English Dictionary* [London: Pali Text Society, 1921–25], p. 297). R. C. Childers, in *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* ([London: Trübner and Co., 1875], p. 497), cites mentions in the *Attanagaluvaṃsa*, 213, and the *Dhp.*, 411 (ed. Fausböll).

112. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 67.

113. Quotes in this section from the *Nidānakathā* are from *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 67–70.

114. The legend of the departure of the five companions: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 108; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:121c).

115. In the *Ṛg Veda*, *sujāta* means "one of noble birth" or "one of good birth." According to the *Ṛg Veda* (I, 72, 3) those who would study the *Vedas* are those who have been purified (*sujāta*) by offering curds (*ghṛta*) to the fire deity. H. Grassmann interprets this as "wohl (edel) geboren, von edler Abkunft, von Menschen" (*Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1976], col. 1531). K. F. Geldner translates *sujātāḥ* as "die Edlgeborenen" (*Der Rigveda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen*, vols. 33–36 of *Harvard Oriental Series* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951–57], vol. 1, p. 95).

Legends concerning the offering of the village woman: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 68, l. 5; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 107–8; *Lalitavistara*, p. 331; *Buddhacarita*, XII, 106–10; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:786a–b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:121c–22b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:770b–71a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:583b–c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:512a–b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24a).

Representations in art: "Sujātā's offering," eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-64; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 484; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, pp. 107–8). "Buddha and lay offerers," end of second century, Archaeological Museum at Taxila (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 36).

116. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:770b–71c).

117. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:583a–b).

118. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 3:804b).

119. Yūshō Miyasaka, review of Hajime Nakamura, *Gōtama Budda*, in *Kōyasan Daigaku gakuhō* 2 (July 1959): 3. According to the myth cited by Miyasaka, Prajāpati had created the world, but everything had died. On reflection he realized that this had been for lack of food, so he squeezed milk from an udder. As a result his creation was able to survive (*Śat. Br.*, II, 5, 1, 1). Cf. Paul Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte de Philosophie* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1894), I, 1, p. 187f.

120. Legends concerning bathing in the Nerañjarā River: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 70, l. 3; *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639a–b); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:479a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:583c–84a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:512a–c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24c).

Representations in art: first century B.C.E., from Amarāvatī, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*WOB*, pl. II-65); Borobuḍur (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 485; *WOB*, pl. II-66).

121. Ni-lien-ch'an (尼連禅). Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 386. A reliable map of this area is included in the Japanese translation of the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* by Shinjō Mizutani (*Daitō saiiki ki*, vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* [Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971], p. 261).

122. The legend of the praise of the *nāga* king: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 70, l. 13; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 111–13; *Divyāv.,* p. 392; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 400; *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24c–25a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:586b–87a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639b–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:479a–80a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:470a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:772a–c); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:514b–c).

Representation in art: "Praise of the Buddha by the nāga Kālika" (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 27).

123. *MN,* no. 12, *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 77–83). Quotation from pp. 81–82.

124. *MN,* no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 274).

125. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:915a–b). See also Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, pp. 114–15. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 511, cites only the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* for the source of Mount Prāgbodhi. Akanuma gives the mountain's name in Pāli as "Pabodhi," but this does not appear in Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Luzac & Co., 1960).

126. Mount Prāgbodhi is now called Mora Pahar (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography,* p. 386).

127. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:915a–b). See also Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, p. 113.

128. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 56. Cf. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 67, l. 2f.

129. Quotations in this section are from *Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 70–74.

130. The legend of the grass cutter: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 70, l. 29; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 113; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 2, p. 264; *Buddhacarita,* XII, 116; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102c); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:786b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:122c); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:470a–b); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:514c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:587b–c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:25a).

Representations in art: "The offering of the grass cutter," late first century C.E., Gandhāra (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 312); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 67); beginning of second century, Peshawar Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 22); early second century, from Sikri Stupa, Lahore Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 24). "The merchants Tapussa and Bhallika offer food," third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. 3; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 34). "The four heavenly guardian kings offer four bowls," second–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB,* pl. 4; *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 33), early second century, from Sikri Stupa, Lahore Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 25). "Youth offers mud," Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 52; *Nagarj.,* p. 150, pl. XXI); "Offering of the grass cutter," second century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo:

Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 36). "Offering of the grass cutter," second-third century, from Sikri, Lahore Museum (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri Shashinshū—Gandāra* [Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 45). "The woodcutter Svastika offers grass," from Peshawar, Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 28). "Offering of the grass cutter," mid-eighth to mid-ninth century (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 111).

131. The legend of the vow beneath the *bodhi* tree: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 71, l. 1; *Lalitavistara,* p. 362; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 113; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:122c–23a).

Representations in art: "Gotama approaching the *bodhi* tree," second–fourth century, from Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. II-68); from Peshawar, Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 29); second–third century, Kabul Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pls. 46, 47). "Gotama seated on the diamond throne," tenth century, from Bihar, British Museum (*WOB,* pl. II-69); mid-eighth to mid-ninth century, Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 113).

132. The *assattha* and the *pipphala* are the same tree (*Kogetsu zenshū* [complete collection of works of Kaigyoku Watanabe], vol. 1 [Tokyo: Kogetsu Zenshū Kankōkai, 1933], p. 410ff.). See also Akira Yuyama, "The *Bodhi* Tree in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna,*" in *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian, and Indo-European Studies Presented to Franciscus Bernardus Jacobus Kuiper on His Sixtieth Birthday* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1968), pp. 488–92. For the *assattha* tree, see M. B. Emeneau, "The Strangling Figs in Sanskrit Literature," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13, no. 10 (1949): 345f. Cf. *Kath. Up.*

133. The temptations of Māra: *Sn.,* 424–48; *SN,* vol. 1, p. 124; *AN,* vol. 1, p. 3; *CPS,* pp. 92–117; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 71, l. 27; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 113–16; *Lalitavistara,* p. 490; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 1, p. 16, vol. 2, p. 314; *Buddhacarita,* XIII, 3, XV, 13; *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 39 (*T.* 2:760b–61b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:123b–24b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639c–41a); *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 3:470c–71a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 28 (*T.* 3:782a–86c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 3:590b–95a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:516c–21c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:25a–26c). See also P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama* (Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1866), p. 77.

Representations in art: "Quelling Māra and attaining enlightenment," first century B.C.E., Stupa 1, Sāñcī (Taijun Inokuchi, Seizan Yanagida, and Chikusa Masaaki, ed., *Zusetsu Nihon Bukkyō no genzō* [Original images of Japanese Buddhism in illustrations; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982], frontispiece 1); first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB,* pl. II-70). "Stone fragments representing Māravijaya," Archaeological Museum at Mathurā (N. P. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archaeological Museum, 1969], pl. 86). "Temptations," Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 30). "Māra's attack," Peshawar Museum (*Sehrai Peshawar,* nos. 31, 32); ca. second century, Lahore Museum (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art

of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-10); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 1, pl. 175; *WOB*, pl. II-71; *Nagarj.*, p. 64, pl. IX; *Archaeological Remains*, pl. 87); second-third century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 85); third-fourth century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB*, pl. II-72); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, from Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pls. 68, 69); second–third century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra*, pls. 48, 49); ca. third–fourth century, from Swāt region, Swat Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra*, pl. 50); seventh century, Ajantā, Cave 1 (*WOB*, pls. II, III, 68, 73; Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* [Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911], fig. 1); Pāla dynasty, tenth–eleventh century, Sārnāth (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 9 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], no. 87); eighth century, Borobuḍur (*WOB*, pl. II-74; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 486a). See also the map of the site of archaeological remains at Bodhgaya in Shōkō Watanabe, *Shin Shakuson den* (A new biography of the Buddha; Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1966), 485.

134. The *Lalitavistara* and the *Divyāvadāna* give the *nāga* king the name Kālika. Cf. Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 181. Representations in art: "The prophecy of the *nāga* king," second century, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 35); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 27).

135. Bodhgayā: See Benimadhab Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, 2 vols., Indian History Series no. 1, and Fine Arts Series no. 4 (Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1934; reviewed by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *JAOS* 57 [1937]: 191–93); Tarapada Bhattacharya, *The Buddhagaya Temple* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966).

Diamond throne: See Kentoku Sasaki, "Butsuza kō" (Notes about the Buddha seat), *Kikan shūkyō kenkyū* 2, no. 1 (1940): 149–77.

136. This section is included in an earlier Sanskrit work, the *Lalitavistara*, Adhy. XVIII (Raj. Mitra, ed., *Lalita Vistara, or, Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākya Siñha*, Bibliotheca Indica 15 [Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853–77], p. 327). A detailed comparison of the two sections appears in Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, 1–32). Quotations in the first part of this section are from *Sn.*, 425–49.

137. "Nerañjarā": *Maṃ.* As Windisch points out, the meter indicates that this is a later interpolation. *Karuṇa* (compassionate) has connotations of pity rather than sadness. *Karuṇan ti anuddayāyuttaṃ* (*Pj.*, p. 386) has been translated as "words full of compassion" (*Fausböll Sn.*, p. 69), "words of ruth" (*Chalmers Sn.*, p. 101), and "mit mildem Worte" (*Neumann Sn.*, p. 147).

138. The Sanskrit also uses *te* ("of thee") when the demon speaks to Sakyamuni (*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, 16, 9, p. 210).

139. "A thousand to one": Windisch asserts in reference to the *Lalitavistara*

that the original text says *sahassabhāge maraṇaṃ, ekaṃse tava jīvitaṃ,* which should be translated "In a thousand parts you have death, in one part you have life." *Jīvaṃ puññāni kāhasi* ("you are able to perform meritorious deeds") can also be translated "you can accumulate various merits." For the religious practitioner, performing meritorious deeds is the same as accumulating merit.

140. The original has *yenatthena,* which is *svenārthena* in the *Lalitavistara.* Windisch asserts that it should be read as *senatthena,* since in the Sinhalese script *s* and *y* resemble each other. If this reading is followed, the translation should be, "You have come here seeking your own profit."

141. *Saddhā* ("faith") is the faith not of fanaticism but of reason.

142. Here "life" is mentioned in relation to the reference in verse 427.

143. "The embodied, through the practice of abstinence, can deaden all the senses except taste. When eventually, though, he sees the Supreme One, even taste fades away" (*Bhag. G.,* II, 59).

144. "Supreme suffering" refers to Gotama's ascetic practices. *Vedanā* means "sensation, impressions," but because here it means specifically "suffering," it is sometimes translated into Chinese as *t'ung* (痛). "No longer attracted by the various sensuous desires": *kāmesu nāpekkhate.* This phrase means something like "having no consideration for the various sensuous desires" or "putting no reliance upon the various sensuous desires." "Look at [my] purity of mind and body": The original Pāli text has *passa sattassa suddhataṃ* (*paśya sattvasya śuddhatām* in the *Lalitavistara*). The commentary has *attan* for *satta.* This shows the influence of the *Upaniṣads:* "When food is pure, the essence [body and mind] is pure [*sattvaśuddhi*]. When the essence is pure, mindfulness [*smṛti*] is firm. When [firm] mindfulness is attained, [one] is freed from all shackles" (*Chānd. Up.,* VII, 26, 2). Here too (*Sn.,* 434), "mindfulness is established" (*sati . . . tiṭṭhati*) through ascetic practice (including fasting). Similar statements are made in other *Upaniṣads* (*jñāna-prasādena viśuddha-sattvas; Muṇḍ. Up.,* III, 2, 8). Cf. *sattasaṃjuta* (*Isibhāsiyāiṃ,* 11). A similar expression is *bhāva-śuddhi,* which appears to mean "purification of the feelings [sentiments]" (*MBh.,* XII, 161, 5) and corresponds to *sattvaśuddhi.* The expression "purity of mind and body" (*sattassa suddhatā*) is common in Brahmanism, too. In this case *sattva* is probably a neuter noun, whose connotations are different from the Pāli *satta* (Skt., *sattva*), a masculine noun meaning "sentient being" in Buddhist scriptures. The idea that a man who has committed a serious crime will be purified of evil if he concentrates his mind and takes up the alms bowl (*bhaikṣāhāra*) appears in the *Manu-smṛti* (XI, 257).

145. The original has *arati* for "dislike," but here the text follows the interpretation of the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary.* The commentary says *adhikusalesu dhammesu arati = abhirati.* A similar word, *arāti,* which appears in the *Ṛg Veda,* is translated as "hostility" (T. Burrow, "On the Phonological History of Sanskrit kṣám-'earth,' ṛ́kṣa-'bear,' and likṣā́-'nit,'" *JAOS* 79 [1959]: 85–90). "Craving": The original meaning of *taṇhā* (craving) was "thirst." Since here the

third army is called "hunger and thirst" (*khuppipāsā*), *taṇhā* and *pipāsā* (thirst) are separate concepts. *Taṇhā* is an impulse deeply rooted in the human subconscious, while *pipāsā* denotes a biological phenomenon.

146. Pretence (*makkha*) leads to hypocrisy. *Thambha* ("obstinacy") can also be translated as "stubbornness."

147. "Praising the self and disparaging others" (*attānaṃ samukkaṃse pare ca avajānāti*) is mentioned here as a vice; later Buddhism adopted the precept of neither praising the self nor disparaging others.

148. The Black Demon is the demon Namuci (*kaṇhadhamma-samannāgatattā Kaṇhassa Namucino*"; *Pj.*, p. 390).

149. This sentence is very difficult to interpret. Neumann (*Neumann Sn.*, p. 469) follows the Burmese text in endorsing the reading *muñcam.* He does not, however, explain why all the other manuscripts give *muñjam.* (Windisch suggests reading *muñcaṃ* [= Skt., *mṛtyuṃ*] for *muñjaṃ,* but this is difficult to accept because there is no such noun as *muñca*). The original text has *muñjaṃ parihare,* which the commentary explains as "warriors going into battle will never retreat and, to show that they will never retreat, attach *muñja* grass to their heads, their banners, or their weapons." In the commentary the words in response to *labhate sukham* in the previous verse are as follows: *yasmā ca labhate sukhaṃ, tasmā taṃ sukhaṃ patthayamāno aham pi esa muñjaṃ parihareyyaṃ, saṅgāmāvacarā anivattino purisā attano anivattanakabhāvaṃ ñāpanatthaṃ sīse vā dhaje vā āvudhe vā muñjatiṇaṃ bandhanti* (*Pj.*, p. 390). One interpretation holds that in ancient India holding *muñja* grass in the mouth indicated intent to surrender (M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur,* vol. 3, p. 531). See also Neumann's note. In all events, the expression clearly means "not to surrender."

Oldenberg sees this as a Vedic expression (*ZDMG* 62 [1908]: pp. 593–94; Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften,* ed. Klus Ludwig Janert, vol. 2 [Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1967], pp. 971–72). In Vedic literature the expression *muñjaṃ pariharati* is a compound meaning "to wrap a girdle of *muñja* grass around oneself." *Pariharati* does not mean "to remove" or "to evade" but "to wrap [a girdle] around." According to the examples Oldenberg gives (Sri Mūkūnda Jhā Bakshi, ed., *Gobhilagṛhyasūtra,* Kashi SS, no. 118 [Benares: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1936], II, 10, 37: *triḥ pradakṣiṇaṃ muñjamekhalāṃ pariharan; Kātyāyana ŚrS.*, II, 7, 1: *muñjayoktreṇa trivṛtā pariharati; Śat. Br.*, III, 2, 1, 10: *atha mekhalāṃ pariharate*), it was thought that girdling oneself with *muñja* grass would give one magical power. Oldenberg therefore interprets the statement as "To win the battle, the demons should girdle themselves with *muñja* grass" (*Möge er [Māra] immer seinen Muñjagürtel umnehmen, der im bevorstehenden Kampf ihm Sieg bringen soll*). Oldenberg's interpetation probably approaches the original meaning. Since Buddhists generally did not see the connection with the *Vedas,* I have translated the expression here according to the customary interpretation of Southern Buddhists.

Muñja grass is described as a grass of the *Gramineae* genus, like the miscanthus

reed (Kōgen Mizuno, *Pārigo jiten* [A dictionary of the Pāli language; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1968], p. 225). In his *Pawa shōjiten* (Concise Pāli dictionary; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1955–60, p. 252), Shōzen Kumoi merely gives the Vedic *muñja* without translating it. The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* (p. 536) says: "[Vedic muñja, cp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* 72] 1. a sort of grass (reed) Saccharum munja Roxb. *Sn.* 440." According to Takamaro Maku, this is "a wild grass of the same genus as sugar cane that grows on the plains all over India. It spread to China, and it grows to a height of seven meters. Its young grains are edible, and its stalks are used to make the sacred cord that is the symbol of Brahmins, baskets, and quality paper. . . . In ancient India, holding *muñja* grass in the mouth is said to express the intent to surrender or, conversely, to express the strong determination never to retreat" (*Butten no shokubutsu* [Plants in the Buddhist scriptures; Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1977], p. 191). Descriptions in the *Vinayas* indicate that *muñja* grass was used to make clothes and mats.

150. Here *dhir* takes the accusative (*Dhp.*, 389; *Therag.*, 1134; Oskar von Hinüber, *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-piṭaka* [Munich: L. Kitzinger, 1968], p. 78).

151. "They cannot be seen": *pagāḷhā ettha na dissanti.* The word *na* is not found in the equivalent Sanskrit passage, and it should be deleted for considerations of rhythm, as well.

152. The original text has *paññāya gacchāmi* for "overcome . . . with the strength of wisdom," but consideration of other versions and the context allows the interpretation *gacchāmi* = *bhecchāmi.* The equivalent Sanskrit text has *bhetsyāmi.* "Stone": The original text has *aṃhanā.* Consideration of the equivalent Sanskrit text suggests that perhaps it should be revised to *ambunā,* but *amha* (Skt., *aśma*) means "stone" (V. Trenckner, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary,* vol. 1 [Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 124–48], p. 405).

153. "Not . . . able to find": *nādhigacchissaṃ* (= *nādhigamiṃ; Pj.*, p. 393). If the reading *adhigacchissa* is adopted, however, the translation becomes "he would have attained" (Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli,* part 1, *Grammatik* [Heidelberg: Carlwinter, 1951], pp. 95ff.). "Unguarded moment": *otāra.* m. chance; fault (Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli,* pp. 95 ff.) = *randhaṃ vivaraṃ* (*Pj.*, p. 393).

154. Here *yakkha* means "demon." As a neuter noun, *yakṣa* appears in the *Ṛg Veda* and other Vedic literature, where it refers to "a living supernatural being, spiritual apparition, ghost, [or] spirit" (*MW*); "*ein lebendes oder übernatürliche Wesen; eine unkörperliche, geisterhafte Erscheinung, Ding, Spukgestalt. Sg. coll. die Wesen usw.*" As a masculine noun it denotes a demigod in the retinue of the god Kubera (already seen in the *Upaniṣads* and the *Mahābhārata*). Some ancient Buddhist writings refer to Māra as a *yakkha* (*SN,* I, 4, 3, 13, v. 22 [vol. 1, p. 122, l. 24]). *Yakṣa* was transliterated into Chinese as *yeh-ch'a* (夜叉), *yao-ch'a* (藥叉), and *yüeh-ch'a* (閲叉). It should not be confused with *yao-shih* (藥師), the translation of *Bhaiṣajya-guru-vaiḍūrya-prabha,*

the Medicine-Master Buddha. The feminine forms *yakṣī* and *yakṣiṇī* are seen in the *Mahābhārata,* the *Rāmāyana,* and later literature.

155. *MBh.*, IX, 42, 29–31.

156. *Sn.*, 429–30. Māra also appears in *SN,* I, 4, 1, 1 f. (vol. 1, pp. 103 ff.). The meaning of the term is given as "killing those who would go beyond the realm of self" (*attano visayaṃ atikkamituṃ paṭipanne satte maratī ti Māro; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 169). According to Buddhaghosa, Māra has many names, but here only Māra and Pāpimant appear (*aññāni pi' ssa Kaṇho, Adhipati, Vasavatti, Antako, Namuci, Pamatta-bandhū ti ādīni bahūni nāmāni. Idha pana nāma-dvayam [= Māro Pāpimā] eva gahitam* [*Spk.*, p. 169]). Both from this commentary and from the original text it is apparent that Māra is singular and refers to a specific being. Legends of the Buddha's life referring to the temptations of many Māras developed later; they do not appear in the earliest texts. For Māra, see B. C. Law, ed., *Buddhist Studies* (Calcutta: Thacker & Spink, 1931), pp. 257 ff.; Alex Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3, no. 1 (1959): 44–73; *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3, no. 2 (1959): 112–31; Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, pp. 102–3, 353–58.

157. For an early mention of Pāpimant, see *SN,* I, 4, 1, 1 f. (vol. 1, pp. 103 ff.). This has been translated as "the evil one" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 128) and "der Böse" (*Geiger SN,* p. 161). The word was generally transliterated in Chinese translations as *Po-hsün* (波旬), but Ryūshō Hikata's research has shown that this was a mistaken transliteration of *Po-mien* (波面) ("Bon Kan zasso [1]" [Notes on Sanskrit and Chinese terms], *Chisan gakuhō* 12–13 [November 1964]: 12–14). The term means "causing others to cling to evil, or clinging to evil oneself" (*Pāpe niyojeti, sayaṃ vā pāpe niyutto ti Pāpimā; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 169). Pāli always uses the form *Pāpimant,* but the Sanskrit Buddhist literature has *Pāpīmant.* Perhaps this comes from lengthening the *i* to *ī* through association with the nominative form *Pāpīyān* of the comparative *pāpīyas* ("worse") from *pāpa* (Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary,* p. 341). *Pāpīyas* (nom. *pāpīyān*) appears in Sanskrit Buddhist literature with the meaning of *māra,* however, and this has been transliterated into Chinese as *Po-hsün* (波旬) (Unrai Ogihara, ed., *Bonwa daijiten* [A Sanskrit-Japanese dictionary; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986], p. 777). There is no such example in Pāli literature. The connection between Māra and Pāpimant is not yet clear.

158. *Pāpmā vai Namuciḥ* (*ṚV,* VIII, 14, 13).

159. *Śat. Br.*, XII, 7, 3, 4.

160. Oldenberg, *Buddha,* p. 62, n.

161. *Yü-ch'ieh shih-ti-lun,* fasc. 29 (*T.* 30:447c et seq.) gives four forms in detail: *yün-mo* (蘊魔; *skandhamāra*), *fan-nao-mo* (煩惱魔; *kleśamāra*), *ssu-mo* (死魔; *maraṇamāra*), and *t'ien-mo* (天魔; *devaputramāra*) (discussed in detail in Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra." The four Māras also appear in the fifth fascicle of *Ta-chih-tu-lun,* though here *devaputramāra* (*t'ien-mo* [天魔]) is given as *t'a-chia-tzu-tsai t'ien-tzu-mo* (他家自在天子魔). Māra is called by various names in early Buddhist literature; all

denote human emotions and desires (for details, see Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 191 ff.). In later Buddhist texts these are called "the armies" of Māra.

162. "Road of striving": *maggo padhānāya* (*Sn.*, 429).

163. *Chānd. Up.*, VII, 26, 2. Cf. *jñānaprasādena viśuddha-sattvas* (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, III, 2, 8).

164. A similar expression occurs in Jaina literature: *sattasaṃjuta* (*Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, 11).

165. *Bhiyyo sati ca paññā ca samādhi mama tiṭṭhati* (*Sn.*, 434). *sthitaprajñasya kā bhāṣā samādhisthasya keśava / sthitadhīḥ kiṃ prabhāṣeta kim āsīta vrajeta kim //* (*Bhag. G.*, II, 54, 55); *sthitaprajña sthitadhī* (*Bhag. G.*, II, 56).

166. *MN*, no. 84, *Madhura-sutta* (vol. 2, p. 85).

167. "The false Brahmins of Magadha": *Māgadhadeśīya brahmabandhu* (*Kātyāyana ŚrS.*, XXII, 4, 22; VIII, 6, 28; A. F. Weber, *Indische Studien*, vol. 10 [Berlin: F. Dummler, 1850–63; Leipzig: F. A. Brockhous, 1865–98], 99). Cf. Richard Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (Kiel: C. F. Haeseler, 1897), p. 140, n. 1. Weber interprets the phrase as a reference to the rise of Buddhism.

168. *Sn.*, 683.

169. "Was falling": *phusāyati*, the denominative of *phusa* (= Skt. *pṛṣa* ← $\sqrt{}$*pṛṣ*). "Uninterruptedly": *ekamekaṃ*, "continuously" (*PW*); "ununterbrochen" (*Geiger SN*, p. 162).

170. "A lump of dark rock": *ariṭṭhako maṇi* (= *kāḷako pāsāṇo; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 170).

171. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 2, 1–5 (vol. 1, pp. 103–4). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1092) (*T.* 2:287c). Here the demon is mentioned, but not the elephant. This indicates that the prose section was a later addition. In the Pāli text the section is titled "Nāgo" ("The Wonder-Elephant," *Rhys Davids SN*, p. 130; "der Elefant," *Geiger SN*, p. 163). Since it is raining uninterruptedly when Māra appears, perhaps a dragon form was envisaged.

172. "Ugly": *asubha*. "Ugly" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 130); "hässlich" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163).

173. "Well controlled": *susaṃvuta*. "Well controlled" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 130); "gut beherrscht" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163). "Followers": *paccagu*. There are various readings, depending on the manuscript, such as *sace*, *saccagu*, and *baddhagu*. Woodward (*Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 171) reads it as *paddhagu*. The commentary interprets it as *paddhacarā*, with a different edition giving *bandhacarā*; D. *bandhavarā*. Cf. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 144; *Pj.*, p. 597 (= *paddhacarā*, *paricārakā*, *sissā*); Pali Text Society, *Pali-English Dictionary*. Based on these interpretations, I have translated the word as "followers." Rhys Davids has "pupils" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 130).

174. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 3, 1–6 (vol. 1, p. 104). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1092) (*T.* 2:287c).

175. "Desire for existence": *bhava-lobha-jappa* (= *bhava-lobha-saṅkhātā taṇhā; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 185).

176. "State of deathlessness": *amaccudheyyan ti, Maccuno anokāsabhūtaṃ nibbānaṃ* (*Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 186). In the *Tsa a-han-ching* "state of deathlessness" is translated as *nieh-p'an* (涅槃; *nibbāna*).

177. *SN*, I, 4, 3, 4, 1–8 (vol. 1, pp. 122–23). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 9 (246) (*T.* 2:59a).

178. Since there is no Chinese translation of this paragraph, it must represent a later addition to the text.

179. This verse is virtually the same as that in *Sn.*, 447–48, but *nibbijjāpema Gotamā* in the last line is *Gotamaṃ* in *Sn.*

180. See n. 178. *SN*, I, 4, 3, 4, 9–11 (vol. 1, pp. 123–24).

181. *SN*, I, 4, 3, 5 (vol. 1, pp. 124–27). The Chinese translation of the title is *mo-nü* (魔女; "demon women" [*T.* 2:287a]).

182. "So then": *atha kho*. In the Pāli scriptures the fourth and fifth sections are separated, but in the *Tsa a-han-ching* they form a single sutra. "Craving": *Taṇhā*. The Chinese translation is *ai-yü* (愛欲; passion, lust [*T.* 2:286c]). "Craving" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "Durst" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). It is interesting that the term is also translated into Chinese as *ai-yü t'ien-nü* (愛欲天女; "heavenly maiden of lust" [*T.* 2:287a]). The heavenly maidens obviously included demons. "Discomfort": *Arati*. "Discontent" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "Unlust" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). Since the Chinese has *ai-nien* (愛念; "recollection of love" [*T.* 2:286c]), the original term may have been *Ārati*. "Pleasure": *Ragā*. "Passion" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "Leidenschaft" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). The Chinese translation is *ai-lo* (愛楽; "love and pleasure" [*T.* 2:286c]).

183. "Grieved": *dummano*. "Depressed" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "traurig" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). The Chinese translation gives *ch'ou-ch'i* (愁慼; "grieved" [*T.* 2:286c]).

184. Since the Chinese reads *shih-fu-he-tsu-yu* (士夫何足憂 [*T.* 2:286c]), the original text may have been *puriso kaṃ nu socasi* ("You are a man; what are you worrying about?").

185. "It will not be easy to entrap . . . by lust": *Arahaṃ sugato loke / na rāgena suvānayo //* The manuscript consulted by Oldenberg gives *na rāgena sudhārayo* (Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 117). The Chinese translation is *fei-yü-suo-neng-chao* (非欲所能招 [*T.* 2:286c]). The equivalent passage in Sanskrit is *arhan sugato loke na rāgasya vaśaṃ vrajet / viṣayaṃ me hy atikrāntas, tasmāc chocāmy ahaṃ bhṛśam //* (*Lalitavistara*, ch. 24). "Lust": *rāga*. The equivalent Chinese passage gives *en-ai* (恩愛; "sexual love"). "My realm": *māradheyya*. The Chinese is *mo-ching* (魔境; "Māra's realm" [*T.* 2:286c]). "Grieve": *socāmi*. "I grieve" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "ich bin bekümmert" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). The Chinese is *yu-ch'ou* (憂愁; "grieve" [*T.* 2:286c]).

186. "We would serve": *pāde te paricārema*. The Chinese is *wo-chin-kuei shih-tsuen-tsu-hsia, chi-shih-shih-ling* (我今帰世尊足下、給侍使令 [*T.* 2:287a]).

187. "Paid them no heed": *na-manasākāsi*. The Chinese is *pu-ku-shih* (不顧視 [*T.* 2:287a]). "Heeded them not" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 156); "*beachtete sie gar nicht*" (*Geiger SN*, p. 193). The phrase is also translated into Chinese as *pu-ku-nien* (不顧念) or *pu-ku-mien* (不顧眄 [*T.* 2:287a]). If it is translated as *pu-tsuo-i* (不作意; "no attention"), as it was by traditional Buddhist scholars, it is incomprehensible.

188. "For": *yathā.*

189. "Deliberated": *samañcintesuṃ.* "Considered together" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 156); "überlegten zusammen" (*Geiger SN,* p. 193). The Chinese is *hsiang-wei-yen* (相謂言; "speaking together" [*T.* 2:287a]).

190. "Likes": *adhippāyā* (pl.). "Tastes" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 156); "Wünsche" (*Geiger SN,* p. 193). The Chinese is *sui-hsing ai-yü* (隨形愛欲; "according to type of desire" [*T.* 2:287a]).

191. "Form of . . . women who have not yet given birth": *avijātavaṇṇa.* This was translated into Chinese as *wei-ch'an-se* (未產色; "not yet having given birth to form" [*T.* 2:287a]).

192. "You meditate": *jhāyasi.* The Chinese is *ch'an-chi-mei* (禪寂默; "sitting silently in meditation" [*T.* 2:287a]).

193. The Chinese gives this as *she-su-ch'ien-ts'ai-pao* (捨俗錢財宝; "Have you thrown away your worldly money, wealth, and treasure?" [*T.* 2:287a]).

194. "Attainment of my purpose": *atthassa patti.* The Chinese translates this as *chih-tsu* (志足; "fulfilling the resolve" [*T.* 2:287a]). *Attha* is difficult to translate; its Chinese rendering as *chih* (志; "resolve") is of great interest. "Peace of mind": *santi.* The Chinese is *an-chi-mieh* (安寂滅; "peace and tranquillity" [*T.* 2:287a]).

195. "The five raging streams" are the defilements of eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body, that is, the defilements that arise from the five sense organs (*Pañc' oghatiṇṇo ti, pañcadvārikaṃ kiles' ogham tiṇṇo; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). The Chinese is *wu-yü* (五欲; "five desires" [*T.* 2:287b]). See also *Yü-ch'ieh shih-ti-lun,* fasc. 17 (*T.* 30:372c). "The sixth": *chaṭṭha* (*mano-dvārikaṃ pi chaṭṭhaṃ kiles' oghaṃ; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). This refers to the defilements arising from the sixth organ, the mind.

196. "The body calm": *passaddhakāyo.* "With body tranquillized" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 158); "beruhigten Körpers" (*Geiger SN,* p. 196). Buddhaghosa interprets the phrase as meaning that breathing is quieted through practice of the fourth stage of *dhyāna* (*catuttha-jjhānena assāsa-passāsa-kāyassa passaddhatta passaddhakāyo; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). This, of course, was a much later interpretation. "Creating nothing of deluded birth and existence": *asaṃkharonto* (= *tayo kammābhisaṅkhāre anabhisaṅkharonto; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). "Attached to nothing": *anoko* (= *anālayo; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187). Buddhaghosa interprets "grows not weary" in terms of the three basic defilements. Anger through a feeling of wrath does not arise. Recollections of past pleasures through sensuous desire do not occur. There is no weariness arising from absent-mindedness. These three are the fundamental defilements of the total of fifteen hundred defilements (*dosena na kuppati, rāgena na sarati, mohena na thīno. Imesu tīsu mūla-kilesesu gahitesu diyaḍḍha-kilesa-sahassaṃ gahitam eva hoti; Spk.,* vol. 1, p. 187).

197. *SN,* I, 4, 3, 5, 1–18 (vol. 1, pp. 124–26). "Is in deep meditation": *jhāyaṃ.* This was translated into Chinese as *hsiu-hsi-ch'an* (修習禪; "practicing meditation" [*T.* 2:287b]).

198. "Having severed": *acchejja* (= Skt., *ācchedya*). The Chinese is *i-tuan-ch'u* (已

断除; "severed" [*T.* 2:287b]). "Craving": *taṇhā*. The Chinese is *en-ai* (恩愛; "sexual love" [*T.* 2:287b]).

199. Rhys Davids interprets the last four lines of the verse as the words of Māra; Geiger, on the other hand, interprets them as the words of the Venerable Master (Gotama). The Pāli commentary is silent on the question.

200. "Bite iron with . . . teeth": *ayo dantehi khādatha*. The manuscript Oldenberg referred to had *dantebhi;* this is an inflection used in the *Ṛg Veda* (Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 1, 165). As the manuscripts were recopied, the old inflections were replaced with new ones.

201. "Hating Gotama." Cf. *Udv.*, XXI, 8.

202. "Came, radiantly shining": *daddallamānā*. In *Spk.* (vol. 1, p. 188), *daddaḷhamānā* (= *ativiya jalamānā sobhamānā*).

203. *SN*, I, 4, 3, 5, 19–23 (vol. 1, p. 127).

204. Zennō Ishigami claims that we should consider Māra's temptations to have occurred after Gotama's enlightenment ("Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta Butsuden ni tsuite -toku ni jūyō jiken ni gentei shite" [The biography of the Buddha in the "Sagāthavagga" of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, limited to the main events], *Sankō bunka kenkyūjo nempō* 3 [1970]: 48 54).

205. *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:639c–41b).

206. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:780c–81a).

207. *Āy.*, II, 15, 25; *Kalpa-sūtra*, 120–21.

208. *Āy.*, I, 3, 1; Hermann Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras*, vol. 22 of SBE [Oxford: The University Press, 1884; Reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964], p. 29.

209. The following passage is from a section of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* titled "The Rock" (Pāsāṇo; *SN*, I, 4, 2, 1, 1–5 [vol. 1, p. 109]). See also *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1088) (*T.* 2:285b).

210. The *Tsa a-han-ching* says: "Heaven rained in small drops." Sakyamuni was meditating in the open in the rain, undisturbed by a light rainfall in that hot climate.

211. "One after another": *mahante mahante pāsāṇe*. The repetition of the word *mahante* indicates "one after another" (*Pāsāṇā nirantaraṃ aññamaññaṃ abhihaṇantā patanti; Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 176).

212. *SN*, I, 4, 2, 9, 12–14 (vol. 1, p. 116). Since there is no equivalent passsage in the Chinese translation, this may represent a later development of the legend; such exchanges may have been conceived as a result of speculation about Māra's true nature.

213. Zennō Ishigami agrees with my thesis that Māra's temptations continued to occur after the enlightenment. See Ishigami, "Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta butsuden ni tsuite."

214. *Sn.*, 432f.

215. The Sanskrit term for "austerities" is *duṣkaracaryā*. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:580a); S. Lefmann, ed., *Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des*

Çâkya-Buddha (Halle a S.: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902–8), p. 244; *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 25 (*T.* 3:768c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:24b). The *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 3:511b–c), has the expression *ch'in-k'u-hsing* (勤苦行; "diligent practice of austerities"), and the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:75a), has *ching-hsing* (浄行; "pure practice").

216. For example, *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 67f. Akanuma gives a large number of sources from the scriptures in *Shakuson* (pp. 205–10). Most Buddhist writings say that the austerities lasted six years (*Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 4:75a]; *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 4:24b]; *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 5 [*T.* 3:511b]). There is also the expression "six years of austerities" (*Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 7 [*T.* 3:581c]; *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 3:638b]; *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 25 [*T.* 3:769b]).

217. "Practiced austerities": *Sn.,* 446; *AN,* vol. 4, p. 88G. "Practiced the state of compassion": *Mettacittaṃ vibhāvetvā* (*AN,* vol. 4, p. 89G). In the following verse in the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:204a), Gotama is said to have trained for nearly eight years: "When I was twenty-nine, Subhadda, I left home and practiced the Way; / And when I was thirty-six, under the *bodhi* tree, / I realized the ultimate truth of the Noble Eightfold Path / And attained perfect and complete enlightenment."

218. *SN,* I, 4, 3, 4 (vol. 1, pp. 122–24).

219. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:187c): "In the past I left home, / Practiced the way for twelve years, / And attained buddhahood. / Fifty years have passed / Since I began teaching the Dharma." This would mean that Gotama left home at nineteen, trained for twelve years, and taught for fifty years before entering *parinirvāṇa.*

220. See my *Jihi* (Compassion; Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1956), p. 55ff.

221. For example, *Sn.,* 77, 655; *Dhp.,* 395; *DN,* no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta,* III, 28 (vol. 2, p. 49G). Virtuous Brahmins are also praised for their practice of austerities (*Sn.,* 284, 292), though austerities in one who has not passed beyond doubt are rejected (*Sn.,* 249). See my *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu* (Formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

222. *SN,* I, 2, 3, 10 (vol. 1, p. 66G).

223. *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 44 (*T.* 2:359c).

224. *DN,* no. 2, *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta,* 29–30 (vol. 1, pp. 57–58).

225. *MN,* no. 12, *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 77–79). Ascetic practice (*dukkarakārikā*) is also mentioned in *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 67f. See also *DN,* no. 8, *Kassapasīhanāda-suttanta* and no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta.*

226. This is said to be one of the five practices that Devadatta advocated.

227. *Antaraṭṭhaka,* "between the eighths." The Indian month is divided into two parts of fifteen days each, the first half extending from the day after the full moon to the end of a month, the second half lasting from the new moon to the

full moon. "Between the eighths" refers to the period between the eighth days of the two periods. According to the Chinese and Japanese lunar calendar, this would be between around the twenty-third of one month and around the eighth of the next.

228. *MN,* no. 12, *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 77–79).

229. "Sacred places": *cetiya.* Originally this referred to trees and places where deities were thought to be present, but later it meant shrines. I deal with this topic further in volume 2.

230. *MN,* no. 4, *Bhayabherava-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 17–21). I have omitted the next passage because it does not appear in the Chinese translation and is thought to be a later addition.

231. "Village of Senā": *Senā-nigama.* The *Wu-fen-lü* regards this as a Brahmin called Senā. "After the Buddha spoke in verse, he rose and went seeking alms in the village of Senā in Uruvelā. Then he went to the house of Senā the Brahmin. He stood silently outside the gate" (*T.* 22:103b). According to the *Ssu-fen-lü,* however, the original Indic version seems to say *senānī-g[r]āma,* "in the village of the general in Uruvelā" (*T.* 22:780c), which is interpreted as "visiting the village of general Uruvelā."

232. "The Nerañjarā" has been added from the Chinese translation.

233. *MN,* no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 166–67). *MN,* no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 240), has the same content.

234. The Līlājan River joins the Mohana a little over a kilometer from Bodhgayā, and the Mohana then joins the Phalgu.

235. See note 109 (p. 431).

236. *MN,* no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 242 46). See also *MN,* no. 85, *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta,* vol. 2, p. 93; *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 5 (110) (*T.* 2:35a–37b); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 23 (8) (*T.* 2:670c–72b).

237. *MN,* no. 12, *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 80f.), and *MN,* no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 245).

238. This may be a kind of ivy or reed.

239. This section is titled "Performance of Ascetic Practice and Ritual" (*Tapo kammañ ca.*), *SN,* I, 4, 1 (vol. 1, p. 103); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 39 (1094) (*T.* 2:287c–88a). "Penance and Work" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 128); "Kasteiung und rituelles Tun" (*Geiger SN,* p. 160). Despite the title, which suggests that the compiler considered two topics, only the performance of ascetic practices (*tapo-kamma*) is discussed.

240. The banyan tree beneath which Sakyamuni sat was called Ajapāla, "Goatherd." The name may be derived from the protection given by the tree's shade. Just as personal names are given to pet dogs and cats in some cultures, in India individual trees are named.

241. *Tapokamma:* If *yena* in the original passage *Tapokammā apakkamma / / yena sujjhanti mānavā / /* is read as *ye na,* the line can be translated "Though, apart from ascetic practices, men cannot be purified." My reading is based on the Chinese

translation, which I think more clearly expresses the meaning. "Abandoned those practices": *tapokammā apakkamma* (= *tapo-kammāto apakkamitvā; Spk.*, p. 168). This indicates that a single question is being addressed, that of the performance of ascetic practices.

242. "Austerities": the standard text has *aparaṃ tapaṃ;* variants and the commentary (*Spk.*, p. 169) have *amaraṃ tapaṃ*, and I have gone along with them. The commentary has *amaraṇa-tapaṃ amara-bhāv' atthāya kataṃ, lūkhaṃ tapaṃ, attakilamath' ānuyogo.* See *akāsiṃ amaraṃ tapaṃ* (*Therag.*, 219).

243. "[Stranded] on dry land": *piyārittam va dhammaniṃ* (v.l. *dhammani*). Geiger considers *dhammani* to be the Sanskrit *dhanvani* ("in a dry place"), and I think this is completely acceptable. Woodward (*Spk.*, p. 169) amends it to *ghammani*, but there is no evidence for this in the manuscript, and the amendment does not clarify the meaning.

244. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 1, 1–5 (vol. 1, p. 103).

245. For such expressions, see pp. 170–75.

246. *MN*, no. 36, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 246–47). No Chinese translation of this passage is extant.

CHAPTER 4: REALIZING THE TRUTH

1. "Bodhgayā": *Buddhagayā* is based on the Sanskrit and Pāli pronunciation. In the local area it is written as बोधगया, which is transliterated as *Bodhgayā* by Cunningham. *Buddhagayā* does not appear either in the ancient sutras or in Sanskrit literature. The Chinese monks who traveled to India did not use this name, referring only to "the place of the *bodhi* tree." The place name *Gayā* appears in early documents as a sacred place in Hinduism; *Bodhgayā* seems to be a relatively recently coined designation to distinguish the place of the Buddha's enlightenment from Gayā.

Legends relating to the enlightenment: *DN*, vol. 2, p. 52; *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 1–7; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 75, l. 1; Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1 (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), 117–19; *CPS*, pp. 432–34; *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, p. 17; *Visuddhimagga*, XVII; *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 1: *Ta-pen-ching* (*T.* 1:7b–8b); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 24: *Ta-yin-ching* (*T.* 1:578b–82b); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15, 3 (*T.* 22:102c–3a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31, 1 (*T.* 22:781a–c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:124c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 3:595a–97a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:521c–24c); *Tai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 3:480a–c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:642a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 30 (*T.* 3:792c–96b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:26c–28a).

Artistic representations include "Going to the *bodhi* tree," second–fourth century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. II-68); "Attainment of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (Osamu Takata

and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 2 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 298; *WOB*, pl. II-75, 76; Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], pl. 21); "Attainment of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree," Gandhāra, British Museum (Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* [Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911], 96); "Attainment of enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree," Borobuḍur (Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Borobuḍur rises; Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], p. 114); "The deities praising Śākyamuni after his enlightenment" (*Nagarj.*, p. 44, pl. IV).

"*Abhisaṃbuddha*": Benimadhab Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā,* 2 vols., Indian History Series no. 1 and Fine Arts Series no. 4 (Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1934), reviewed by A. K. Coomaraswamy (*JAOS* 57 [1937]: 191 93). Visual representations: Bodhgayā (*WOB*, pl. 2); map of the historical remains at Bodhgayā (Shōkō Watanabe, *Shin Shakuson den* [A new biography of the Buddha; Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1966], p. 485); "King Aśoka and his queen visiting Bodhgayā," Sāñcī, Stupa 1, East Gateway (Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 3-47); "Attaining enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 298; *WOB*, pl. 75, 76; Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō*, pl. 30); "Śākyamuni's attainment of enlightenment," Gandhāra, British Museum (Inoue and Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden,* p. 96).

The pipal tree: Emeneau, "The Strangling Figs in Sanskrit Literature," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13, no. 10 (1949): 345f. Cf. *Kaṭh. Up.* According to Unrai Ogihara, *Bonwa daijiten* (Sanskrit-Japanese dictionary; Tokyo : Kodansha, 1986), the *aśvattha* is the *bodhi* tree, scientific name *Ficus religiosa.* In Chinese translation (*Buddhacarita*) it appears as *chi-hsiang-shu* (吉祥樹) and *chi-an-(lin)* (吉安[林]), and in transliteration (*Lalitavistara*) it appears as *a-shuo-t'a* (阿説他). In *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* Williams describes it as "the holy fig tree, Ficus Religiosa." His sources include *AV*, *Śat. Br.* Vaman Shivram Apte defines it as 1) the holy fig tree (Marāthī, *piṃpal*); 2) a variety of the *aśvattha* tree (*nandīvṛkṣa;* Marāthī, *nāṃdurakhī*); and 3) the name of another tree, *gardabhāṇḍa* (Marāthī, *lākhī piṃparī*) in *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968). *PW* gives a fairly long explanation: the name of a tree, *Ficus religiosa,* regarded as sacred, and the object of veneration by Buddhists in particular, since Śākyamuni sat beneath such a tree and there discarded all worldly concerns. It extends its roots into fissures of other trees and into cracks in walls and houses, causing them to collapse. One source cited by Böhtlingk is *Ṛg Veda,* 10.97.5. The Pali Text Society dictionary defines *assattha* as "the holy fig tree, *Ficus religiosa;* the tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment, i.e. the Bo tree." Sources include *Vinaya*, IV, 35; *DN*, II, 4 (*sammā-sambuddho assatthassa mūle abhisaṃbuddho*); and *SN*, V, 96. Many dictionaries hold that *assattha* is derived from "a place where the horse stands," but the Pali Text Society dictionary ques-

tions this and states that it was adopted from a local dialect, a suggestion with which I agree.

2. *DN*, vol. 2, p. 52.

3. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 1–24 (vol. 1, pp. 1–44); English translation, I. B. Horner, trans., *The Book of the Discipline*, vol. 4, vol. 14 of Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London: Luzac & Co., 1970), pp. 1–57.

4. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 68f. An English translation is found in Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1896), pp. 71–83.

5. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881), 106, nn. 1, 2.

6. Most modern Indians say that the *bodhi* tree is the *pippala*, and most scholars agree that the two are the same. This can be verified from the previously cited examples from the Marāthī language. See *Kogetsu zenshū* (Complete collection of Kaigyoku Watanabe's Works; Tokyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1933), p. 10f.

7. *AV*, V, 4; VI, 95; XIX, 39. Cf. Hermann Beckh, *Buddhismus*, 3d ed., vol. 1 (Berlin and Leipzig: Sammlung Göschen, 1928), p. 86; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 127, n. 1.

8. For details, see Emeneau, "Strangling Figs."

9. In Aryendra Sharma and Hans J. Vermeer, *Hindi-Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: J. Groos, 1983), there is no entry for *aśvattha*, but the entry for *pīpal* explains it as "Indischer Feigenbaum, Götzenbaum, Asvatha, Bo, Bodhi, Pipal, Pappelfeigenbaum (*Ficus religiosa*)." Sharma and Vermeer consider *vaṭ* to be "Banyanbaum (*Ficus bengalensis/indica*)." R. C. Pathak, ed., *Bhargava's Standard Illustrated Dictionary of the Hindi Language* (Banaras: Shree Ganga Pustakalaya, 1946), explains *aśvattha* as "the pipal tree, the holy fig (*Ficus religiosa*)," and *pīpar*, *pīpal* as "the holy fig tree, long pepper."

10. Adapted from the description by Naoki Nishioka in Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Bukkyō shokubutsu sansaku* (Rambling among the Buddhist plants; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1986), p. 55.

11. *Mahāvaṃsa*, I, 12.

12. *Mahāvaṃsa*, III, 2.

13. "At that time, through the strength of his compassion, the Bodhisattva on the evening of the seventh day of the second month, having quelled the demon, emitted a great radiance" (*Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 [*T.* 3:641b]).

14. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:916b).

15. Quotations in this section are from *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 78–80.

16. See pp. 164–67 of this volume.

17. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:863a–b). See also James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), 87–90.

18. For the diamond seat, see Kentoku Sasaki, "Butsuzakō" (Notes about the Buddha Seat), *Kikan shūkyō kenkyū* 2, no. 1 (1940): 149f.

19. Quotations from Hsüan-tsang in this section are from *T.* 51:915b–c. See also Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, p. 115–19.

20. I have seen the *bodhi* tree at Bodhgayā in both winter and summer; it retains its glossy green leaves year round.

21. *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 50:236b–c).

22. Jirō Sugiyama, ed., *Indo no bijutsu* (Indian art), vol. 4 of *Gurando sekai bijutsu* (Great art of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976), no. 18.

23. The eighth chapter of the Rock Edicts has *ayāya saṃbodhiṃ.* There is considerable dispute among scholars as to the exact meaning of *saṃbodhi* here. The general usage in Buddhist works is "the Buddha's enlightenment" (e.g., T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols. 2–4 [London: Luzac, 1971–73], vol. 1, pp. 190–92). Rhys Davids seems to have followed the Mahāyāna interpretation. The expression "Aśoka attained enlightenment" does not fit the context of the edict at all, however. Here *saṃbodhi* means "the place where Gotama attained complete and perfect enlightenment," that is, the *bodhi* tree at Bodhgayā (cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka* [Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1969], 71). Similar examples are found in early Buddhist works (*mahāyitvāna sambodhiṃ; Jātaka,* vol. 4, p. 236, l. 2; *rajñā bodhau śatasahasraṃ dattaṃ; Divyāv.,* p. 393). There are also instances where Bodhgayā is called Bodhi (*Divyāv.,* p. 397; P. L. Vaidya, ed., *Divyāvadāna,* vol. 20 of Buddhist Sanskrit Texts [Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1959], p. 254, l. 26). For Aśoka's visit to the *bodhi* tree, see also *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:915c) and Anton Schiefner, ed., *Tāranāthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* (St. Petersburg: Commissionaire der Kaiserlichen akademie der wissenschaften, 1869), 36. Veneration of the *bodhi* tree also appears in the *Mahāvaṃsa,* XVII, 17.

24. *A-yü-wang-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 50:137c).

25. *Divyāv.,* pp. 397–98.

26. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:863c).

27. *Mahāvaṃsa,* XV, 21–22; XVIII, 4–15; XIX.

28. R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London: Trübner & Co., 1875), p. 93.

29. Repairs were made in the late Gupta period (ca. sixth century), when granite was used, and the original designs were reproduced faithfully. It is said that at about the time the repairs using granite were made, the Mahāvihāra was built at Bodhgayā. An inscription says that this temple was repaired in 450 by King Sado (Thado Meng according to the Burmese inscription). It was destroyed by Śaśāṅka in the seventh century but was restored, according to an inscription dated 1079, by a Burmese between 1035 and 1079. An inscription of 1157 indicates that repairs were carried out by King Asokaballa of Sawalak or Siwalik (the present Kumaon region) shortly before the Muslim invasion of 1198. Considerably earlier than the Muslim invasion the Mahāvihāra had become a Hindu temple. Records show that in 850 King Dharmapāla enshrined a statue of the

four-headed Mahādeva there "for the benefit of the people of Mahābodhi." The continued use of the Buddhist name Mahābodhi as a place name is of interest.

30. Recent studies suggest that the balustrade dates from the Śuṅga period (ca. 180–ca. 68 B.C.E.; Osamu Takata, *Indo nankai no Bukkyō bijutsu* [Buddhist art of South India; Tokyo: Sōgeisha, 1943], 19; Vincent A. Smith, *Rulers of India: Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901], 114).

31. *Divyāv.*, p. 404; *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 51:915c).

32. *vāra* (*Divyāv.*, p. 403).

33. Alexander Cunningham, *The Mahābodhi or the Great Temple* (London: W. H. Allen, 1892), p. 15.

34. Bodh-Gayā inscriptions, no. 10.

35. Following are some observations made during my own visits to modern Bodhgayā. I first went there in the autumn of 1951, visiting again in December 1956 and several times thereafter. In 1956 I traveled with a group by bus from Gayā Station. On one of the buses was the inscription "Rājyā Ṭrānspōrṭ," a mixture of Hindi and English written in the Devanāgari script. From there to Bodhgayā it is a distance of some 15 kilometers (some say 11 kilometers; the distance seems to depend on whether one uses the old road or the new). Bodhgayā is some 220 kilometers southeast of Vārāṇasī. On leaving Gayā we traveled along roads lined with date palms, *jambu* trees, and tall coconut palms, with small hills to the left and a wide plain to the right. As we approached Bodhgayā, we came to a tall welcome arch on which were painted lotus flowers and, in Sanskrit, the words *dharmaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi* ("I take refuge in the Dharma"). Here we received garlands.

A little farther on we crossed grazing land and could see *śāla* trees and hemp palms. Small hills were surrounded by wooden palings and wire. It reminded me of the United States. To the left, Mount Prāgbodhi came into view. Ahead a goatherd was leading his flock. Five women walked along the road carrying baskets on their heads. The fields spread out into the distance. Three children were riding cows, and a cowherd was driving his herd along with the help of a stick. The road was well paved, and the traffic moved smoothly. Fields stretched out on both sides. Then, in front of us, there rose the tall tower of the Mahāvihāra, our destination.

We came to a second arch, on which was written, in Sanskrit, *saṅghaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (I take refuge in the Community). Surprised that I could not see the Nerañjarā River, since it had been readily visible on my previous visit, I was told that we had taken the new road instead of the old, which paralleled the river. Planting of trees along the road seemed to have just begun, and each young tree was circled with bricks to protect it from cattle.

About three kilometers farther on was Bodhgayā. We passed a Chinese temple, Chung-hua Ta-chio-ssu (Chinese Temple of the Great Enlightenment), and then the bus stopped. My companions and I received a warm welcome, the crowd so

great it was almost impossible to move. Most of the people were local residents. There were also schoolgirls and some Westerners. I was surprised to see that a Western Catholic nun had brought some girls to join in the welcome. This could be interpreted as a sign of Catholic sympathy toward and admiration of Buddhism or as evidence of Catholic penetration even of the holy places of Buddhism. We were draped with jasmine garlands.

The tower-shaped Mahāvihāra dominates the scene. It has been repaired many times over the centuries, so it is difficult to know exactly when it was first constructed. Since it appears to have existed in substantially the present form when Hsüan-tsang visited in the seventh century, it must have been built some time before that. The nearby stone foundation is thought to have been built by Aśoka. Experts call the tower a "delicate pyramid," since it is not as stout as most Hindu temples. Encircling the tower is a stone-paved path bordered by a stone balustrade on which are inscribed, in late Mauryan (second century B.C.E.) script, the names of donors. A small part of the balustrade dates from the early Gupta period (fourth century C.E.).

I was told that the tower had once been buried up to the terrace and that its surroundings had been exposed through excavations. The tower is fifty-four meters high, and a large statue of the Buddha sits in the gloomy interior. The outer surface is extensively carved. It is possible to climb to the second story. (Some years later I saw Tibetan monks chanting sutras on the second-story terrace.) Small towers at each corner of the Great Tower provide architectural balance. Color photographs often suggest that the building is green, but in fact it is yellow and reddish brown. The green, I was told, had been due to moss, which had been stripped off when the temple was cleaned for the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's birth (Buddhajayanti), celebrated in 1956.

The *bodhi* tree is west of the Mahāvihāra and is decked with small colorful banners. A fairly large rectangular stone platform lies between the tree and the west wall of the Mahāvihāra. On the platform is a red sandstone slab. This is the diamond seat, marking the spot where the enlightenment occurred. The platform's surface is carved and is darkly stained from the perfumed oil offered by pilgrims. This platform was built at a fairly late date. The grounds of the temple are dotted with stupas donated by Buddhists of long ago.

On the eastern side of the Mahāvihāra is the Śrijannath Temple. To the right of the temple is an ambulatory (*caṅkrama*) paved with flagstones. A row of stones carved with lotus flowers commemorates the legend that lotus flowers sprang up where the Buddha walked. It is said that the stones were placed there on the order of Aśoka. Stones bearing carvings of the Buddha's footprint are found in several places, and there is a pillar said to have been donated by Aśoka. I was told by a local resident that the pillar was moved to its present location beside the Bodhgayā tank from the nearby area associated with Sujātā in January 1958. It originally bore an inscription, but it was defaced by Muslims.

The inner court of the Mahāvihāra contains many stupas donated by followers of Buddhism. They contain bones or sutras or commemorate special occasions. In 1956 the superintendent of the Bodhgayā temple was Munindra Prasad Barua. He was not a Buddhist *bhikṣu* but a Hindu *acariya* who wore a white robe, an unmarried layman undergoing religious training. (I met him again in 1961 at a Buddhist temple in Calcutta.)

In the far distance from the Mahāvihāra six small towers are visible. They belong to a Shivaite temple, whose resident priests are called *mahantas.* Formerly the *mahantas* supervised all of Bodhgayā. Even today, though they have lost their autocratic power, they continue to live at the temple, the site of the *samadhi* (cremation grounds) of earlier generations of *mahantas.*

Beside the Mahāvihāra is a lotus pond in which Gotama is said to have bathed. The red lotuses blooming there are very beautiful. (When I revisited Bodhgayā in 1981, I noticed that the petals of the lotus flowers were actually red at the tip and white in the center.) The surroundings are now well tended, and the white ambulatory circling the pond is splendid. Near the pond is a building belonging to the Mahabodhi Society, where I learned that pilgrims from Tibet, Bhutan, and other places stay. Behind it is a red sandstone Jaina temple. Jaina temples are found at all Buddhist sites. The energy and determination of the Jainas is amazing. There is also a Tibetan temple that has been repainted in recent years.

Pilgrims from many countries have been visiting Bodhgayā for centuries. North of the Mahāvihāra is a monastery made up of a large number of cells facing a square central courtyard. It was built by a king of Sri Lanka to house pilgrims from that land. There is also a free hostel for Hindu pilgrims built by one of India's greatest industrialists, J. K. Birla. I was told that some inscriptions carved by Chinese pilgrim monks have been found at Bodhgayā. An inscribed stone commemorates the visit here in 1883 of the Japanese priest Kitabatake Dōryū. It reads: "The first [Japanese] to visit the site of Śākyamuni's enlightenment since the foundation of Japan. December 4, 1883. Dōryū." Today the pilgrims are no less varied. Yellow-robed monks from the countries of southern Asia sit cross-legged beneath the *bodhi* tree reciting sutras (Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], pl. 5).

There are in Bodhgayā a Thai temple, a Tibetan temple, a Chinese temple, and a Japanese temple. There is also a rather large Buddhist university. When I first visited Bodhgayā in 1951 an old nun named Ch'u-yüan, who had gone to India from the area of Han-k'ou in the 1920s, was living in the Chinese temple. An American Buddhist priest lives in the priests' lodging beside the Japanese temple, and a Western woman is living in the temple itself. The temple was

finished on December 6, 1973. Its objectives were outlined in Japanese, which I translated into Sanskrit at the request of the then head of Sōji-ji, Iwamoto Shōshun, a religious leader who did much to support the foundation of the Japanese temple. Engraved on a bronze placque are the words *Anuvāditaḥ śrī-Hājime / Nākāmura iti mahācāryeṇa / Tokyo-viśvavidyālayasya* (Thus translated by Mr. Hajime Nakamura, professor of the University of Tokyo). In the translation I received much help from P. J. Rao, a Brahmin, who was councillor at the Indian Embassy in Tokyo at the time. The Japanese temple is teaching a variety of subjects related to Japan. Bodhgayā also has an archaeological museum with an important collection. Of special interest are the indications of an ancient solar cult.

When I revisited Bodhgayā in January 1976 and February 1981, I found it had become quite a tourist center. Welcome signs in Hindi were displayed here and there. In 1981 I saw Westerners and visitors from Ladakh, and even Westerners among the Tibetan monks. There was a branch of the State Bank of India and a large souvenir shop catering to Japanese tourists called the Daitō Shōji Emporium. I had not seen a single Japanese there in 1951. But people like the Western woman making full prostrations at the Mahāvihāra were not simply tourists, of course.

Bodhgayā has been greatly beautified, and the sacred sites are enclosed in a large park. For this work the government of Bihar gave 10 million rupees, and the central government also made a substantial contribution. The government of the People's Republic of China, incidentally, donated 10,000 rupees for the preservation of the historical sites of Bodhgayā at the time of the 2,500th anniversary celebrations.

In recent years Bodhgayā has changed further, with the completion in 1986 of restoration work in accord with Indian taste. Pilgrims are numerous, and despite the growing tourist industry the area remains the most important center of Buddhist activity in India.

36. For research on the nature of the enlightenment, see Ryūjō Kambayashi, "Shakuson no jōbutsu ni tsuite" (On Śākyamuni's attainment of buddhahood), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 2, no. 2 (March 1954): 352 56 and Shōson Miyamoto, *Chūdō shisō oyobi sono hattatsu* (The philosophy of the Middle Way and its development; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1944), 114–52. For discussion of Sanskrit fragments corresponding to parts of the Pāli canon that mention Gotama's enlightenment, see Ernst Waldschmidt, "Die Erleuchtung des Buddha," *Festschrift Krause* (1960), pp. 214–29, and *Von Ceylon bis Turfan* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 396–411.

37. "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 1–7. The *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102c–103a), also says that the Buddha attained the fourth *dhyāna,* attained the Three Knowledges, and observed the principle of dependent origination, and thus gained enlighten-

ment. See also *SN*, XII, 65 (vol. 2, p. 104f.); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 2:80b–81a); *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 31 (4) (*T.* 2:718a–c); *T'ai-tzu juei-ying pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 3:477a).

38. In India the night was divided into three parts, which the Chinese translated as "early night" (*ch'u-yeh*; 初夜), "middle night" (*chung-yeh*; 中夜), and "late night" (*hou-yeh*; 後夜). The first division was the first three hours after sunset. Pāli: *rattiyā paṭhamaṃ yāmaṃ* ("in the first *yāma* of the night"). *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:102c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781b); *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 2. The second division was the three midnight hours. Pāli: *rattiyā majjhimaṃ yāmaṃ* ("in the middle *yāma* of the night"). *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22: 781b); *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 4. The third division was the three hours before sunrise. Pāli: *rattiyā pacchimaṃ yāmaṃ* ("in the last *yāma* of the night"). *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781c); *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 6. *Yāma* is a synonym of *prahara*. Each day was divided into eight three-hour divisions (cf. *Amara*, I, 3, 6). Chinese did not have a word corresponding to this, so it was translated as discussed above. The closest word in Chinese to *yāma* was *ching* (更) or *k'e* (刻; two hours). *Triyāma* was consequently nine hours and designated the night as a whole (Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta*, v. 105). The term *yāmamātraṃ* means "just one division," *kṣaṇamātram* (Vallabhadeva's commentary on the *Meghadūta*, 94).

39. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:130b, l. 14); fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:137b). The paragraph in the Sanskrit text beginning "*bodhimūle 'cirābhisaṃbuddho vimuktiprīti-sukha-pratisaṃvedī*" (*CPS*, p. 80) is based mainly on the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The manuscript fragment known as M 476 (cf. *CPS*, p. 102, n. 1) also appears to have been an important source for the reconstruction.

40. *SN*, XII, 10 (*Mahā Sakyamuni Gotamo*), I–II (vol. 2, pp. 10–11); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 12 (285) (*T.* 2:79c–80b).

41. *SN*, XII, 65 (vol. 2, p. 104f.).

42. I discuss this question in greater detail in my *Genshi Bukkyō no shisō* [The philosophy of early Buddhism], vols. 15 and 16 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1993, 1994).

43. See Hajime Nakamura, "Engisetsu no genkei" [The prototype of the doctrine of dependent origination], *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 5, no. 1 (1957): 59–68. I deal with this question more deeply in vol. 2.

44. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 75.

45. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 76, l. 21.

46. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, *MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, p. 167). (See p. 96 in this volume.)

47. *SN*, XXXV, 13 (1), vol. 4, pp. 6–7.

48. *SN*, XXXV, 14 (2), vol. 4, p. 8.

49. *SN*, XII, 26, "Assādo" (1), "Assādo" (vol. 3, pp. 27–28).

50. *SN*, XLVIII, 28, "Nabbhavo" (vol. 5, p. 206). There is no Chinese translation of this sutra.

51. *SN*, XLVIII, 21, "Nabbhavo" (vol. 5, pp. 203–4); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (650) (*T.* 2:182c–183a).

52. *SN*, LI, 11, "Pubbe" (vol. 5, pp. 263–66).

53. *RV*, IV, 26, 1.

54. *Kalpa-sūtra*, 120–21 (Hermann Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras*, vol. 22 of SBE [Oxford: The University Press, 1884; Reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964], pp. 263–64).

55. *SN*, LI, 21, "Maggo" (vol. 5, pp. 281–82). The five wonderworking powers are explained in detail in such texts as Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Path of Purity), a later Pāli work.

56. *Bhayabherava-sutta*, *MN*, no. 4 (vol. 1, p. 21f.).

57. *Dvedhā-vitakka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 19 (vol. 1, p. 114f.).

58. *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, *MN*, no. 36 (vol. 1, pp. 247–49).

59. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 75. "Past existences": It is said the Buddha also knew of other existences: *āyuṃ aññam pi jānāsi* (*Jātaka*, no. 405, v. 8 [vol. 3, p. 363, ll. 3–4]).

60. *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, *MN*, no. 26 (vol. 1, p. 160).

61. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56: *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:775c–78c).

62. *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 44 (1188) (*T.* 2:321–322); *Pieh-i Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 5 (101) (*T.* 2:410). Cf. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga" (Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1896], pp. 83–87).

63. "Bitter": *dukkham*. "Ill" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 175); "übel" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). This is probably a critical remark incorporating some ethical evaluation.

64. "Moral code": *sīlakkhandha*. "Moral code" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 175); "die sittliche Zucht" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). This is often translated into Chinese as *chieh-yün* (戒蘊; "precepts aggregate"). "If I had not yet perfected . . . a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin." From the point of view of Buddhism, it does not matter if one's master is a *samaṇa* or a Brahmin.

65. "The wisdom and insight of liberation": *vimuttiññāṇa-dassana*. In the *Tsa a-han-ching*, *chieh-t'uo-chih-chien* (解脱知見; "wisdom and insight of liberation").

66. "What if I were to pay respect and give obedience to the Dhamma?": *yaṃ nūnāhaṃ yvāyaṃ dhammo mayā abhisambuddho tam eva dhammaṃ sakkātvā garukatvā upanissāya vihareyyaṃ*. This is an extremely important sentence, for it indicates Buddhism's stance. "*Wie wäre es, wenn ich jetzt an die Wahrheit, die von mir durch Erleuchtung erkannt worden ist, mich anschiösse, ihr dienend und sie verehrend?*" (*Geiger SN*, p. 218). Rhys Davids personifies *dharma* and treats it as a deity. "This Norm then, wherein I am supremely enlightened—what if I were to live under It, paying It honour and respect!" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 175). Here we find the Western Christian outlook that demands that an absolute principle must be a personified deity. In the Sanskrit epics and the *Purāṇas* sometimes *dharma* is personified (Edward W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* [Boston and London: Ginn, 1895–1908], pp. 249,

358; cf. *Manu-smṛti*, XII, 50). This influenced Buddhism, so that in the *Smaller Sukhāvatī-vyūha* we find "Dharma Buddha." In the *Śat. Br.*, *dharma* is considered to be identical with Indra (*PW*, s.v. *dharma*, [9]). In the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* the Dharma is considered to be the highest principle, placed above the Buddha. (For the Dhamma, refer to *Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 91; *MN*, vol. 1, p. 171.) Buddhism was originally based on the Dhamma; that worship of the Buddha is a later addition is clear here.

67"Lord of the world": *sahampati*. See *Ogihara Unrai bunshū* (Collection of Unrai Ogihara's essays; Tokyo: Taishō Daigaku Bukkyōgaku Ogihara Unrai Kinen Kenkyūkai, 1938), p. 852. According to Buddhaghosa (*Spk.*, p. 199) there was in the time of Kassapa Buddha an elder (*thera*) called Sahaka who as a result of his religious practice became Brahmā (*Pj.*, p. 476). That doctrinal scholars employed such a popular derivation indicates that the meaning of *sahampati* was already obscure. Chinese translators transliterated it as *suo-p'o* (娑婆) indicating that they found it difficult to translate the term.

68. *Arahant* ("one who should be venerated"): when this word came into use, many buddhas were thought to occupy the worlds of the past and the future as well as the present. At the moment only the one Buddha, Gotama, exists. Thus Mahāyāna Buddhism developed the idea of many buddhas.

69. "This is the law [*dhammatā*] of all buddhas." Cf. *Udv.*, XXI, 11.

70. *SN*, VI, 1, 2 (vol. 1, pp. 138–40). "pay respect." Cf. *Udv.*, XXI, 13. This passage expresses the fundamental outlook of Buddhism.

After compiling the information for this chapter, I learned of a useful publication that I recommend: Dipak K. Barua, *Buddha Gaya Temple, Its History*, 2d ed. (Buddha Gaya: Buddhagaya Temple Management Committee, 1981).

CHAPTER 5: TEACHING THE TRUTH

1. The legend of the protection given to Gotama by the *nāga* king: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 3, 1–3; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 80, l. 1; Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), part 1, p. 126; *CPS*, pp. 438–39; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103a–b); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:125c–126a).

Representations in art: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. 1); Borobuḍur (Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Borobuḍur rises; Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], p. 106f.); National Museum, Bangkok (*WOB*, pl. 2); thirteenth century, Angkor, Ayutthaya Museum (Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New Nork: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 203).

2. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 2, 1–1, 4, 1.

3. For example, the early Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara*, the *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 3:523f.).

4. In *CPS*, p. 96f., Waldschmidt gives "Mucalinda," but he supplements it with the Pāli word, and the manuscript itself is unclear.

5. *CPS*, vol. 1, p. 5; vol. 2, p. 102, n. 1. Mitsuyoshi Saegusa pointed out that the part describing the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination is missing. Refer also to *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:126a) and fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:126b).

6. Quotations in this section are from *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 77–78.

7. The ideal for practitioners who wander from place to place was known to Schopenhauer: "And as an Indian counterpart of this, we find in the precepts of Fo [transliteration of a Chinese ideogram meaning Buddha] that the Saniassi, who ought to be without a dwelling and entirely without property, is further finally enjoined not to lay himself down often under the same tree, lest he should acquire a preference or inclination for it above other trees" (*The World as Will and Idea*, vol. 1, trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1909], p. 503).

8. *Udāna*, I–4 (p. 3); *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 2, 1–3 (vol. 1, pp. 2–3).

9. *SN*, IV, *Mārasaṃyutta*, 3, 4 (Sattavassāni), vol. 1, pp. 122–24.

10. *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1092) (*T.* 2:286b–c); *Pieh-i Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (31) (*T.* 2:383a–b).

11. *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 9 (246) (*T.* 2:59a–b).

12. The Tibetan version (p. 97) and the Chinese *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:125–26) relate this section after the conversion of the two merchants. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* probably followed suit.

13. *Udāna*, II–1 (p. 10); *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 3, 1–4 (vol. 1, pp. 3).

14. The Sanskrit and Tibetan (pp. 96–97) versions have "He proceeded toward the abode of Mucalinda, the *nāga* king. Having arrived there, he sat down against the root of a tree."

15. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 80.

16. Egaku Maeda, "Indo no butten ni arawareta ryū to ryūgū" (*Nāgas* and their palaces in Indian Buddhist texts), *Tōkai Bukkyō*, no. 5 (June 1959): 29–35. For the *nāga* in biographies of the Buddha, see Yūshō Miyasaka, "Butsuden ni mieru nāga ni tsuite: Indo kodaishi no ichidanmen" (On *nāgas* in Buddhist texts: An aspect of ancient Indian history), *Chisan gakuhō*, nos. 12, 13 (1964): 145–63.

17. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 80.

18. The legend of the offerings of the two merchants: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 4, 1–5 (vol. 1, p. 3f.); *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 80, l. 16; *CPS*, pp. 81–86, 435–37; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 122–25; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:781c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:125a–b); *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 3:479a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:643b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 3:801a–c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 10 (*T.* 3:601c); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:526b–c).

Representations in art: "The food offering of Tapussa and Bhallika," third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. III-3) and Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 34); "The four heavenly kings offering a bowl," second century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 47; Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 25; *WOB*, pl. III-4), and Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 33); "A youth offers mud," Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 52) and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*Nagarj.*, p. 150, pl. XXI).

The developed legend said that the two had many vehicles and were escorting a large group of merchants. "For seven days [the Buddha] sat cross-legged, delighting in his liberation. At the end of seven days he emerged from his meditation and wandered among people. There were five hundred merchants, riding in five hundred vehicles. Two [merchants] were especially splendid; they were named Tapussa and Bhallika" (*Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 [*T.* 22:103a]). "After he had gained enlightenment, the Buddha, wanting to instruct Tapussa and Bhallika and the [rest of the] five hundred merchants, caused the chariots and horses to halt and the merchants and their companions and other people not to proceed. They wondered at the reason" (*Ta-pao-chi-ching*, fasc. 11 [*T.* 11:64c]). The names of the two merchants Tapassu and Bhallika also appear in *AN*, I, 14, 6 (vol. 1, p. 26). In Sanskrit their names are spelled Tripusa and Bhallika (*CPS*, II, 5. p. 80). The form Tapassu also appears in the *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā* (p. 54; Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* [Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967], p. 681).

19. According to the *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15, the meeting with Mucalinda occurred after the Buddha had received the offerings of the merchants.

20. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (2, 6) says: "The Buddha has not received food for seven days. Go and offer him dumplings [*piṇḍaka*]" (*CPS*, p. 82).

21. According to the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, "It would not be fitting for me to receive food with my hands, like the follower of some other teaching [*tīrthika*]. Let me think about how the buddhas of the past received offerings of food for the merit of ordinary beings" (*CPS*, pp. 84–85).

22. In the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions (*CPS*, p. 88), there is a short sentence not in the Chinese: "The two of us also take refuge in the Saṅgha of the future." This sentence predicting the establishment of the Saṅgha is clearly a later addition; the Pāli version is probably much more reliable.

23. *AN*, I, 14, 6 (vol. 1, pp. 25–26). *Tseng-i a-han-ching* (*T.* 2:559).

24. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 80–81.

25. See Hajime Nakamura, "Genshi Bukkyō seiten seiritsushi kenkyū no kijun ni tsuite" [On criteria for research on the history of the formation of the early Buddhist canon], *Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nempō*, no. 21 (1955): 70–72.

26. *ye keci Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gatāse / na te gamissanti apāyabhūmiṃ //* (*SN*, I, 4, 7, 7 [vol. 1, p. 27, ll. 8–9]).

27. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103b–c).

28. *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 31 (*T.* 22:786a–b).

29. The legend of Brahmā's encouragement: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 5, 1–13; *MN,* vol. 1, p. 167; *SN,* vol. 1, p. 136; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 81, l. 4; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 129–30; *CPS,* pp. 118f., 434f., 442f.; *Lalitavistara,* p. 514; *Buddhacarita,* XV, 79–85; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103c–104a); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:786c–87b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fascs. 5–6 (*T.* 24:126b et seq.); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 3:602c–5a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:528a–c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:642c–43a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 3:805a–7a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:28b–c). The legend of the Buddha's hesitation to preach also appears in the *Mahāvastu;* see Tsūshō Byōdō, "Budda no shoki dendō seikatsu ni okeru sansengenbun ni tsuite: Toku ni *Mahāvastu* ni ryūi shite" (On the three statements in the Buddha's early life of teaching ministry— with special reference to the *Mahāvastu*), *Shūkyō kenkyū,* n.s., 8, no. 2 (1931): 121–32. Minoru Hara points out that a similar legend is found in the *Rāmāyana* (I, 2). Concerning the legend in Buddhism, see Hakuju Ui, "Agon ni arawaretaru Bonten" (Brahmā in the Āgamas), *Indo Tetsugaku Kenkyū* 3 (Reprint; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 63–202, and Zennō Ishigami, "Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta Butsuden ni tsuite toku ni jūyō jiken ni gentei shite" (The biography of the Buddha in the "Sagātthavagga" of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Sankō bunka kenkyūjo nempō* 3 (1970): 41–48.

Representations in art: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. 5; *Nagarj.,* p. 58, pl. VIII); third–fourth century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-6); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 35–36); Borobuḍur (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 119).

30. *CPS,* pp. 108–10.

31. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:126).

32. *SN,* I, 6, 1, 1: *Āyācanam* (vol. 1, pp. 136–38). *Āyācanam:* "The Entreaty" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 171); "die Bitte" (*Geiger SN,* p. 213). *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593a–b), says without stipulating which tree: "At one time the Buddha stayed under a tree."

33. "Having just attained enlightenment": *paṭhamābhisaṃbuddho.* In *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593a) this is translated as *te-tao-wei-chiu* (得道未久; "not long after attaining enlightenment"). Synonymous phrases appear in the *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 5, 12 (vol. 1, p. 7); *DN,* xiv, 3, 7 (vol. 2, p. 39); *MN,* no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 169).

34. "Peaceful": *santo* (= *śānto*). The equivalent section in the *Tseng-i a-han-ching* has *hsiu-hsi* (休息; "rest"). "Beyond reasoning": *atakkāvacaro.* The *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593a) has *pu-k'e-ssu-wei* (不可思惟; "unable to ponder").

35. "Given to attachment": *ālaya-rāma.* "Devoting itself to the things to which it clings" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 171); "verharrt bei seinen Neigungen" (*Geiger SN,* p. 213). The meaning, according to Buddhaghosa, is that living beings are addicted

to the objects of the five desires: *sattā pañca-kāma-guṇesu allīyati, tasmā te ālayā ti vuccati* (*Spk.*, p. 195).

36. "That exists because of this": *idappaccayatā*. The term *idappaccaya* means "these various causes" (*imesaṃ paccayā*), and *idappaccayatā* and *paṭiccasamuppāda* are synonomous (*Spk.*, p. 196): "that this is conditioned by that" (*Rhys Davids SN*, pp. 171–72); "diese ursächliche Aufeinanderfolge" (*Geiger SN*, p. 213). A literal translation would be "being dependent on this." "Dependent origination": *paṭiccasamuppāda*. "That all that happens is by way of cause" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 172; "das Gesetz ursächlicher Enstehung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 213).

37. "*Nibbāna*" (= *nirvāṇa*). Geiger interprets it to mean "das Erlöschen." Rhys Davids does not translate it.

38. "Wonderful": *acchariyā*. *Spk.* has *anacchariyā*, meaning *anu-acchariya* (p. 196). The following verse section is placed at the end in the Tibetan *Vinaya* (p. 115) and the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:126b), after the words "Listen to the Dhamma of the undefiled person." There are slight differences in phrasing in the *Vinaya* text. Verses with the same gist are found elsewhere, for example, *MN*, no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 167); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:103c); *Ssu-fen-lü* (*T.* 22:786c).

39. "Should I now teach to others?": *halandāni* (= *ha* + *alaṃ* + *idāni*; *Spk.*, p. 197); *ha* is undeclinable (*nipāta*). *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593b) has *he-hsü-shuo-fa* (何須說法; "How should I teach the Dharma?").

40. "Those who hold fast to greed and hatred": *rāga-dosa-paretehi* (= *rāga-dosa-phuṭṭehi* = *rāgadosānuyatehi*; *Spk.*, p. 197).

41. "It cannot be seen": *na dakkhinti* (= *na passanti*; *Spk.*, p. 127).

42. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 136G; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 36G; *MN*, no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 168G); *Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 5G.

43. "His heart was inclined to do nothing": *appossukkatāyā ti* (= *nirussukka-bhāvena adesetu-kāmatāyā ti*; *Spk.*, p. 197).

44. "Defiled people": *samalā*. This refers to teachers of mistaken views (*micchā-diṭṭhi-dhammā*; *Spk.*, p. 199)

45. "Throw open": *apāpura* (= *vivara*; *Spk.*, p. 199). "The gateway of deathlessness": *amatassa dvāram* (= *amatassa nibbānassa dvārabhūtaṃ ariyamaggam*; *Spk.*, p. 199; cf. p. 203). *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 10 (*T.* 2:593b), translates this as *fa-men* (法門; "gate of the Dharma").

46. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (*CPS*, p. 114) has "preach the Dhamma that the one free from impurity has attained" (*vadasva dharmaṃ virajānubuddhaṃ*). The Tibetan *Vinaya* has the same (*dri-ma med-pas rtogs-pas bśad-pa mdsod*). The verse in the Pāli version may have been an old form, independently transmitted, that was later included as part of the section on the encouragement of Brahmā as his own words. Therefore the Sanskrit version has corrected the verb form to the imperative, while the Pāli maintains the form before the correction.

47. "Bend your gaze": *Udv.*, XXI, 18.

48. "Arise": This phrase exists only in the *SN*, in the Myanmar manuscript. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 137G; *MN*, no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 168–69G); *DN*, vol. 2, p. 39G. *Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 5–6G. "You who are free from debt": addressing the Buddha in these mercantile terms confirms the hypothesis that merchants played an important role in spreading Buddhism in the society.

49. According to *CPS*, I, 4–7 (pp. 75–76), two *brahmakāyikā devatā* ("semi-gods relating to Brahmā") narrated this. In the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 5 (*T.* 24:125a) two heavenly beings related it. The verse form here is older; the prose explanation was added by later commentators. The equivalent passage in the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* is translated as *ch'i-ch'i ta-tz'u-pei yüan-tsei t'uei-san* (起起大慈悲怨賊退散; "Arise, arise, great compassion; now rout the fearful bandits"). It is not clear if "great compassion" was added by the translator or if it was in the original version. It seems that Sarvāstivādin writings stress compassion more than those of Southern Buddhism.

50. "Entreaty": *ajjhesanaṃ* (=*yācanaṃ*; *Spk.*, p. 200). "The entreaty" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 173); "die Aufforderung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 216). "Full of compassion for all living beings": *sattesu ca kāruññataṃ paṭicca.* "Because of his pitifulness toward all souls" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 173); "in seiner Barmherzigkeit gegenüber den Wesen" (*Geiger SN*, p. 216); *tz'u-min-i-ch'ieh chung-sheng-ku* (慈愍一切衆生故; "because of compassion for all living beings"; *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 10 [*T.* 2:593b]).

51. "Beautiful in form": *svākāre.* According to Buddhaghosa, *yesaṃ te eva saddhādayo ākārā sundarā, te svākārā* (*Spk.*, p. 200). The word implies beautiful in spiritual form, not physical form, that is, someone of good disposition and character. "Ugly in form": *dvākāre.* This refers to a person of poor disposition and character.

52. "Ambrosia": *amṛta.* This drink of immortality is mentioned in the *Ṛg Veda.* "n. der Unsterblichkeitstrank, *ambrosia*, häufig auf die ins Feuer gegossene Opferbutter(havis), oder auf der Somatrank bezogen, mit den Beiwörtern *cāru*, *mādhu* (H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch Zum Rig-Veda* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976], col. 94. Here it refers to *nibbāna* (*Pj.*, p. 185).

53. "Let [them] abandon their [other] faiths": the original of this verse is *apārutā tesaṃ amatassa dvārā ye sotavanto pamuccantu saddhaṃ / vihiṃsasaññī paguṇaṃ na bhāsiṃ dhammaṃ paṇītaṃ manujesu brahma //* (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 138). *Vinaya*, I, 5, 12 (vol. 1, p. 7), has an almost identical text. According to Buddhaghosa, *sabbe attano saddhaṃ pamuñcantu, vissajjantu* (*Spk.*, p. 203). This seems to be telling people to shed their faith in the other religions of the time, but the Chinese translation (or its base text, probably later than the Pāli version) says the exact opposite: *wen-che-te-tu-hsin* (聞者得篤信; "those who hear will attain devout faith"; *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 10 [*T.* 2:593b]). Perhaps in later times, when the authority of the Buddhist organization had been established, it was necessary to emphasize faith. Comparison with Sanskrit texts also indicates such a change (Fumio Enomoto, "Higashi Torukisutan shutsudo bonbun agon no keifu" [The affiliation of the Central Asian

sūtra fragments], *Kachō Tanki Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 29 [December 1984]: 17–18).

The old Sanskrit text *Mahāvastu* has the expression "abandon other faiths": *apāvṛtaṃ me amṛtasya dvāraṃ brahmeti bhagavantaṃ ye śrotukāmā śraddhāṃ pramuṃcantu vihethasaṃjñāṃ / vihethasaṃjño praguṇo abhūṣi dharmo aśuddho magadheṣu pūrvaṃ //* (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, p. 319). In later texts, however, this is changed to "those with faith should rejoice": *dvāraṃ ye śrotukā[māḥ]pram[od]aṃtu śraddhāḥ/vi[he-]. . . . //* (*Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, MS cat. no. 400); *avāvariṣye amṛtasya dvāraṃ ye śrotukāmā pramodantu śrāddhāḥ / vihiṭhaprekṣe pracura na bhāṣe dharmaṃ praṇitaṃ manujeṣu brahman //* (*Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, MS cat. no. 584); *apāvariṣye amṛtasya dvāraṃ ye śrotukāmāḥ praṇudantu kāṅkṣāḥ / viheṭhaprekṣī pracuraṃ ne bhāṣe dharmaṃ praṇītaṃ manujeṣu brahman //* (Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1 [Rome: IsMEO, 1977; *SOR*, XLIX, 1, 2], 130); *apāvṛtās teṣaṃ amṛtasya dvārā brahman ti satataṃ ye śrotuvantaḥ / praviśanti śraddhā na vihethasaṃjñāḥ śṛṇvanti dharmaṃ magadheṣu sattvāḥ //* (Salomon Lefmann, ed., *Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha*, vol. 1 (Halle a S.: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902], p. 400); "I now open the ambrosial gateway, that those with faith gain joy; I am teaching the wonderful Law among people. It is to prevent others from tormenting themselves. Therefore, I am preaching" (*Ta-chih-tu-lun*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 25:63b]). There is no doubt that the interpretation of the *SN* phrase as meaning "abandon other faiths" reflects the ideas of early Buddhism.

Regarding the meaning of *pamuñcassu saddhaṃ*, some scholars hold that it means "arouse faith." This argument is based on the Pāli commentaries and the interpretation seen in Chinese translations. It is difficult, however, to agree with this interpretation. First, *pramuñcati* as it appears in Sanskrit literature has meant "abandon" since the time of the *Ṛg Veda*. In slightly later texts it means "loosen" or "free," and in the passive (*pramucyate*) it means "to disappear." The dictionaries of Böhtlingk and Roth, Williams, and Apte are all in agreement here. Second, "arouse faith" is a concept of later Buddhism. Neither *pamuñcassu saddhaṃ* nor its Sanskrit equivalent *pramuñcasva śraddhāṃ* appears in general Buddhist texts or in general Sanskrit texts. It is a strange expression. Third, when Brahmā spoke thus to Gotama, it was before the Buddha's first discourse; Buddhism itself had not been established. "Abandon other faiths" therefore fits the context far better. Fourth, later doctrinal scholars had no historical awareness. Puzzled by the expression, they made a strained interpretation. Fifth, even today we find writers attempting to make the text coherent. A number of Japanese translations by leading Buddhist scholars depart from the original text. For these reasons I support the literal translation of Hakuju Ui and others.

54. "Exquisite": *paguṇa* (= *suppavatti; Spk.*, p. 203). "Sublime" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 174). *Paguṇa* also includes the meaning of "well-acquainted": "die mir vertraute [Wahrheit]" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). "Excellent": *paṇīta*. "Excellent" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 174); "erhaben" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). "Truth": The Chinese equivalent has *shen-fa-yao* (深法要; "essence of profound truth").

55. "Vanished from that place": The first part of the passage shows the

Buddha's hesitation to teach; the second part shows his resolution to do so. A similar text appears in *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 35–39), as applied to Vipassin Buddha and somewhat expanded. See *Ta-pen-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 1:1b–10c]).

56. *Therag.*, 1257.

57. *Therag.*, 1258.

58. *SN*, I, 4, 3, 4. See p. 221.

59. MPS, III, 34 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 112–13).

60. "Holding in reverence": *gārava* (= Skt., *gaurava*). "Holding in reverence" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 174); "Verehrung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217). *SN*, I, 6, 1, 2; *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 44 (1188) (*T.* 2:321c–22a). Cf. *AN*, vol. 2, pp. 20–21.

61. "He had just attained enlightenment": *paṭhamābhisambuddho*. "Just he had become fully enlightened" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 174); "Eben erst zur vollkommenen Erleuchtung gelangt" (*Geiger SN*, p. 217); "Not long had passed since he attained enlightenment" (*Tsa a-han-ching* [*T.* 2:321c]). According to Buddhaghosa, this occurred during the fifth week (*pañcame sattāhe*) after the enlightenment (*Spk.*, p. 203).

62. *SN*, VI, 1, 2 (vol. 1, pp. 138–40).

63. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 81.

64. Cf. Yājñavalkya (*Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 3, 33); Satyakāma (*Chānd. Up.*, IV, 10); Raikva (*Chānd. Up.*, IV, 2, 3); Prajāpati (*Chānd. Up.*, VIII, 7 f.); Yama (*Kaṭh. Up.*, I, 21 f.).

65. *MN*, no. 26, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 169f.). See also *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 1 (vol. 1, p. 7 f.); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:777a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104).

66. See pp. 126–40 of this book.

67. "Knowledge and insight": The *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," gives only "knowledge" (*ñāṇa*). "The previous night": *abhidosakālaṃkata*. The *Wu-fen-lü* says "last night"; the *Ssu-fen-lü* says "yesterday."

68. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (*CPS*, p. 126) has *(pañcakā) (bhikṣa)vo bārāṇasyāṃ viharanty ṛṣivadane mṛ(gadāpe)* / and the Tibetan text has *lha-sdeḥi dge-sloṅ-rnams bā-ra-na-se-na draṅ-sroṅ smra-la ri-dags kyi nags-na ḥkhod-pa gzigs-so* /, which says: "that dwelt in the deer forest, the conversation of *rishis*." Waldschmidt reports the frequent occurrence of *mṛgadāpa*. The *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6, has "and he saw that the five men were at Vārāṇaṣī, in the deer grove, the place of *ṛṣis* [*ṛṣipatana*]" (*T.* 24:127a).

69. The Pāli *Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 7–8, has the same text except for "the Blessed One" (*bhagavā*) instead of "I." See also *Chung a-han-ching* (204): *Lo-mo-ching*.

70. According to a later biography of the Buddha (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, pp. 325–28), the Buddha went from Uruvelā to Gayā, and then via Aparagayā, Sudarśana, Vaśāla, Cunda-dvīpa, Sāraṭṭhi-pura, and Lohitavastuka to Deer Park, having crossed the Ganges.

71. Nothing is known about the Ājīvika Upaka. The name Upaka appears

elsewhere in the Buddhist scriptures as one of a group of seven *bhikkhus;* he is said to have gone to the heavenly realm after death, but whether he is the same person as the Ājīvika Upaka is unknown (*SN,* I, 1, 5, 10 (vol. 1, p. 35G); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 22 [*T.* 2:159b]; *Pieh-i Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 9 [*T.* 2:442c]). The legend of the meeting with Upaka: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 5–9; *MN,* vol. 1, p. 169; *CPS,* pp. 126–32, 443 (appears as Upaga); Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, 131–32 (appears as Upagu); *Lalitavistara,* p. 525; *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787b et seq.); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:127a), translates Upagu as Chin-chin (親近); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:605b–6a); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:643a c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 3:807c–8c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:28c–29a).

There are relatively few artistic representations of the legend, perhaps because it was not a subject that appealed to people. A rare example is an eighth-century representation from Borobuḍur (*WOB,* pl. III-7; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru,* p. 121).

72. *SN,* I, 2, 3, 10, 4 (vol. 1, p. 66G).

73. According to the Hindu scripture Purana, a great *kalpa* (*mahākalpa*) is 311,040,000,000,000 years in length (F. O. Schrader, *Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas,* 35.)

74. *DN,* II, 20 21 (vol. 1, pp. 53–54).

75. "Upaka": The Sanskrit text (p. 126) gives "Upaga." This is identical in form to the name in the Tibetan text, *Ñer-ḥgro.*

76. The Pāli *Vinaya,* vol. 1, p. 8, has the same text except for "the Blessed One" (*bhagavā*) instead of "I." See also *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104); *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (204): *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:777).

77. *MN,* vol. 1, pp. 170–71.

78. The *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 23 (*T.* 2:167b), says: "At that place, when the Tathāgata was going to Vārāṇasī, an Ājīvika asked him a question."

79. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 81.

80. *Pj.,* pp. 258–60. Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), 236.

81. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching* (a version of the *Lalitavistara*), fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:606a).

82. "People are many, but few reach the other shore [of enlightenment]. Most wander up and down on this shore [of delusion]" (*Dhp.,* 85).

83. See note 81. Representations of the crossing of the Ganges in art: "Using supernatural powers to cross the Ganges:" first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 2 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 295; Baici Hemmi, *Koten Indo Mon'yō* [Classical Indian patterns; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1976], pl. 9); first century B.C.E., Gayā (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 290); second century C.E., Amarāvatī (*ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 94); 600–650, Qïzïl, cave wall painting (*West Berlin,* pl. 26).

84. *Manu-smṛti*, VIII, 407.

85. "My own view is that the *Vinaya* reveals that tolls were taken at tunnels, ferries, and the entrances to villages and that a fee of five *māsakas* or more was levied on those wishing to pass. The *Manu-smṛti* stipulates that people of religion and others did not have to pay such tolls. Verse 85 of the *Dhammapada* reveals how difficult it was at the time to cross the Ganges. The episode of the Buddha's crossing the Ganges must have been composed at a time when laws and regulations had become codified and there was an advanced money economy" (Yūshō Miyasaka, *Kōyasan Daigaku gakuhō* 2 [July 1959]: 3).

86. *dhammacakka-pavattana* (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 52). Concerning the first discourse, see Benkyō Shiio, *Bukkyō kyōten gaisetsu* (Outline of Buddhist scriptures; Tokyo: Kōshisha Shobō, 1933), 491 et seq. The discourse to the five *bhikkhus* bears some similarities to the *Bhag. G.* (8:11) and the *Kāṭh. Up.* (2:15; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *MCB* [Louvain: Marcel Istas, 1932], vol. 1, p. 377). On the basis of this discourse, some scholars believe that Buddhism emerged from Brahmanism. See Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyō no shisō I* (The philosophy of early Buddhism, vol. 1), vol. 15 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1993).

87. There is still a place called Deer Park on the outskirts of Varanasi. It consists of a rolling expanse of grass, where deer may once have grazed. A temple has been built there by the Mahābodhi Society, with a mural of the Buddha's life by the Japanese artist Kōsetsu Nousu. There was also a *migadāya* at Kaṇṇakatthala, Ujuññā, and Gotama stayed there as well (*DN*, no. 8, *Kassapa-sīhanāda-suttanta* [vol. 1, p. 161]). The *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 16: *Luo-hsing fan-chih-ching* [*T.* 1:102c], has *lu-yeh-lin* (鹿野林; "deer grove"). (The *dāya* of *migadāya* means "wood, jungle, forest, grove.")

88. The first discourse (the legend of the conversion of the five *bhikkhus*): *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 10; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 81, l. 25; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 133–39; *CPS*, pp. 132–71, 444–51; Rajendralal Mitra, ed., *Lalita Vistara, or, Memoirs of the early life of Śākya Siṅha*, Bibliotheca Indica 15 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853–77), p. 540; Lefmann, *Lalitavistara*, vol. 1, p. 420; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, p. 331, l. 17; *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 2:7c–8a); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104b–5a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787c–89b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:127b–28c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 11 (*T.* 3:606b–11b); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:530b–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 34 (*T.* 3:810c–14b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:644a–45a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 4:29b–30b).

Representations in art: Deer Park (*WOB*, p. 124, pl. 3; Hajime Nakamura and Takashi Koezuka, *Ganjisu no seichi* [Sacred places along the Ganges River], vol. 6 of *Sekai no seiiki* [Sanctuaries of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979], pl. 36, 37); Dhāmekh Stupa (Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], no. 59; *Archaeological Remains*,

pl. XX); Meeting with the five *bhikkhus*, second fourth century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. 8); five *bhikkhus* portrayed with unkempt hair, Borobuḍur (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 486; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 125); first century, Sāñcī, Stupa 1, west gateway, front face (Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 0-6; Taijun Inokuchi, Seizan Yanagida, and Chikusa Masaaki, ed., *Zusetsu Nihon Bukkyō no genzō* [Original images of Japanese Buddhism in illustrations; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982], frontispiece 2; *WOB*, pl. III-9); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 37, 38); Ahicchatra (N. P. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archaeological Museum, 1966], pl. 52); fifth century, Sārnāth, Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth (*WOB*, pl. III-10; *Indo, Nishi Ajia* [India and West Asia], vol. 13 of *Genshoku sekai no bijutsu* [Art of the world in full color; Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1970], l. 54; Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], pls. 46, 47); Indian Museum, Calcutta (Tetsujirō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* (Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged edition; Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911), pp. 150–74; K. S. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India and Early Andhra History* [New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1981], p. 7; Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 100); Borobuḍur (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 486c; Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, pp. 125–26).

89. Quotations from the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* in this section are from *MN*, no. 26, vol. 1, pp. 171f. See also *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 10–11 (vol. 1, pp. 8–9); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787–89); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104–5).

90. Cf. Colette Caillat, "Isipatana Migadāya," *JA* (1968): 177–83.

91. The rest of the sentence is a little different in the "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 11.

92. A relief showing the reunion with one *bhikkhu* (Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum [Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 45]) shows Gotama on the right, the five *bhikkhus* on the left, and two flying heavenly beings at the top. The three *bhikkhus* in the front hold a fan, a water flask to wash Gotama's feet, and a fly whisk.

93. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 81–82.

94. *mahākulappasūto kho pan' esa āsanābhihāram arahati, ten' assa asanamattam paññāpessāma.*

95. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

96. This section does not appear in the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, the *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, or the Tibetan version. It appears to be a later addition.

97. See Hajime Nakamura, "Genshi Bukkyō seiten seiritsushi kenkyū no kijun ni tsuite," p. 58 et seq.

98. *Sn.*, p. 21 (I.7) and p. 13 (I.4).

99. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:789a).

100. For example, "The Buddha was staying at Deer Park, the gathering place of *ṛṣis*, Vārāṇasī. When it was time for the World-honored One to eat, he put on his robe and took up his bowl and went into the city to seek alms. When

he had enough, then the *bhikṣus* went to seek alms" (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 35 [*T.* 24:380c]).

101. *CPS,* 11.17 (p. 142).

102. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 1, 6, 16 (vol. 1, p. 10).

103. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 35 (vol. 1, p. 13). The *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* is virtually the same.

104. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 34 (*T.* 3:812c).

105. *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:778a). *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 2:619b) has virtually the same text.

106. *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:789a).

107. *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 2:619b).

108. *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:645a).

109. *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:105a).

110. *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56 (*T.* 1:777c).

111. *SN,* XXII, 59 (vol. 3, p. 66).

112. *SN,* LVI, 11 (vol. 5, p. 420f.). See also *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 7–8.

113. *SN,* XXXV, 114. See also *Mārapāsa,* 1, 2 (vol. 4, pp. 91–93); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 9 (244) (*T.* 2:8c).

114. *SN,* XXXV, 117: *Lokakāmaguṇa* (vol. 4, pp. 97–101); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 8 (211) (*T.* 2:53a–c).

115. *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 2:104b).

116. *SN,* LVI, 24 (vol. 5, p. 433). Only two Burmese texts mention that this was taught at Sāvatthī, so that may be a later addition. The *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 2:107c), has "at Deer Park, the gathering place of *ṛṣis,* Vārāṇasī."

117. A fragment of the parasol of a stupa at Sārnāth (second–third century) is inscribed with the teachings of the Four Noble Truths in Pāli (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 0–8).

118. *SN,* LVI, 11 (vol. 5, pp. 420–24); *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 17f. (vol. 1, p. 10f.). In Chinese translation: *Fo-shou chuan-fa-lun-ching* (*T.* 2:503b–c); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 (379) (*T.* 2:103c–4a); *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 56: *Lo-mo-ching* (*T.* 1:777b–78c); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 2:618c–19b); *San-chuan-fa-lun-ching* (*T.* 2:504a–b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 33–34 (*T.* 3:807b–14c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 10–12 (*T.* 3:605b–16a); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 7 (*T.* 3:528a–30c); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:644a–45a); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104b–5b); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787c–89b), etc.

119. Kyōsui Oka, "Bongo no Agongyō to kan'yaku gempon no kōsatsu" (Study of the Sanskrit Āgamas and the original texts of the Chinese translations), *Tetsugaku zasshi* 42, no. 482 (April 1927): 334–40. The closest version in Chinese translation is An Shih-kao's *Fo-shou chuan-fa-lun-ching* (*T.* 2:503).

120. The Sanskrit text has "*madhyamayaiva pratipadā tathāgato dharmmaṃ deśayati*" ("The Tathāgata spoke of the Dharma according to the Middle Way").

121. This section is missing in the "Mahāvagga."

122. The section between single and double asterisks is identical to *SN*, LVI, 12, except that in place of "within me" the latter has "to all the tathāgatas" (*tathāgatānaṃ*).

123. The Sanskrit has "*jīrṇā me jātir ūsitaṃ brahmacaryaṃ kṛtaṃ karuṇīyaṃ / nāparam asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmi.*" The text has been considerably distorted.

124. The following section of this sutra is missing in the Sanskrit.

125. Other versions say "the *yakṣas* of the earth." *bhaumā yakṣā(ḥ), sa-blaḥi gnod-sbyin mams* (pp. 154–55). The *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih* also says *yao-ch'a* (藥叉; *yakṣa*), fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:128a).

126. See Shōson Miyamoto, "Budda saisho seppō ni tsuite" (On the Buddha's first sermon), in *Bukkyōgaku no shomondai*, ed. Buttan Nisengohyakunen Kinen Gakkai (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935), 325–44. See also Miyamoto, "The Buddha's First Sermon and the Original Patterns of the Middle Way," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 13, no. 2 (March 1965): 845–55. Concerning the *Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma*, see Kōgen Mizuno, "Tempōrinkyō ni tsuite" (On the Sutra of the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma), *Bukkyō kenkyū*, no. 1 (December 1970): 114–92.

127. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 32f. (vol. 1, pp. 12–13).

128. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

129. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

130. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 36–37 (vol. 1, p. 13).

131. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:786c et seq.); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104b et seq.); *CPS*, p. 162 f.; Tibetan *Vinaya* (*CPS*, p. 163 f.).

132. *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 56 (204) (*T.* 1:777b et seq.).

133. *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 15. *San-chuan-fa-lun-ching* was translated by I-ching (*T.* 2:504).

134. *Fo-shou chuan-fa-lun-ching* (*T.* 2:503).

135. Cf. *SN*, vol. 5, p. 421.

136. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 38f. (vol. 1, p. 13ff.) and *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, XXII, 59 (vol. 3, pp. 66–68). Equivalent texts also can be found in Chinese translation: *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (34) (*T.* 2:7c–8a); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:105a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:789a); *Wu-yün chieh-k'ung-ching* (*T.* 2:499c).

137. *CPS*, pp. 170–71. The *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:129b), says: "At this time there were seven *arahants* in the world. The Buddha was the first." This may have resulted from a reluctance to include the Buddha in the traditional formula of "six *arahants*."

138. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

139. *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching* (*T.* 3:607b–8c).

140. *esa so bhagavā buddho esa sīho anuttaro / sadevakassa lokassa brahmacakkaṃ pavattayi //* (*Itiv.*, 122 G.; *AN*, vol. 1, p. 24 G).

141. *Śvet. Up.*, I, 6; VI, 1. There is no doubt that the *Śvetasvatara Upaniṣad*, although composed after the rise of Buddhism, preserves older forms both in

content and terminology. It is probably older than the Pāli scriptures extant today.

142. *cakkānuvattaka; Therag.*, 1014.

143. *dhammacakkapavattana; SN*, vol. 5, p. 420, and elsewhere.

144. The first sutra (*SN*, I, 4, 1, 4) is said to have been spoken during the rainy-season retreat (*vassa*), and the second (*SN*, I, 4, 1, 5) after the confessional ceremony (*pavāraṇā*) at the end of the retreat (*Spk.*, p. 171).

145. "Venerable One": *bhadante*. This word is difficult to translate. "Yes, lord" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 131; "Ja, Herr" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163).

146. "Perfected attention": *yoniso manasikāra*. "Systematic thought" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 131); "reifliche Erwägung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163). Chinese Buddhists tended to translate this phrase as 正思惟 (*cheng-ssu-wei*; "right thought"), but "right" tends to suggests something 不正 (*pu-cheng*; "not right") or 邪 (*hsieh*; "heretical"). Since *yoni* means 母胎 (*mu-t'ai*; "womb") or 根源 (*ken-yüan*; "source") *yoniso manasikāra* is "attention from the source." While in Western and Confucian thought "right" is opposed to "not right" or "heretical," it seems to be used in Chinese translations of Buddhist texts to mean "complete" or "perfect." In that sense, Rhys Davids's translation, "systematic," is certainly not wrong. In that it is something that appears from the source and is manifested, Geiger's "reiflich" is also correct. "Perfected effort": *yoniso sammappadhāna*. "Systematic right effort" (*Rhys Davids SN*, p. 131); "reifliche ernste Anstrengung" (*Geiger SN*, p. 163).

147. "*Samaṇa*, you have not yet won your freedom from me": *na me samaṇa mokkhasi*. Here, *me* is the *genitivus ethicus*, the form of the genitive used when the speaker and listener are felt to be included in a single ethos. "(Māra spricht zu Buddha:) Nicht wirst du mir, Asket, Erlösung erlangen" (Oskar von Hinüber, *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-piṭaka* [Munich: L. Kitzinger, 1968], section 244, p. 246).

148. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 4, 1–5 (vol. 1, p. 105). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1095) (*T.* 2:288a).

149. Where *ṛṣis* gather: Isipatana; *hsien-jen-chu-ch'u* (仙人住処; "place where hermits dwell"; *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 [*T.* 2:288a–b]). *Patana* means "gathering place." This word is still used in India with the same meaning. For example, in Sanskrit and Hindi "airport" is *vimāna patana*, "a place where planes gather." There are cases where, in Chinese translation, Isipatana was mistranslated as *hsien-jen-tuo-ch'u* (仙人随処; "place where hermits fall"; e.g., *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 11 [*T.* 3:606c]; *Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*, fasc. 83 [*T.* 27:429c]). It was also translated correctly: *hsien-jen-chu-suo* (仙人住所; *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 3 [*T.* 3:643b]); *hsien-jen-chu-ch'u* (仙人住処; *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 [*T.* 2:288a]). The meaning of "gather" is retained in the expression *hsien-che-fei-chü* (賢者飛鳥聚; "where hermits gather as if flying"; *Yüeh-nan-ching* [*T.* 14:820b]). The mistakes resulted from lack of understanding of the nuances of the Sanskrit.

150. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 5, 1–2 (vol. 1, p. 105).

151. "Go forth": *cārikā.* This means "to walk out in order" (*anupubba-gamanacārikā*). *divasaṃ yojana-paramaṃ gacchantā carathā ti vadati* (*Spk.*, pp. 171–72).

152. "Let not two of you take the same road": *mā ekena dve agamettha.* This sentence can be translated in a number of ways. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris gives *agamattha,* while the *Vinaya* ("Mahāvagga," I, 11) has *agamittha.* The meaning is not at all clear. "Let not two take the same course" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 132); "geht nicht zu zweien auf gleichem Wege" (*Geiger SN,* p. 165). Buddhist scholars usually interpret it as meaning that since it is criticially important to spread the teachings, if two people travel the same road, the spread will be limited to that extent. Therefore teachers should take separate roads. A second interpretation is that if two people take the same road, there will be talking and differences of opinion and noise. Therefore, teachers should go alone; that way there will be no trouble. I think the second interpretation is correct, and Buddhaghosa also took this view. Rhys Davids comments (p. 132): "Lit., 'not two by one.' Buddhaghosa explains this elliptical phrase as *ekamaggena dve janā mā agamattha, evaṃ hi gatesu ekasmiṃ dhammaṃ desente, ekena tuṇhībhūtena ṭhātabbaṃ hoti* (*Spk.*, p. 172): 'Let not two persons adopt the same procedure, thus, in their goings, one teaching while the other keeps silent is to be instituted' reminding us of the first mission of SS Paul and Barnabas." The revised edition of 1977 (p. 172) has *ekena tuṇhībhūtena na ṭhātabbaṃ hoti* ("if in this way you go [together], when one teaches [the other] one must remain silent"). The *Tsa a-han-ching* says: *Pu-hsü-pan-hsing, i-i-erh-ch'ü* (不須伴行、一一而去), "You should not go together but depart one by one," and *Ju-teng-ke-pieh-jen-hsien-chiao-hua* (汝等各別人間教化), "You should all teach people separately." These are clearly admonitions about teaching activities. Early Buddhism held that two people should not chat together, but should remain tranquil in mind and so cause others to feel some kind of yearning, and in this way teach them. The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive. This is a telling instance of the differences between Buddhist-style proselytization and that of Western Asia and Europe.

153. "Good": *kalyāṇa.* "Beneficent" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 132; "schön" (*Geiger SN,* p. 165).

154. "Practice of purity": *brahmacariya.* In Brahmanism this refers to the life of the student of the *Vedas,* which enjoins celibacy. Buddhaghosa interprets it as the teaching of practicing the three teachings (*sikkhā-ttaya-saṅgahaṃ sāsana-brahmacariyaṃ; Spk.*, p. 172).

155. "Left behind": *parihāyanti.* Literally, "completely eliminated." This phrase, from the Vedic period, is used in the sense of "be delayed."

156. "The army's village": Senānigāma. "The township of Senā" (*Rhys Davids SN,* p. 132; "der Marktflecken Senā" (*Geiger SN,* p. 165). The commentators are not clear as to why this should have been "the army's village." One explanation is that at one time an army had camped here and a village was later built on the

site (*paṭhamakappikānaṃ senāya nivitth' okāse patiṭṭhita-gāmo; Spk.*, p. 172). Other Pāli commentators consider it to be a village called Senā and call it "Senāninigamo." One example of the second interpretation is "the village of the maiden Sujāta's father was called Senā" (*Sujātāya vā pitu Senāni nāma nigamo; Spk.*, p. 172). The *Nidānakathā* interprets it in virtually the same way and says that Sujāta was a general's daughter (*Senāninigame Senānikuṭimbikassa gehe nibbattā Sujātā nāma dārikā*; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 68). Here I have translated it according to the text of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*.

157. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 5, 2–5 (vol. 1, pp. 105 6). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1096) (*T.* 2:288a).

158. The dragon Elāpattra: 翳羅鉢龍 (I-luo-po-lung) in Chinese. *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 21 (*T.* 24:301c–7a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 37–38 (*T.* 3:824a–33b), etc.

159. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:864a). See also James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), pp. 93–94.

160. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 7. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, pp. 45–46.

161. *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 50:235b–c).

162. Nakamura, *Indo no busseki*, no. 59.

163. Shinjō Mizutani, trans. into Japanese, *Daitō saiikiki* (Records of the western regions), vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* (Collection of Chinese classical literature; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), p. 218.

164. For details on the execution of the murals, see Hajime Nakamura et al., *Nousu Kōsetsu: Butsuga no sekai* (Kōsetsu Nousu: The world of Buddhist paintings; Nagano: Shinano Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1987).

165. An attempt has been made to indicate all the places where Gotama spent the rainy-season retreat during the forty-five years following his enlightenment. See Shinkō Mochizuki, "Budda jōdō shijūgonenkan ni okeru ango no chiten" [The places of *vassa* during the forty-five years of the Buddha's enlightenment], *Bukkyō kenkyū* 1, no. 2 (July-August 1937): 1–10.

166. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü*, fasc. 23 (*T.* 22:412b).

167. *Shih-sung-lü*, fasc. 21 (*T.* 23:148a).

168. For details, see Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, p. 519.

169. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 87–88.

170. Channa's name is transliterated as 闡陀 (Ch'an-t'uo), 闡那 (Ch'an-na), or 車匿 (Ch'e-ni). Gotama's charioteer at the time of his renunciation, Channa was one of the group of six *bhikkhus* that violated many of the precepts. See Ryūsen Nishimoto, trans., vol. 8 of the Vinaya section, *Kokuyaku issaikyō* (The Tripiṭaka in Japanese translation; Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1930), note 147, p. 196.

171. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü*, fasc. 23 (*T.* 22: 412c).

172. *Wu-fen-lü*, fascs. 15–16 (*T.* 22:101a–110c). *Ssu-fen-lü*, fascs. 31–33 (*T.* 22:779a–799b).

173. Bimbisāra is abbreviated as 毘沙 (P'i-sha; Skt., [Bim]bisā[ra]) in the text. See Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 99). The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* also says that Gotama stayed in a grove in Magadha.

174. *Pa-ta-ling-t'a ming-hao-ching* (*T.* 32:773b). See Hajime Nakamura, "The Aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya-stotra and the Chinese and Tibetan Versions of a Text Similar to It," in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme: Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, 1982), 259–65.

175. *Seng-ch'ieh-lo-ch'a so-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 4:144b).

176. E. Obermiller, trans., *History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston,* part. 2, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Leipzig: In kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, 1932), 70.

177. See Paul Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* (Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1866), vol. 1, p. 169–vol. 2, p. 8.

178. For Rājagaha (Rājagṛha), see pp. 117–20, this volume. For the significance of Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī) in the spread of Buddhism, see pp. 344–59, this volume. For Vesālī (Vaiśālī), see vol. 2 of this book.

179. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1896), p. 38.

180. The original Chinese gives Chü-yeh-ni-kuo (拘耶尼国), but the second character may be *hsieh* (邪).

181. *Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching* (*T.* 4:146a–47b).

182. The correct Sanskrit form is Yaśas, but the corrupted form Yaśa is often seen. It was transliterated into Chinese as 耶舍 (Yeh-she).

183. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 1–8, 4 (vol. 1, pp. 15–18); *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:105a–b); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:789b–790a); *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 82); *Nanden Daizōkyō* (The Southern Tripiṭaka), vol. 28, (Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1935), p. 175.

184. The legend of Yasa: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 7–8; *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 82, l. 18; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 139–46; *CPS,* pp. 172–85, 400–402, 451–54. Representations in art: "The conversion of Yasa," wall painting, cave 10, Ajantā (*WOB,* pl. III-12). There is, however, dispute over whether this figure can be identified with Yasa.

185. *sāmukkaṃsikā dhammadesanā* (*Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 6 [vol. 1, p. 16]). Vinayasamukkasse (Bhabra edict).

186. *Sn.,* pp. 15, 86, 123, and elsewhere. Hajime Nakamura, trans. into Japanese, *Budda no kotoba* (The words of the Buddha; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984), pp. 25–26, 99, 141–42.

187. *sekhena ñāṇena dassanena* (Pāli); *aśaikṣeṇa jñānenāśaikṣeṇa darśanena* (Skt.).

188. *Therag.,* no. 117.

189. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 82.

190. The Sanskrit text (*Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*) has *muditacitta* ("joyful mind").

191. See p. 142 et seq., this volume.

192. The legend of Yasa's four friends: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 9; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, l. 22; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 146–48; *CPS*, pp. 186–213, 454–57; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:104b–107b); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:790c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:130a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:645c–46a); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 36 (*T.* 3:819b–20b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:31a–b).

193. In the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (*CPS*, p. 202): Pūrṇo Vimalo Gavāṃpatiḥ Subāhuḥ.

194. According to the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, the Chinese translation, and the Tibetan translation (p. 204), the four were not taken by Yasa but went to the Buddha on their own.

195. The legend of the sixty-one *arahats: Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 10; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, l. 15; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, p. 149; *CPS*, p. 212; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:107a); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:790c–91a); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:130a–b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:646a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:31a–b).

196. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, ll. 22–26.

197. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 11, 1–2 (vol. 1, pp. 20–21). *SN*, I, 4, 1, 5 (vol. 1, pp. 105–6); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (*T.* 2:288a–b).

198. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:793a).

199. *SN*, I, 4, 2, 4 (vol. 1, p. 111).

200. *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (1097) (*T.* 2:288a–b).

201. *SN*, I, 4, 2, 2: "Sīho" (vol. 1, pp. 109–10). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (*T.* 2:289–90).

202. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 12, 1–4 (vol. 1, pp. 21–22).

203. *SN*, I, 4, 1, 4–5 (vol. 1, pp. 105–6); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 39 (16) (*T.* 2:288).

204. The following is based on the tale as it appears in the *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:793a–b) and the *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:107a–b).

205. The legend of the thirty friends in the grove: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 14; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, l. 26; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 149–51; *CPS*, pp. 222–29; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, pp. 375–76; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 15 (*T.* 22:107a–b); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:793a–b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:130b–c). The *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (pp. 222–23) and the Tibetan and Chinese equivalents have sixty instead of thirty friends.

206. The Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (*CPS*, p. 222) and the Tibetan text have "While they were making merry, enjoying themselves, and moving around in play, a woman [*strī*] betrayed her trust and fled."

207. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, ll. 26–30.

208. The conversion of the Kassapa brothers: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 15–20 (for a detailed study of the account in the *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 22, 4–5 [vol.

1, p. 36], see Yūshō Miyasaka, "*Urubilvā-pratihārya* no geju no denshō keitai" [The transmitted form of the *Urubilvā-pratihārya*], *Indo koten ron* [On Indian classics], vol. 1 [Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1983], pp. 43–71; this demonstrates its ancient transmission); *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82, l. 30; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 155–58, 217–30, 413–14; *CPS*, pp. 240–315, 347ff.; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:108a–9b); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:793b–94c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 6–7 (*T.* 24:131a–36a); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:611b–13a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:530c–32b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 41 (*T.* 3:843a–47b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:646a–50a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:31b–32a).

Representations in art: "Miracle at the Nerañjarā River" (Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru*, p. 124); second century, Amarāvatī (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 94); first century B.C.E., Bodhgayā (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 290); cave wall painting, Qïzïl, 600–650 C.E. (*West Berlin*, pl. 26); early first century, south pillar of eastern gate of Stupa 1, Sāñcī (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-133; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 54; Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 12; Sugiyama, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 296; Hemmi, *Kodai Indo Mon'yo*, pl. 9; *WOB*, pl. III-14; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* [Illustrated encyclopedia of Buddhist terms; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1988], p. 601, fig. 22). "Overcoming the poisonous *nāga*, conversion of the Kassapa brothers," second–third century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, fig. 23). "Miracle at Uruvelā," second–fourth century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-13). "Converting the Kassapa brothers," second century B.C.E., Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-15); third–fourth century, Kāpisī Sotarak (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri shashinshū—Gandāra* [Banri Namikwa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 53). "Gotama offers the snake to Kassapa," Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 43). "Sakyamuni at the fire hall at Uruvelā" (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 42).

209. A commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa* says that Gotama converted the Kassapa brothers at Uruvelā in the last quarter of the first year following his enlightenment and that the following year in the month of Māgha (January–February) he went to Rājagaha. According to the *Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching* (*T.* 4:147a) the first discourse was given in the second year, the conversion of the Kassapa brothers occurred in the third year, and that of Sāriputta and Moggallāna took place in the fifth. He also gave the Fire Discourse to one thousand followers in the fifth year. This suggests that Gotama spent at least two years in the Gayā region.

210. Uruvela Kassapa: in Sanskrit, *Urubilvā-Kāśyapa*.

211. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 82.

212. For Uruvela Kassapa, see C. S. Upasak, "The Role of Uruvela Kassapa in the Spread of Early Buddhism" in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A memorial volume in honor of Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap*, ed. A. K. Narain (Delhi: B. R. Pub. Corp.,

1979), pp. 369 74. The numbers of followers are given in the Pāli *Vinaya* and the *Ssu-fen-lü.*

213. The first brother is referred to as the Uruvelavāsin Kassapa (*Vinaya,* vol. 1, p. 36G). The *Theragāthā* (no. 340) says that Nadī Kassapa Thera gave his faith to the Buddha when the Buddha taught on the banks of the Nerañjarā River.

214. "Fire was a central part in all rituals" (*P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 24:158b).

215. *Therīg.*, no. 306f.

216. *Therag.*, no. 287.

217. *CPS,* p. 238f.

218. Pāli: *agyāgāre* ("in the hall of the sacred fire"); Sanskrit: *āśramapade* ("within the precincts of the hermitage").

219. *Mahāsamaṇa.* In the Sanskrit text, *upādhyāya.*

220. If it is to conform to the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, the Pāli should read *nāge* (= *nāgo?*) *na viheṭhissati* (*CPS,* p. 242). The Chinese translation is unknown.

221. The Sanskrit text has *api tv aham apy arhan* ("However, I am also an *arhat*"; *CPS.* p. 244). The Tibetan text agrees with the Sanskrit.

222. The reference to Gotama as Aṅgirasa (*Vinaya,* vol. 1, p. 25) is one indication that this section is based on an ancient tradition. For the derivation of *Aṅgirasa,* see vol. 2 of this book.

223. *CPS,* p. 284.

224. *CPS,* p. 292.

225. *CPS,* p. 292.

226. *CPS,* p. 294.

227. *CPS,* p. 288.

228. *CPS,* p. 294.

229. *CPS,* p. 290.

230. *CPS,* pp. 296, 298.

231. *CPS,* p. 274.

232. *Jambu: Eugenia jambos,* rose apple; a tropical tree with a wide distribution in India. Transliterated as *yen-fu* (閻浮) in Chinese.

233. *CPS,* p. 276.

234. "Eight-day festivals": from approximately the twenty-third day of the month to the eighth day of the next month in the lunar calendar.

235. *CPS,* p. 304.

236. "Pure practice": *icchām' aham* (= *Uruvelakassapo*) *mahāsamaṇe* (= *bhagavati*) *brahmacariyaṃ caritum* (*Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 20, 18 [vol. 1, pp. 32–33]). This is based on a sentence from the *Upaniṣads: Maghavān Prajāpatau brahmacaryam uvāsā* (*Chānd. Up.*, VIII, 11, 3). Sakka's decision to be a follower is called *abhipravavrāja.*

237. "Belongings": the original text has *khārikāja,* whose meaning is unclear. A note in the original text interprets it as *khāribhāra* (one *khāri*). One *khāri* is about 108 liters. The Pali Text Society Pāli dictionary quotes the *Sv.,* vol. 1, p. 269,

saying *araṇi-kamaṇḍalu-sūcādayo tāpasa-parikkhārā.* The equivalent text in the *Ssu-fen-lü* (fasc. 33) gives *ching-i* (浄衣; "pure clothing") and *tsao-p'ing* (澡瓶; "water flask"). The expression clearly refers to personal belongings like fire starters, water flasks, and needles. "Into the river": in Sanskrit, *Nairañjanāyāṃ prakṣipya* ("thrown into the Nairañjanā River"); in Tibetan, *Chu-kluṅ ne-ran-dsa-naḥi naṅ-du bor-nas* (*CPS*, p. 307).

238. *AN*, vol. 1, p. 375.

239. *Jātaka*, 483, introduction.

240. The legend of the discourse on Mount Gayāsīsa: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 21; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 230–31 (reconstructed from the Tibetan text); *CPS*, pp. 316–23; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:109b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:796b–97c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:134b et seq.).

241. See Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 199–200.

242. *SN*, XXXV, 28 (vol. 4, p. 19), contains the same discourse.

243. The Sanskrit and Tibetan (*CPS*, p. 316) texts say "set out for Gayā," but the Chinese translation (p. 134b), says *Ch'ieh-yeh-shan* (伽耶山; "Mount Gayā").

244. The Sanskrit and Tibetan (*CPS*, p. 324f.) texts say that King Bimbisāra invited Sakyamuni to Rājagaha, but this does not appear in the Pāli text, which says merely that Gotama went to Rājagaha.

Chapter 6: Conversion of Influential Followers

1. The legend of King Bimbisāra's conversion: *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 22; *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 82–85; Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* (Rome: IsMEO, 1977), part 1, pp. 159–61; *CPS*, vol. 3, pp. 330–71, 409–10; *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (*T.* 2:694a–c); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22: 109c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:797c–98c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:134c–37b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 44, 45 (*T.* 3:857a–61c); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:32a–c); *P'ing-sha-wang wu-yüan-ching* (*T.* 14:779a–81a).

Representations in art: "Entry to Rājagaha," second–third century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 58; Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* (Illustrated encyclopedia of Buddhist terms; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1988), p. 583, pl. 24); "King Bimbisāra visits the Buddha," beginning of first century, south column of eastern gateway, Stupa 1, Sāñcī (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, fig. 31; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, pl. 27).

2. The establishment of the Veḷuvana *vihāra* in Rājagaha, the journey from Magadha to Kosala, and the establishment of the Jetavana *vihāra* in Sāvatthī are covered in the following texts; the episodes are mentioned in relation to rules governing *vihāras*, sleeping equipment, and so on: *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VI, 1–9 (vol. 2, pp. 146–64); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fascs. 50–51 (*T.* 22:936–41); *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 25 (*T.*

22:166–67); *Shih-sung-lü*, fasc. 34 (*T.* 23:242–44). The equivalent Sanskrit text and its Tibetan translation can be found in *CPS*, vol. 3, pp. 350–412. See also *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 7 (*T.* 24:135a–36c). The *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:613b), says that a man called Chia-lan-t'uo (迦蘭陀; Kalanda) donated it, because no monasteries had existed.

3. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 22. The passage is translated and discussed in Ernst Windisch, *Māra und Buddha* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895), pp. 234–44.

4. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:920a). See also Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (1884; Delhi: Orient Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), vol. 2, pp. 145–46.

5. For a detailed discussion, see vol. 2 of this book.

6. Windisch follows Buddhaghosa in connecting *kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ* to *dhammaṃ*, not *brahmacariyaṃ* (Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 236, n. 3).

7. In Sanskrit, *Rājagṛhān niryāti* (*CPS*, p. 338); in Tibetan, *Rgyal-poḥi khab-nas byuṅ-ste* (*CPS*, p. 339). The figure 120,000 does not appear in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Chinese texts.

8. Added from the Sanskrit and Chinese texts.

9. According to the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese texts, Uruvela Kassapa entered *samādhi*.

10. This is a formulaic passage that also appears elsewhere. See *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 4ff.; 8, 2ff.; 9, 3ff.; 10, 3ff.; 14, 4ff.

11. See *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 29; 33; 7, 6; 8, 2; 9, 3; 10, 3; 14, 4.

12. The same formulaic passage appears in *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 34; 8, 3; 9, 4; 10, 4; 14, 5.

13. See "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 10; 8, 3.

14. The same formula appears in *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 7, 10; 8, 3; and at the end of the *Assalāyana-sutta*, *MN*, no. 93.

15. The rest of this passage does not appear in other texts but contains formulaic expressions that do appear elsewhere; it is therefore considered a later addition.

16. See note 15.

17. Cf. *ariyavāso*.

18. The ten virtues are the eight stages of effort and attainment, *nibbāna*, and the sacred teaching. See R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London: Trübner, 1875), s.v. *asekho*.

19. This is a prose version of this verse; since it includes formulaic expressons and does not appear in other texts, it can be considered a later addition.

20. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," 22, 17–18 (vol. 1, p. 39).

21. *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 24:138a); *Pj.*, p. 419.

22. Representations in art: "The donation of Veṇuvana," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. 16); "The Veṇuvana *vihāra*," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (Osamu Takata and Teruo Ueno, *Indo bijutsu* [Art of India], vol. 2 [Tokyo: Nihon Keizai

Shimbunsha, 1965], pl. 297); "The donation of Jetavana," first century, Peshawar, Peshawar Museum (Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 70; *Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 61; Osamu Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen* [Origin of Buddhist images; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967], pl. 17, 18). The Veṇuvana *vihāra* also existed in later times. See *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:863a); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:922a).

23. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," V, 1, 1f. (cf. H. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* [Berlin: W. Hertz, 1881], 9th ed., pp. 208–11).

24. *māṇavakavaṇṇaṃ abhinimmitvā* (*Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 84, l. 14).

25. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1896), p. 38.

26. *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 25:77b c).

27. *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta, DN*, no. 16, III, 42–43 (vol. 2, pp. 116–17).

28. A detailed explanation can be found in Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 81, n. 1.

29. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 23 (vol. 1, p. 39f.). In addition to the English translation of the *Vinaya*, this section appears in Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1896), pp. 87–91. The equivalent Chinese translations are cited in note 2 of this chapter. See also *P'i-nai-yeh ch'u-cha-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 23:1026a–28c).

30. *Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 40–41. The Chinese translation of this verse appears in a number of Buddhist texts, for example: "The Tathāgata teaches that *dharmas* come about through causes and conditions / And he teaches that they cease through causes and conditions. / *Dharmas* come into being through a cause / And the Tathāgata teaches that cause. / *Dharmas* cease through a cause / And the great *samaṇa* teaches that cause. / It is what my master teaches" (*Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 33 [*T.* 22:798c]). See also *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:110b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:652b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 48 (*T.* 3:876c); *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, fasc. 18 (*T.* 25:192b). The following verse, which appears in the *P'i-nai-yeh ch'u-chia-shih*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 23:1027b–c), and the *Nan-hai chi-kuei-chuan*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 54:226c), is very close to the original: "All *dharmas* follow dependent origination. / The Tathāgata explains that cause. / Those *dharmas* disappear through causes and conditions. / This the great *samaṇa* has taught."

31. *Wu-yu-chu* (無有主): *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:110b). *Wu-chu* (無主): *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:652b).

32. *savvaṇṇu-bhāsiyā vāṇī ṇāṇāvatthodayantare* (*Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, 38, 11).

33. The legend of the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna: *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 85, l. 14; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 171–78; *CPS*, pp. 373–93, 411–12; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 16 (*T.* 22:110b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:798c–99b); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 24:140a 41c); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:613c 14a); *P'u-yao-ching*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:533a–34b); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*,

fasc. 48 (*T.* 3:875b–78b); *Kuo-ch'ü-hsien-tsai-yin-kuo-ching,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:652a–53a); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:33a c).

Representation in art: "The meeting with Sāriputta and Moggallāna," Tibetan *thang-ka* (painted scroll; *WOB,* pl. III-17).

34. *Vinaya,* vol. 1, pp. 39, 44.

35. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 85.

36. According to the Sanskrit version, Sañjaya had already died: *tena khalu samayena Rājagṛhe Sañjayi-nāma tīrthyāyatanam acirotpannam abhūt / teṣāṃ śāstā acirakālagato 'bhūt* (p. 372).

37. According to the Sanskrit version, *teṣāṃ dvau sahāyakau gaṇa-parihārakau gaṇa-parikarṣakāv upatiṣyaś ca Kolitaś ca yau taṃ gaṇaṃ parikarṣataḥ* (p. 372).

38. *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:798c–99b).

39. "Upatissa said: 'The two hundred fifty disciples we received on our master's death'" (*Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 16 [*T.* 22:110b–c]).

40. This was also said about Devadatta, for example (*Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," VII, 4, 3 [vol. 2, p. 200]). The equivalent passage in the *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 46, says: "He became very angry and hot blood poured from his nose" (*T.* 22:910a).

41. *Catusparisatsūtraṃ samāptam* (p. 398).

42. *Isibhāsiyāiṃ,* 39.

43. *DN,* II, 32 (vol. 1, pp. 58–59). Hakuju Ui discusses this in *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* (Studies in Indian philosophy), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kōshisha, 1924–30; Reprint, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982).

44. Concerning the breakdown of the 1,250, see *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:534b).

45. See Hajime Nakamura, "Sāriputta ni daihyō sareta saishoki no Bukkyō" (The earliest period of Buddhism, represented by Sāriputta), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 14, no. 2 (March 1966): 455–65; and Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu* (Formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

46. See the Pāli *Vinaya, Ssu-fen-lü,* and *Wu-fen-lü.*

47. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* fasc. 23 (*T.* 22:227a–549a).

48. *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:33c). See also Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu.*

49. The legend of Udāyin urging Sakyamuni to return home: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 85, l. 24; *Mahāvastu,* vol. 3, p. 114; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 185–87; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 24:143a et seq.); *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 3:614a–15c); *P'u-yao-ching,* fasc. 8 (*T.* 3:534b–36c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 51 (*T.* 3:889c–91a).

50. According to the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, pp. 82, 85), Sakyamuni spent the first rainy season after his enlightenment at Sārnāth. After that he went to Uruvelā, stayed there three months, and then proceeded to Rājagaha, where he remained two months. From there he went to Kapilavatthu, arriving after two

months on the road. However, the *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching,* fasc. 7, says that after spending six years in ascetic practices (*T.* 3:582a), Sakyamuni attained enlightenment, then six years later met his father again: "Twelve years after parting they met again" (*T.* 3:614a, 616a). The *Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching* (*T.* 4:146c et seq.) says that Sakyamuni left home at twenty-nine, gained enlightenment at thirty-five, and met his father again after twelve more years.

51. See Kōgen Mizuno, *Shakuson no shōgai* (The life of Sakyamuni; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1960), p. 203.

52. The legend of the Buddha's return to his old home: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 88, l. 4; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p 187f.; *Adhikaraṇavastu,* in *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu,* ed. Raniero Gnoli (Rome: IsMEO, 1978), pp. 59–63; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 24:144a–45c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching,* fasc. 52–53 (*T.* 3:893a–99c).

53. There is a legend that Rāhula lived for centuries: *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:905a); Beal, vol. 2, pp. 42–43. The legend of the ordination of Rāhula and Nanda: *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 91, l. 10; cf. *Dhp.,* ed. Fausböll, 1855, p. 334; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 12 (*T.* 24:158c–60c).

54. *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 91).

55. *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:37c).

56. "It is said that the *Bhikṣu* Nanda was of rare and handsome countenance. That same *Bhikṣu* Nanda did not find it easy to make his faculties tranquil" (*Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 2:557c]); *indriyesu gutta-dvārānaṃ* (*AN,* I, 14 [vol. 1, p. 25]). *AN,* VIII, 9, 4 (vol. 4, pp. 358–63) speaks of the virtuous *Bhikkhu* Nandaka.

57. See Mizuno, *Shakuson no shōgai,* pp. 205, 211.

58. The council hall is called *chiang-t'ang* (講堂) in one Chinese translation (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 43 [*T.* 2:316a–b]).

59. *MN,* vol. 1, pp. 353–54.

60. One Chinese translator seems to interpret the floor as being earthen: "He spread a floor mat and spread out soft grass on the ground" (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 43 [*T.* 2:316a]).

61. "At that time, when the Buddha had returned to Kapilavatthu, all the Sakyas listened to his discourse" (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 43 [*T.* 2:316b]).

62. According to the Chinese translation, the Buddha addressed Mahā-Moggallāna (*Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 43 [*T.* 2:316b]).

63. *DN,* no. 33 (vol. 3, pp. 207–9). However, the Chinese translation makes no mention of a council hall (*Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 8: *Chung-chi-ching* [*T.* 1:49b–c]).

64. *SN,* I, 7, 2, 12 (vol. 1, p. 184).

65. *SN,* I, 7, 2, 12 (vol. 1, p. 184); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 44 (1180) (*T.* 2:319a–b). However, the Chinese translation does not specify Sakyas but just says: "At one time the Buddha was staying in the Brahmin village in the Sala forest."

66. *Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," VII, 1, 3 (vol. 2, pp. 181–82).

67. This episode appears in the *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VII, 1, 3 (vol. 2, pp. 183f.), and *Udāna*, II, 10, pp. 18f.

68. *āyasmā*. Literally, "replete with life." This, however, does not convey the meaning of the word. "Elder" is not a suitable translation here, since a young *bhikkhu* is being addressed as *āyasmā*. In Sanskrit, younger people were generally addressed as *āyuṣmat*. In India *āyasmā* was used very much like "Mr."

69. *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VII, 1, 4 (vol. 2, pp. 182–83).

70. After the Buddha left Kapilavatthu and before he returned to Rājagaha, he went to stay at Anupiya in the country of the Mallas. Kern says it was while he was there that Anuruddha, Mahānāma, Bhaddiya, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Devadatta left Kapilavatthu to take ordination under him (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 28). There is no clear evidence for attributing that date to the event.

71. The legend of the ordination of the Sakya youths: *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VII, 1; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, part 1, pp. 194–95; *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 24:145a–c); *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 53 (*T.* 3:899c–901a); William Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha* (London: Trübner, 1884), pp. 52–53.

Representations in art: third–fourth century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Archaeological Museum, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, ed., *Budda no sekai* [The world of the Buddha; Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980], pl. 2-65; *Nagarj.*, pl. V; *WOB*, pl. 27; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 602, fig. 26); "King Suddhodana venerating Sakyamuni," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. III-19; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 11b); "Visiting Yaśodharā," frieze discovered at Goli, third century, Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. 20); "Nanda's aborted flight," Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 57); "Sakyamuni and Nanda visit heaven," third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB*, pl. III-22; *Nagarj.*, p. 54, pl. VII); "Nanda's taking refuge and ordination" (The Buddha's half-brother Nanda appears in three places in the lower part of the frieze on the Amarāvatī balustrade pillar representing the chance meeting between Sakyamuni and Rāhula), third century, British Museum (Jirō Sugiyama, ed., *Indo no bijutsu* [Indian art], vol. 4 of *Gurando sekai bijutsu* [Great art of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976], pl. 40; A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that Was India* [New York: Grove Press, 1954], pl. XXXIII); second century, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-21); "Discourse at Kapilavatthu before Rāhula" (The Buddha is represented by a platform and a footmark), ca. second century, Amarāvatī (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-134; Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu*, vol. 1, pl. 168; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 61); first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. III-18, 19); "Ordination of Rāhula," seventh century, Nālandā (*WOB*, pl. III-26); second century, Amarāvatī, British Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-24); second century, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-23); sixth century, Ajantā, Cave 19 (*WOB*, pl. III-25); Ajantā, Cave 17 (Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Indo no busseki to Hindū jiin* [Buddhist sites of India

and Hindu temples], vol. 5 of *Sekai no bunka shiseki* [Historical sites of culture in the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968], pl. 31).

72. Chizen Akanuma, *Shakuson* (Śākyamuni; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1934), pp. 15–21.

73. *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 41 (*T.* 2:297b–c); *AN,* X, 46 (vol. 5, pp. 83–86).

74. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 85, l. 24f.

75. *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," I, 54.

76. *Sn.,* 422, 423.

77. Regarding King Pasenadi, see D. D. Kosambi, "Ancient Kosala and Magadha," *Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 27, part 2: 184–87. The legend of Pasenadi's conversion: Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 181–82; *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 59 (*T.* 1:792c–95b); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 42 (*T.* 2:304b–5b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:38c–39a). No mention is made of the legend in the *Nidānakathā.*

Representations in art: "Visit of King Prasenajit," second century B.C.E., Bhārhut, National Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-31; Takata and Ueno, *Indo bijutsu,* vol. 2, pl. 281); "Sakyamuni and the king," early second century C.E., Kankālī-Ṭīlā, State Museum, Lucknow (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 56).

78. *DN,* no. 27, *Aggañña-suttanta,* 8 (vol. 3, pp. 83–84); *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 6: *Hsiao-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:37b).

79. *DN,* no. 27, p. 84; *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 6.

80. *MN,* no. 87, *Piyajātika-sutta* (vol. 2, p. 110).

81. *MN,* vol. 2, p. 124. *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 59 (*T.* 1:797b).

82. *Bhaddasāla-jātaka* (no. 465), *Jātaka,* vol. 4, pp. 151–52.

83. *SN,* III, 2, 3 (vol. 1, pp. 81–82); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 42 (*T.* 2:306c).

84. *SN,* III, 1, 1 (vol. 1, pp. 68–69).

85. *Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," VI, 1–2 (vol. 2, pp. 146–51); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 50 (*T.* 22:936–41).

86. Also spelled Sahāt-Mahāt in Sanskrit. Archaeology has revealed that the present Sāheṭh-Māheṭh is the site of the ancient Jetavana monastery in Sāvatthī. At least four Buddhist inscriptions that predate the Gupta dynasty have been found here. Two are on the bases of bodhisattva statues, one is on a parasol (*cattrāvalī*), and one is on the base of a seated Buddha statue. See Masao Shizutani, *Indo Bukkyō himei mokuroku* (Catalogues of Indian Buddhist inscriptions), part 2, nos. 759–62 (1964); Akanuma, *Shakuson,* pp. 305–11. Sāheṭh-Māheṭh is about fifty-eight miles north of Oudh (ancient Ayodhyā or Sāketa), near the Nepal border, on the south bank of the Rāptī River. The site was identified by Alexander Cunningham. See Mochizuki, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* (Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1932–63), pp. 2115–17; Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper nouns; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1986), p. 608; Vogel, *JRAS* (1908), p. 971 (cited in Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of*

India: From the Earliest Times to the End of 1911 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923], 41).

87. *etad aggaṃ . . . dāyakānaṃ yad idaṃ Sudatto gahapati Anāthapiṇḍiko* (*AN,* I, 14 [vol. 1, pp. 24–26]). "Among my disciples, . . . was the great donor, Sudatta the wealthy man" (*Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 3 [*T.* 2:559c]).

88. The oldest source regarding Sudatta is *SN,* X, 8 (vol. 1, pp. 210–12). The *Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," VI, 4, 1–4, gives a fairly detailed account of him. For later sources, see note 90 (except the reference to *Jātaka*).

89. For the name Jetavana the following is recorded in Sanskrit: *anātha-piṇḍadena gṛhapatinā buddhapramukhāya bhikṣusaṅghāya Jetavanaṃ niryātitaṃ* (*AvŚ.*, vol. 1, p. 313, ll. 6–7); *buddho bhagavān . . . viharati Jetavane 'nāthapiṇḍadasyārāme/* (*AvŚ.*, vol. 1, p. 13, ll. 4–6; vol. 1, p. 223, ll. 4–6). Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University, 1953) gives "in the park for *bhikkhus* donated by the man Anāthapiṇḍika in the Jeta Grove"; the sources suggest that this should be instead "in the Jeta Grove, that is, the park for *bhikkhus* [donated] by the man Anāthapiṇḍika." *Anātha-piṇḍadasyārāmaḥ* (*Mahāvyutp.*, 4111); *Jetavanam* (*Mahāvyutp.*, 4112); *viharati (sma) Jetavane 'nāthapiṇḍadasya-ārāme* (*Lalitavistara,* p. 1. l. 5; *Divyāv.*, p. 1, l. 2; p. 35, l. 11; p. 80, l. 12); *anāthapiṇḍado gṛhapatiḥ* (*Divyāv.*, p. 77, l. 27; p. 172, l. 27; p. 466, l. 23, cf. p. 168, l. 5; p. 429, l. 8; Gnoli, *Saṅgha-bhedavastu,* pp. 180–81). The formal name, *Jetavanam anāthapiṇḍadasyārāmaḥ,* seems appropriate (Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, p. 181, l. 11).

90. *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 92f. The legend of Sudatta's conversion to Buddhism and his donation of the Jetavana monastery: *SN,* vol. 1, pp. 33, 53; *Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," IV, 4 (vol. 2, pp. 74–80); VI, 1–2 (vol. 2, pp. 146–51); *Jātaka,* vol. 1, p. 92, l. 27; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 1, pp. 180–81; *Śayanāsanavastu,* in Raniero Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu* (Rome: IsMEO, 1978), 10–31 (a detailed description of Sudatta is also given); Turnour, ed., *Mahāvaṃsa,* p. 44; *Chung a-han-ching,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 1:458b–61b); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 2:559c), fasc. 49 (*T.* 2:814a–21b); *Ssu-fen-lü,* fasc. 50 (*T.* 22:936b–41c); *Chung-hsü-mo-ho-ti-ching,* fascs. 11–12 (*T.* 3:966a; 967–69b); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 3:34 et seq.); *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:860b–c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:899b); Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism in Its Modern Development* (London: 1853, 1880), 2; Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of the Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* (Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1866), vol. 1, p. 194; Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut* (London: W. H. Allen, 1879), pl. 57.

Representations in art: early first century B.C.E., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, National Museum, Calcutta (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 2-59; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 63; Teruo Ueno, ed., *Karukatta bijutsukan* [Indian Museum, Calcutta], vol. 32 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1970], pl. 81; Sugiyama, *Indo no bijutsu,* cover; *WOB,* pl. III-28; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 31e; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten,* p. 583, fig. 28.

91. *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 33G, 55G. "Seers" refers to the *bhikkhus*.

92. Akanuma states that the area of the Jetavana monastery at the time of the Buddha was 13,000 or 14,000 *tsubo* (*Shakuson*, pp. 358–62).

93. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 32–35, 245–48.

94. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, p. 328.

95. According to the *Pa-ta-ling-t'a ming-hao-ching* (*T.* 32:773), twenty-three years; the *Seng-ch'ieh-lo-ch'a so-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 4:144b), twenty years; the *Fen-pieh kung-te-lun* (*T.* 25:33b) and the *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:860c), twenty-five years; the *Dhammapada Commentary* (vol. 1, p. 2), nineteen years at the Jetavana monastery, six years at the East Grove monastery, and twenty-five years in Sāvatthī (Akanuma, *Shakuson*, p. 313). Only the *Ta-chih-tu-lun* records that he spent a great deal of time in Rājagaha.

96. Shōzen Kumoi, "Shoki Bukkyō kyōdan to Shaejō" (The early Buddhist community and Śrāvastī), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 18, no. 2 (March 1970): 33–40.

97. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 336–38.

98. *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," VI, 4, 1f. (vol. 2, p. 154f.).

99. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 211, has *sīvathika*. This was the general name given to charnel grounds on the outskirts of towns. They were thought to be ideal places for meditation, for the spirits of the dead would receive consolation thereby. Even today a few Hindu holy men live in such places.

100. The words "The Perfected One, the Truly Enlightened One" are missing in *SN*, vol. 1, p. 211.

101. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 212, lacks the underlined portion.

102. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 193G.

103. *Sn.*, 547. See also *Sn.*, 573, and the explanation of the prose section.

104. The most concise version of the above appears in *SN*, I, 10, 8 (vol. 1, pp. 210–12). See also *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 22 (592) (*T.* 2:157b–58b).

105. *SN*, vol. 4, p. 210.

106. Quotations from the *Nidānakathā* in this section are from *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 92–93.

107. "Room" is a translation of *gandhakuṭī*, literally, "perfumed chamber," and was long used to denote the Buddha's own room.

108. Visākhā's donation is discussed in Hajime Nakamura, *Butsudeshi no shōgai* (Lives of the Buddha's disciples), vol. 13 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1991).

109. "The ruins are located near modern Nepal, on the borders of Bahraich and Gonda districts in the villages of Sāheṭh and Māheṭh on the south bank of the Rāpti River. Archaeological excavations by Cunningham and John Marshall in the last century unearthed remains of buildings, sculpture (mostly Buddhist sculpture, but also some Jaina and Brahmin), and inscriptions (Shizutani, *Indo Bukkyō himei mokuroku*, part 2, nos. 759–62). Most of the excavated items are in the

Lucknow Museum. The site was an important religious and cultural center and an important town on ancient trade routes (Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* [London: Trübner & Co., 1871], p. 467; Bimala Churn Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India* [Paris: Societé Asiatique de Paris, 1954], pp. 124–26; V. Pathak, *History of Kośala up to the Rise of the Mauryas* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass,1963], p. 345). Seventy to 80 percent of ancient Buddhist sutras are set here." Shinjō Mizutani's note to his Japanese translation of *Daitō saiiki ki* (Records of the western regions), vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* (Collection of Chinese classical literature; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), p. 183, n. 1.

110. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, 1–2.

111. "An important Buddhist center in ancient times, and still flourishing when Fa-hsien visited it, writing, 'There are 98 (18 according to the Koguryŏ edition) *saṃghārāmas* around Śrāvastī where priests live; only one is empty.'" Mizutani, *Daitō saiiki ki,* p. 183, n. 2

112. "This Aśokan stone pillar is mentioned by Fa-hsien. 'Leaving the south gate of the city and walking twelve hundred paces, there is a *vihāra* built by the wealthy merchant Sudatta on the west side of the road. There is a gate facing east with stone pillars on either side. On the left pillar is carved a wheel and on the right pillar is carved an ox.' Following this description, he writes: 'The pool is clear, the trees are still thick, and there are various flowers of different colors; they look dense. This is the place known as the Jetavana *vihāra.*' He also mentions that the site has been restored at the time of his visit" (Mizutani, *Daitō saiiki-ki,* pp. 185–86, n. 2).

113. *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 28 (*T.* 2:706a), says that King Prasenajit had a golden statue made upon hearing that King Udayana had had one made.

114. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, 4–5.

115. This is based on Yoshinori Aboshi, "Gion shōja no hakkutsu chōsa o oete" (On completing the excavation of the Jetavana monastery), *Honganji shimpō* (June 10, 1989): 2. For a more detailed report, see Aboshi, "Gion shōja no hakkutsu" (Excavation of the Jetavana monastery), *Bukkyōshigaku kenkyū* 34, no. 1 (July 1991): 130–47.

116. *Sv.*, vol. 1, p. 45f. This is Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dīgha-Nikāya.* Translated in Warren, *Buddhism in Translations,* pp. 91–95.

117. Here *seers* refers to the Buddhist *bhikkhus.*

118. *SN,* I, 5, 8 (vol. 1, p. 33).

119. *SN,* I, 2, 2, 10 (vol. 1, p. 55); *MN,* no. 143, *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* (vol. 3, p. 262); *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 22 (*T.* 2:158).

120. *AN,* IX, 20 (vol. 4, p. 392).

121. H. C. Norman, ed., *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,* vol. 3 (London: Luzac, 1970), p. 9.

122. The bell of Gion is a well-known image in Japan, deriving from the opening passage of the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike): "The bell of the Gion temple echoes with the sound of the transience of all things. The colors of the

twin *sala* trees reveal that all that prospers must decay. The proud do not continue long: they are as a dream on a spring night. The brave too will soon die, like dust before the wind."

The linking of the bell of Gion and transience may derive in part from the *Chung-t'ien-chu She-wei-kuo ch'i-yüan-ssu t'u-ching* (*T.* 45:882 et seq., especially 893c, 895b), which relates that there was an infirmary called the Hall of Transience in the Jetavana monastery, and that if the *bhikṣus* heard the sound of its bell, they would attain the true Way without losing their minds. But an even stronger sense of transience is conveyed by a passage of *Ōjō yōshū* (Essentials of Pure Land rebirth) by the Japanese priest Genshin (942–1017) that tells of a hospice system. There was a facility northwest of the Jetavana monastery called the Mujō-in (Hall of Transience), where the sick were cared for until death. (See the translation into modern Japanese by Mizumaro Ishida, *Ōjō yōshū*, vol. 2 [Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1964], 133–34). However, there is no mention of a bell. Shōkō Watanabe points out that there was no bell at Jetavana (*Bukkyō* [Buddhism; Tokyo: Iwanami, 1956], pp. 6–9). Nevertheless, it is believed in Japan that the sound of the bell at Jetavana was in the tone of *ōjiki*. Myōshin-ji in Kyoto possesses a bell in this tone, designated a national treasure.

123. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6. See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 2, 5–6.

124. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," VIII, 26, 3 (vol. 1, p. 302). For related accounts about the sick, see *Suttavibhaṅga*, V, 4 (*Vinaya*, vol. 3, p. 143); "Mahāvagga," VIII, 15, 7 (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 291); 15, 13 (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 293–94); VIII, 26, 1–6 (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 294, 302–3).

125. *yo bhikkhave maṃ upaṭṭhaheyya so gilānan upaṭṭhaheyya.*

126. *Sheng-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 3:89b–90a).

127. Norman, ed., *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. 1, pp. 319–20.

128. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 40 (*T.* 2:766b–67b).

129. *AN*, VII, 59 (vol. 4, p. 91f.); *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 49 (9) (*T.* 2:820c).

130. *Jātaka*, vol. 2, pp. 347, 349, 351; G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. 2 (London: J. Murray, 1937–38), 1187.

131. *Fo-shou Yü-yeh-ching* (*T.* 2:863c); *Yü-yeh-ching* (*T.* 2:865c–67a); *Yü-yeh-nü-ching* (*T.* 2:864c–65c).

132. Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 352–55; Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 772–74.

133. The tables are based on information in Akanuma, *Shakuson*, pp. 314–26.

134. That the upper Ganges was a Brahmin stronghold is clear from the legend of Kurukṣetra. The Buddhist sutras also mention it. See Richard Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (Kiel: C. F. Haescler, 1897).

135. *MN*, no. 96, *Esukāri-sutta*. I cover the subject of the equality of the castes in *Genshi Bukkyō no seikatsu rinri* (Ethics of everyday life in early Buddhism), vol. 17 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1995).

136. *MN*, no. 93, *Assalāyana-sutta*.

137. *MN*, no. 13, *Mahādukkhakkhandha-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 83f.).

138. The equivalent Chinese text (*Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 42 [1158] [*T.* 2:308b–c]) calls the Brahmin woman P'o-ssu-cha (婆肆吒), which suggests the family name Vāsiṣṭha.

139. *SN*, I, 7, 1 (vol. 1, pp. 160–61).

140. *DN*, no. 5, *Kūṭadanta-suttanta* (vol. 1, p. 148).

141. *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 87–110); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 13 (20): *A-mo-chou-ching* (*T.* 1:82a–88b) is the Chinese equivalent. The *Fo-k'ai-chiai fan-chih a-p'o-ching* (*T.* 1:259c–64a) is also an equivalent, but considerably different in content.

142. *DN*, vol. 1, p. 84. The *Fo-k'ai-chiai fan-chih a-p'o-ching* (*T.* 1:259c) begins: "At one time the Buddha was sitting with five hundred disciples under trees outside Licchavi[?] of the Vajjis," which would mean that Pokkharasādi lived in Vajji. The *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 13: *A-mo-chou-ching* (*T.* 1:82a), however, places him in Kosala.

143. *SN*, I, 7, 2, (vol. 1, pp. 161–62).

144. *DN*, no. 25, *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-suttanta* (vol. 3, pp. 36–57); *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 8 (8): *San-t'o-na-ching* (*T.* 1:47a–49b); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (104): *Yu-t'an-p'o-lo-ching* (*T.* 1:591b–95c).

145. *MN*, no. 77, *Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 1–22).

146. *MN*, no. 79, *Cūḷasakuludāyi-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 29–39); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 57 (207, 208): *Chien-mao-ching* (*T.* 1:781b–86b).

147. *MN*, no. 58, *Abhayarājakumāra-sutta* (vol. 1, pp. 392–96).

148. Legends of miracles at Sāvatthī: *Dhp.*, ed. Fausböll, p. 338; *Divyāv.*, XII; *Mahāvastu*, III, 115; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, vol. 1, p. 216; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 79; *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 25 (*T.* 22:166c, 67b–c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 50 (*T.* 22:938b et seq.); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 24:141a–42b); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6, "Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti" (Śrāvastī). However, specific miracles are not identified. Therefore when identifying the scenes represented in art, it is necessary to study their connection with the many legends concerning Sāvatthī.

Representations in art: "Miracle at Śrāvastī," ca. third century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-73; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 65; Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen*, pl. 39; Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū* [The roots of Buddhist art; Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1981], pl. 71; *WOB*, pl. III-29; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 603, fig. 30); "Miracle at Śrāvastī," K. S. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India and Early Andhra History* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1981), p. 62; Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pls. 39–41; Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri shashinshū—Gandāra* [Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 69); Kuṣāṇa period, third–fourth century, Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*Indo, Nishi Ajia* [India and West Asia], vol. 13 of *Genshoku sekai no bijutsu*

[Art of the world in full color; Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1973], pl. 27); third–fourth century, Karachi National Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 66; Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 91; Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 68); "The Miracle of Water and Fire": (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 66); fifth century, Sārnāth, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-30); tenth–eleventh century, Bengal or Bihar (*ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 383; Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in India*).

149. Sirigutta appears in *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā,* vol. 2, p. 211; *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,* vol. 1, p. 434f.; *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 41 (7) (*T.* 2:773c); *Ta-chih-tu-lun,* fasc. 3 (*T.* 25:77c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:921a); *I-ch'ieh-ching yin-i,* fasc. 26 (*T.* 54:475c). These references are from Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 621; see also *Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 27:30c). The Peshawar Museum has a relief in the Gandhāran style showing Śrīgupta inviting Sakyamuni (*Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 44, pp. 422–43). Sehrai says that Śrīgupta was a disciple of Pūraṇa, but the source for this assertion is not identified.

150. *Jātaka,* no. 472, vol. 4, pp. 187–89; *Dhp.,* ed. Fausböll, 1885, p. 338. Other legends concerning slander by women: *Sheng-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:70 et seq.); *P'i-nai-yeh yao-shih,* fasc. 16 (*T.* 24:76); *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:860c); Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* p. 275; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* pp. 33–34.

151. *Udāna,* IV, 8, pp. 43–46. Kern believes that the Ciñcā incident occurred before the eighth rainy-season retreat and the Sundarī incident before the twentieth rainy-season retreat, with a twelve-year gap between the two (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* pp. 33, 37). The story of a prostitute's murder by heretics appears in *Hsiu-hsing-pen-ch'i-ching,* fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:461a–66b); *Liu-tu-chi-ching* (*T.* 3:1a–52b); *Jātaka,* vol. 2, p. 415, l. 14 ad. no. 285; E. B. Cowell, trans., *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births,* vol. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1895–1913; Repring, London: Luzac, 1969), p. 283. For another quelling of criticism after seven days, see this volume, p. 324.

152. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:899c). See Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, p. 9.

153. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* (*T.* 51:899c). See Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, pp. 7–8.

154. *DN,* no. 2, *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta* (vol. 1, p. 47f.) and no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (vol. 2, pp. 72ff.); Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* pp. 38–40. I deal with Jīvaka in *Butsudeshi no shōgai.*

155. *Chung-pen-ch'i-ching* (*T.* 4:157 et seq.); *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:38 et seq.).

156. For the site of Kosambī, see Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. I-82. An inscription has been found attesting to the existence of the Ghositārāma in Kosambī (*WOB,* pl. III-35).

157. *Sehrai Peshawar,* no. 49.

158. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* fasc. 14 (*T.* 22:342a); *Kokuyaku issaikyō,* vol. 9 of *Vinaya,* p. 430.

159. *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* fasc. 19 (*T.* 22:383c–84b).

160. Ānanda did not repeat the Buddha's words "Just release them." He was probably motivated in this by political considerations.

161. The king may have wanted to be sure the bandits would establish a direct relationship with the Buddha.

162. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900c). See Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* vol. 2, p. 12. "Obtaining-Sight Forest": *te-yen-lin* (得眼林); Skt., *andhavana. Tseng-i a-han-ching* (*T.* 2:734b) gives *chou-an-yüan* (晝闇園).

163. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 6.

164. *Fu-t'u:* 浮図.

165. The Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* (*P'i-nai-yeh,* fasc. 42 [*T.* 23:857a–58a]).

166. Sonadanda: *DN,* no. 4, *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta,* 6 (vol. 1, p. 116). The Chinese text (*Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 [22]: *Chung-te-ching* [*T.* 1:95a]) gives the names of a few other Brahmins: "The *śrāmaṇa* Gautama was honored by the kings Pasenadi and Bimbisāra. . . . He was also honored by the Brahmin Pokkharasādi . . . [and] the Brahmins Brahmāyu, Tārukkha, Soṇadaṇḍa, and Subha-Todeyyaputta."

Kūṭadanta: *DN,* no. 5, *Kūṭadanta-suttanta* (vol. 1, pp. 132–33). The equivalent Chinese text (*Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 15 [23]: *Chiu-luo-t'an-t'ou-ching* [*T.* 1:97c]) gives the following as the Brahmins who gave their faith to him: Pokkharasāti, Brahmāyu, Tārukkha, Soṇadaṇḍa, and Subha-Todeyyaputta.

167. *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta, DN,* no. 4.

168. *Fo-suo-hsing-tsan,* fasc. 4 (*T.* 4:40b–c).

169. *Sn.,* 18. The Mahī River is apparently a branch of the Gandak River, which flows south from the foothills of the Himalayas and joins the Ganges north of Patna. See Mochizuki, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten,* p. 1877c.

170. *Sn.,* 20.

171. *Therīg.,* 317. Cf. index.

172. "Six great cities": *Shih-sung-lü,* fasc. 40 (*T.* 23:288b–c); *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih,* fasc. 25 (*T.* 24:328c). "Eight great cities": *Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü,* fasc. 33 (*T.* 22:497a).

173. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* pp. 30–40.

174. The passing of Suddhodāna is mentioned in the *Ching-fan-wang pan-nieh-p'an-ching,* fasc. 2 (*T.* 14:781 et seq.).

175. Khemā is discussed in considerable detail in Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten,* p. 303a, but there is no clear dating.

176. This story appears in the Āgama sutras: *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 19 (506) (*T.* 2:134a–c); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 28 (5) (*T.* 2:703b–8c). Sāṃkāśya is transliterated in two ways: Seng-chia-she-ch'eng (僧迦舎城; p. 134c) and Seng-chia-shih (僧迦尸; p. 707a).

177. Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama,* vol. 1, p. 234.

178. *Sn.,* 76–82.

179. Soreyya is said to be close to Taxila in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,* vol. 3, pp. 325–26.

180. Hsü-li: 須礼. *Shan-chien-lü p'i-p'o-sha*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 24:710c).

181. *Samantapāsādikā*, vol. 1, p. 201.

182. The incident about Suprabuddha (Pāli, Suppabuddha) appears in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. 3, pp. 44 ff. No mention is made in the older texts. See Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 36. For Suprabuddha's interference, see Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 339; Kentoku Hori, *Bijutsujō no Shaka* (Sakyamuni in art; Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1910), pp. 208–10; *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. 3, pp. 44 ff.; Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 664–65.

183. For this story, see *SN*, I, 10, 12 (vol. 1, pp. 213–15). It also appears in Hajime Nakamura, *Akuma to no taiwa* (Dialogues with demons; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986), 241–46. The conversion of the *yakṣa* may hint at the historical fact of the conversion of aboriginal peoples living in the area.

184. *Sn.*, 455–56. The robe (*saṃghāṭi*) was worn above the inner and outer robes, making a total of three robes. This was all the clothing *bhikkhus* owned.

185. *Sn.*, 487.

186. See vol. 2 of this book.

187. Many scholars give the name as Bāvarī, while using the root form for other names in the *Suttanipāta*. However an -*ī* ending is very strange in a masculine noun. A few manuscripts and the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 580) give the form Bāvari. Why the nominative case is given as Bāvarī is unclear. No such word as *Bavara*, *Bāvari*, or *Bāvarin* appears in Vedic texts. The scholar Hare says that the root form of the word ends in -*in* and so interprets the name as consisting of *Bāvara* + *in*. He explains that this became *Bāvarī* in the nominative. Grammatically, this interpretation is acceptable, but it is not clear why -*in* should be suffixed to *Bāvara*, because the common noun *Bāvara* is not used. I have therefore followed Buddhaghosa in considering the name to be Bāvari, with the final long vowel attached for metrical purposes. Buddhaghosa says that Bāvari was the son of an imperial tutor (*purohita*) of Pasenadi (*Pj.*, p. 580).

188. *devatā* (*assame adhivattha-devatā eva; Pj.*, p. 582).

189. *Sn.*, 991 ff. The following verses correspond to the introduction to the "Pārāyana-vagga" (Chapter on going to the far shore) and may have been added later. They are not treated in the *Culla-Niddesa* and are not included in texts translated into Chinese. For a detailed discussion, see Kōgen Mizuno's translation into modern Japanese (*Nanden Daizōkyō* [The Southern Tripiṭaka], vol. 24 [Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1939], n. 2, p. 386–88). From the point of view of expression, these verses seem to belong to an older form of language than the prose sections of the early Buddhist scriptures.

190. "Knowledge of the supernormal": *abhiññā*.

191. "Removed all delusions": *upadhisaṃkhaye*. Neumann interprets this as being rid of all delusions, or attachments. ("Unhaftbar weilt er"; *Neumann Sn.*, p. 343.) It is also possible to translate *upadhi* as "factors of existence." ("Life's stuff"; *Chalmers Sn.*, p. 237). Fausböll did not translate the original into English. Prob-

ably the former is the original meaning and the interpretation "abolition of the factors of existence" represents a further stage of doctrinal development.

192. "Diminished": *āsi* (Skt., *āsīt*. 3d singular). This word also appears in *SN*, vol. 1, p. 30, l. 3.

193. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 6, 1; cf. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 7, 2; *Chānd. Up.*, V, 12, 2.

194. *Bṛhad. Up.*, III, 9, 27; cf. *Chānd. Up.*, I, 3, 26.

195. *Chānd. Up.*, V, 12, 2.

196. "Mastered the [Vedic] mantras": *mantapāraga*, "perfect in the hymn."

197. This refers to the concept of the universal emperor (wheel-rolling king).

198. "Birth": *jāti*. This usually means good or bad birth; however, the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 583) interprets it to mean birth date or age: *'kīvaciraṃ jāto' ti.*

199. *mante . . . ti mayā paṭhitavede* (*Pj.*, p. 583).

200. See Hajime Nakamura, *Budda no kotoba* (The words of the Buddha; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984), p. 429. I discuss this further in my *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu* (Formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

201. *Sn.*, 1007, 1077f.

202. "Circled . . . to the right": *padakkhiṇā*. Circling a person with one's right shoulder facing the person (clockwise) was a way of showing respect that is also used in certain Buddhist ceremonies today in Japan. The custom was taken into Buddhism from Brahmanic usage. The *Mahābhārata* tells how a bird circled the fire three times (*tam agniṃ triḥ parikramya*) and killed itself (*MBh.*, XII, 146, 23).

203. Gonaddha: According to the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 583), this is Godhapura. Gonaddha is the equivalent of the Sanskrit Gonarda. It appears to have been near Sāñcī (*Mémorial Sylvain Levi* [Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1937], pp. 306–13). Vedisa: the capital of Avanti in central India. "To the place called Vanasa": *Vanasavhayan ti Tumbavanagaraṃ vuccati, Vanasāvatthin ti eke* (*Pj.*, p. 583).

204. The sixteen had heard the Buddha was in Sāvatthī, so they went there via the western road from the south. However, the Buddha had already left the city and moved to another place, so they followed, arriving in Rājagaha to the southeast.

205. "Best of cities": *puruttama*. This epithet suggests strongly that Sāvatthī was very prosperous at the time of the Buddha; this is borne out by the fact that the wealthy merchant Sudatta lived there and that the Jetavana monastery was built on its outskirts.

206. Pāvā: Skt., Pāpā. This may be modern Padrauna. Pāsāṇaka shrine: *Pāsāṇakaṃ cetiyaṃ* (= *Pāsanaka-cetiya; Pj.*, p. 583). According to the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 584), there was a great rock there, upon which was built a shrine (*devaṭṭhāna*), which was a *vihāra* in Gotama's time. In fact what probably was there was a rock with a big tree on top, under which people rested. There may have been a small shrine at the most. If there had been no tree, people would not have been able to bear the heat.

207. From now on we find the expression "lion's roar."

208. "Tell me the birth [of my master Bāvari]": *Tattha ādissā ti 'kativasso' ti evaṃ uddissa; jammanan ti amhākaṃ ācariyassa jātiṃ brūhī ti pucchati* (*Pj.*, p. 584). I think it is difficult to interpret *jāti* as "rank" or "status" here, for both questioner and answerer knew that Bāvari was a Brahmin.

209. "Mastery of the mantras": *mantesu pāramiṃ*. Here *pāramī* is not the technical term of later times, *pāramitā*, but rather meant something like *Vollkommenheit* (Ludwig Alsdorf, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Albrecht Wezler [Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974], p. 316). *Pāramī* = *niṭṭhāgamana* (*Pj.*, p. 584). It means to reach the ultimate.

210. These are the *Ṛg Veda*, the *Sāmaveda*, and the *Yajurveda*, the basic Brahmanic scriptures. Note that the *Atharvaveda* is not included.

211. "His own teaching": *sadhamme ti sake brāhmaṇadhamme. tevijjake pāvacane ti vuttaṃ hoti.* This refers to Brahmanic doctrine.

212. "He can cover his face with his tongue": This later developed into a idea of the long, wide tongue. It was said that the tip of the tongue could reach the ear.

213. This is a single twirl of white hair.

214. This appears in later Buddhist texts as "concealed penis like a horse's."

215. The concealed penis and the golden skin (*kañcanasannibhattaco*) mentioned in the *Dīgha-nikāya* seem to have been rendered from the original verse into prose (R. Otto Franke, *Dīghanikāya: Das Buch der langen Texte des buddhistischen Kanons in Auswahl Übersetzt* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913], p. 88, note 4). See also vol. 2 of this book.

216. "Not hearing the quesitons asked": the original has *pucchaṃ hi kiñci asuṇanto*, but the commentary (*Pj.*, p. 585) interprets this as *pucchaṃ hī ti pucchamānaṃ.* I do not know whether such an interpretation would have been permitted in the ancient language of eastern India, but this interpretation certainly clarifies the meaning substantially.

217. "Ignorance": *avijjā.*

218. "Concentration": *samādhi,* usually translated into Chinese as *ting* (定).

219. *SN,* "Sagāthavagga," II, 1, 9, 6 (vol. 1, p. 50).

220. *Dhp.*, p. 72.

221. "Student": *māṇava.* This usually means a young Brahmin student, but it is not necessarily limited to this meaning. A young bandit is also referred to in this way (*Therag.*, 720).

222. "Put his deerskin over one shoulder": This was a salutation generally practiced among Indian ascetics. Later it influenced the West in the Middle Ages. I have seen a Catholic saint portrayed in this way in the Vatican Museum. A similar figure is carved on Bamberg Cathedral in southern Germany. The people there say that the figure is the prophet Jonas.

223. "Prostrated himself at the feet": *sirasā pati* (= *taṃ muddhānaṃ adhipāteti; Pj.*, p. 585).

224. The legend of ascending to heaven and then descending from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods: *Tsa a-han-ching,* fasc. 19 (*T.* 2:134a–b); *Tseng-i a-han-ching,* fasc. 28 (*T.* 2:703b et seq.); *Fo-shuo Fa-hsien-chuan,* "Seng-chia-shih Country" (*T.* 51:859c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* fasc. 4, "Chieh-pi-t'a Country" (*T.* 51:893a–b); Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama,* vol. 1, p. 221; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* p. 84; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* p. 298; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut,* fig. 17.

225. Representations in art: "Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods": first century B.C.E., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 2-75; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 68; Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 8; Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], pl. 13; *WOB,* pl. III-32; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 32b; Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten,* p. 603, pl. 32); Mathura Museum (N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archeological Museum, 1966], pl. 28); wall painting, Ajantā, Cave 17 (Osamu Takata, *Ajanta–sekkutsu jiin to hekiga* [Ajantā: Cave temples and their wall paintings; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971], pl. 38); ninth–tenth century, Luckesarai, Bihar, Patna Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-33); seventeenth century, Tibetan *thang-ka,* Guimet Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-34). "The discourse to Indra": early first century, eastern pillar, north gate, Stūpa 1, Sāñcī (Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten,* p. 601, pl. 25); second–third century, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 59); second century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 60); second century, Mathurā, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-48); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 47); first half of second century, Mathurā Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 57); second half of second century, Jamālpur, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 58); ca. second century, Taxila, Taxila Museum (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 62); Kuṣāṇa dynasty, Gandhāra (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 70); Sikri Stūpa, second–third century, Lahore Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 58); third–fourth century, Mamāne Ḍherī, Peshawar Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 59).

226. The legend of the conversion of the *yakkha* Āḷavaka (Skt., Āṭavaka): *Sn.,* I, 10; *SN,* X, 12; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* p. 261; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama,* vol. 1, p. 246.

Representations in art: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-37, 38); third–fourth century, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-39; *Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 53).

227. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 115. Other events cannot be placed precisely at a particular time of the Buddha's life. Noteworthy events are listed here, together with representations in art and textual sources.

The conquest and conversion of the dragon king Apalāla: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-53); third century, Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 40); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 48); ca.

second–third century, Gandhāra, Kabul Museum (Namikawa, *Gandāra,* pl. 54).

The dragon king Elāpattra makes obeisance to the Buddha: mid-second century B.C.E., balustrade, Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 7); second–fourth century, Gandhāra, Peshawar Museum (*WOB,* pl. 52, 53); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 50). Sakyamuni in Pārileyyaka: eleventh century, Ānanda Temple, Burma (*WOB,* pl. III-36). See *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," X, 5; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 35.

The legend of the white dog at Sāvatthī: fourth century, Gandhāra, Lahore Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-51; pp. 103, 303).

Overcoming the drunken elephant: second half of second century, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (Nakamura et al., *Budda no sekai,* pl. 2-72; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai,* pl. 71; *Indo, Nishi Ajia,* pl. 56; *WOB,* pl. III-57; *ZIM,* vol. 2, pl. 87); Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten,* p. 603, pl. 29); second century, Mathurā, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū,* pl. 6); second half of second century, Bhūtesar (Ueno, *Karukatta bijutsukan;* Takata, *Butsuzō no kigen,* pl. 74); ninth–tenth century, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-58); Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 60).

The evil actions of Devadatta: Gandhāra, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-56); Yün-kang Cave 10 (*WOB,* pl. III-59). Assassins sent by Devadatta: Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar,* pl. 59). (It is questionable whether Devadatta actually injured Gotama. I discuss this in *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu.*)

King Ajātasattu's repentance and conversion: second century B.C.E., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-60); second century, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-61); second century, Amarāvatī, British Museum (*WOB,* pl. III-62). See Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 2 (Rome: IsMEO, 1978), pp. 135–36, 154–63, 251f.; *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* fasc. 17 (*T.* 1:107a–9c); *P'i-nai-yeh p'o-seng-shih,* fasc. 17 (*T.* 24:187c); Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* p. 90. The invitation and conversion of Śrīgupta: second–third century, Gandhāra, National Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-46); third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-45).

Tale of Jyotiṣka: third century, Gandhāra, National Museum, Calcutta (*WOB,* pl. III-47). See *Vinaya,* "Cullavagga," V, 8; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 32, n. 4.

The conversion of King Kappina: third century, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (*WOB,* pl. III-50; *Nagarj.,* p. 53, pl. VI). See *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," II, 5–9; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 82.

Schism in the community: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," X, 1, 1; 2, 2–10; *Jātaka,* vol. 3, p. 486; Cowell, *Jātaka,* vol. 3, p. 280; *Dhp.,* p. 103; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 2, pp. 204–5; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 24 (*T.* 22:158c–60a).

Overcoming the schism: *Vinaya,* "Mahāvagga," X, 4–5; *Dhp.,* p. 107; Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu,* part 2, pp. 205–10; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama,* vol. 1, p. 236; *Wu-fen-lü,* fasc. 24 (*T.* 22:160a–b).

The conversion of the landholder Bhāradvāja: *Sn.*, I, 4; *SN*, VII, 2, 1; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 214; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, vol. 1, p. 226.

The eighth rainy-season retreat in the country of Bharga: *Vinaya*, "Cullavagga," V, 21.

228. *MN*, no. 89, *Dhammacetiya-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 118–25); *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 59 (213): *Fa-chuang-yen-ching* (*T.* 1:795b–97c).

229. The Chinese translation (*T.* 1:797b) adds the line "I am king of a country; Śākyamuni is also king of the Dharma."

230. The Sanskrit version of Viḍūḍabha is unclear. In form it is close to the name of Prasenajit's general Virūḍhaka (*Divyāv.*, p. 77, l. 27; p. 466, l. 23). Edgerton's dictionary says that it appears in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (Gilgit manuscripts), part 4, p. 63, l. 7. In the *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (T. 2:690b) the transliterations Bi-liu-le (毘流勒) and Bi-liu-li (毘流離) are consistent with Virūḍhaka. The legend of the usurpation of Viḍūḍabha: *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 24:238b–40c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (section on Śrāvastī).

The legend of the annihilation of the Śākyas: *Wu-fen-lü*, fasc. 21 (*T.* 22:140c–41c); *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 41 (*T.* 22:860b–61a).

231. *MN*, no. 87, *Piyajātika-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 110–11); *MN*, no. 90, *Kaṇṇakatthala-sutta* (vol. 2, pp. 127–30).

232. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 767–68.

233. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 26 (*T.* 2:690a–93c).

234. *Bhaddasāla-jātaka* (no. 465), *Jātaka*, vol. 4, pp. 144–53.

235. The *Nidānakathā* mentions a third time, but the *Tseng-i a-han-ching* (fasc. 26) does not.

236. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900b–c).

237. I deal with this issue in my *Genshi Bukkyō no shakai shisō* (Social thought of early Buddhism), vol. 18 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1993).